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The Classical Review

FEBRUARY 1894.

THE TRIAL SCENE IN HOMER.

THE Trial scene—or 'act in two scenes'—described *Iliad* xviii. ll. 497—508, as a part of the description of the shield of Achilles, contains two passages which are at once historically interesting and much controverted. The first is at the beginning, where we are told that there was a crowd in the market-place, because two men

ἐνείκεον εἵνεκα ποινῆς
ἀνδρὸς ἀποκταμένου· ὁ μὲν εὔχετο παντ' ἀποδοῦναι
δήμῳ πιφαύσκων, ὁ δ' ἀναίνετο μηδὲν ἑλέσθαι.

According to the interpretation generally received a generation ago, the dispute was on the question whether a certain blood-price had been paid—'one affirming that he paid in full, the other denying that he received anything.' But during the last twelve years there has been a tendency to prefer an interpretation historically more impressive, according to which the dispute is not about a mere payment of money, but on the question whether a blood-feud shall be extinguished by the acceptance of a composition.

The poet further tells us that the contending parties are desirous of settling the matter by arbitration; and both sides are supported by ἄρωγοί. Then we are shown the elders sitting in a circle on the sacred judgment seat of polished stone: they give judgment in turns. The description concludes with the following lines:—

κεῖτο δ' ἄρ' ἐν μέσσοισι δύω χρυσοῖο τάλαντα,
τῷ δόμεν, ὃς μετὰ τοῖσι δίκην ἰθύντατα εἴποι.

Here again there is a controversy between two fundamentally different interpretations; some understand that the two talents of gold are to go to the judge who gives the best judgment, others that they are to go to the litigant who pleads his cause best. The former interpretation, found in the scholia, is that which recent commentators have on the whole been inclined to adopt—at any rate until 1890.

For in the year 1890 both these controverted passages were discussed in the *Leipziger Studien* (vol. xii.) by J. H. Lipsius, the editor of Schömann's *Griechische Alterthümer*: and not only does Lipsius believe that he has finally settled both points against the interpretation that has recently tended to prevail—so that henceforth, as he confidently says, 'ein begründeter Zweifel schwerlich aufkommen kann'—but this is also the view of Busolt (*Griechische Staats- und Rechts-Alterthümer* p. 30).

A dogmatic assertion that a controversy has been settled by the last controversialist naturally arouses opposition: it is, accordingly, the object of the present paper to express certain 'Zweifel' as regards the second of the passages above quoted—doubts which the arguments of Lipsius have failed to quell. As regards the first passage I am inclined to accept his view.

I never liked the newer interpretation—since the antithesis of πάντα and οὐδὲν seems to suggest irresistibly that the dispute is about a money-payment—and the contention of Lipsius, that the aorist in a future sense after εὔχεται would be contrary to Homeric usage, seems unassailable.

I therefore accept the view that the question to be decided by the judges is whether a blood-price has been paid or not: but I cannot share the confidence with which Lipsius and Busolt conclude that the two talents of gold exhibited in court are the 'Gegenstand des Streites.' Ridgeway's argument against this—that two talents are too small a sum for a blood-price—seems difficult to meet: for in the only other passage in the *Iliad* (ix. 633) which throws light on the amount of a blood-price we are told that the man-slayer stays at home πόλλ' ἀποτίσας: whereas two talents of gold are only a *fourth* prize in a horse-race (xxiii. 269). To this Lipsius answers that doubtless the ποινή varied according to circumstances and relationships, like the Teutonic Wergild. But, granting this variation, surely to select a conspicuously small blood-price as the sum at stake, in a trial designed to be impressive, would be a literary blunder which we should hesitate to attribute to the brilliant author of the description of the shield. If, therefore, we are to regard the two talents as going to the successful litigant, I should agree with Leaf in preferring to take them to be 'of the nature of costs.'

But is it clear that the two talents are to go to a litigant and not to a judge? I certainly think that the arguments from language are all the other way,—though I hasten to add that none of them seems to me decisive. The consideration on which Lipsius relies is that μετὰ τοῖσι cannot be taken as equivalent to a genitive, since μετά must be translated by 'vor' or 'bei'; so that, as τοῖσι must stand for *the* judges, the ὃς before μετὰ τοῖσι cannot stand for *a* judge.[1] But this argument does not seem to be based on a careful study of the Homeric use of μετά with a dative. The first book of the *Iliad* contains a line (516) exemplifying the 'equivalence to the genitive' which Lipsius pronounces inadmissible here. 'Deny me if you will,' says Thetis clasping the knees of Zeus, 'that I may know how I among all gods am least in honour'—

ὅσσον ἐγὼ μετὰ πᾶσιν ἀτιμοτάτη θεός εἰμι.

So again in the *Odyssey* (iii. 362) Athena in the likeness of Mentor says to Telemachus

οἷος γὰρ μετὰ τοῖσι γεραίτερος εὔχομαι εἶναι—

where the 'Gleichsetzung mit einem Genitiv' is surely again unmistakable.

On the other hand I can hardly find a single case in which μετά with a dative could clearly bear the scene of 'vor' (if I understand the German preposition). It almost always, when the dative is a personal noun or pronoun, has the sense of 'among'; and though in some cases the meaning seems to be purely local, still in the majority of cases where the sentence in which it is used has also a personal subject, this subject is ranked with, or associated with, and shares the actions of, the persons represented by the dative: *e.g.* in the phrases:—

(*a*) μετὰ πρώτοισι μάχεσθαι.
(*b*) Ἄρης μετὰ Τρώεσσιν ὁμιλεῖ.
(*c*) Τυδείδην δ' οὐκ ἂν γνοίης ποτέροισι μετείη ἠὲ μετὰ Τρώεσσιν ὁμιλέοι ἢ μετ' Ἀχαιοῖς.

Hence in the phrase we are considering—though I by no means say that ὃς (μετὰ τοῖσι) *could* not grammatically represent a litigant,—the usage of the preposition tends more naturally to suggest one of the judges.

And a similar tendency, I think, may be affirmed of almost every word in the sentence.

(*a*) Thus δόμεν seems to me *more* natural if the recipient of the 'gift' is not a person who has had to furnish it in whole or in part, than if he is such a person.

(*b*) Similarly, though δίκην εἰπεῖν might equally well be said of judge and of litigant, certainly—as Ridgeway has urged—the adverb ἰθύ is *more* appropriate to the delivery of a judicial decision than to the pleading of a cause. Compare ἰθείαισι δίκαις in Hesiod, *Works and Days*, l. 36, (quoted by Monro on this passage).

(*c*) And finally the superlative ἰθύντατα more naturally suggests that *more* than two persons are compared. It *might* no doubt be used if two only were compared; but the comparative would in that case be more natural.

[1] 'Die Bedeutung der Praeposition lässt nur die Wiedergabe mit 'vor,' 'bei,' 'zu,' und verbietet die Gleichsetzung mit einem Genitiv, wie sie die jungere Deutung bedingen würde.' *Leipziger Studien*, xii. p. 229.

To sum up: I think that both interpretations of the line are linguistically admissible, but that the indications of language all point in one direction, and that the direction *opposed* to the conclusion which Lipsius has confidently proclaimed to be unassailable.

Further, the interpretation to which these indications point seems to me supported by a consideration of the line (508) in its relation to the whole passage 490—508. In the description of the life of a peaceful city which these lines contain, the poet passes from scene to scene, depicting each in turn with concentrated vividness, as the spectator's eye is supposed to pass round the circle of the shield. First comes the wedding, the brides, the dancing boys, the gazing women; then the disputants in the market-place with their crowd of partisans; then lastly the elders in the sacred circle, holding in their hands staves received from the herald, with which they start up and declare right and justice each in turn:

τοῖσιν ἔπειτ' ἤϊσσον, ἀμοιβηδὶς δὲ δίκαζον—

while a gleam of gold shows the fee for arbitration, which will go as a prize to the elder who carries the majority of the court with him. The litigants do not appear in this last scene—they could not appear twice over—surely, then, to maintain the vividness and unity of the picture we require to refer the last line also to the judges, so that the idea presented by *δίκην ἰθύντατα εἴποι* may take up and add liveliness to the idea presented by *δίκαζον*.

I ought to notice one difficulty in this view of the whole passage, presented by the word *ἤϊσσον* in the line last quoted: as the rapid movement which this word imports seems hardly consistent with the solemnity and decorum of a judicial proceeding. I would suggest that this difficulty is probably due to our importing into our conception of the scene ideas that are really alien to this stage of political development. Probably the successive delivery of judicial opinions, in a council of primitive *γέροντες*, was not in form and manner, very unlike the successive delivery of opinions in a deliberative debate; so that it would be naturally accompanied by eagerness of action and vehemence of expression. It will be remembered that when Menelaus has a conflict with Antilochus in the course of the funeral games, he appeals to the leaders of the Argives to 'give judgment neutrally, and not as partisans'—

ἐς μέσον ἀμφοτέροισι δικάσσατε μηδ' ἐπ' ἀρωγῇ:

and we may conjecture that in such a dispute as is described in this scene, between influential citizens with strong backing on both sides, there would probably be partisans within the council of elders as well as outside it; the successive speeches would be more like the utterances of advocates trying to persuade the court to adopt their views, than like modern judgments. And the fact that the speaker who carried the court with him also carried off the court-fee would of course be a stimulus to this kind of oratory.

H. Sidgwick.

COLLATION OF THE MADRID MS. OF MANILIUS (M. 31 BIBL. NAZION.) WITH THE TEXT OF JACOB, BERLIN, 1846.

(*Continued from Vol. VII. page* 409.)

Book III.

[Fol. 24a]—2 mementem inuadere saltos 4 Conor et dignos in carmina 6 et flammis 8 H. ~~uenali~~ uenalem (*sic*) 10 laeetum f. scrupro 11 trucis 12 reduces auro incendia. 15 fulmina 16 uictam quia uicerat orbem 19 bello 20 as Jac. 21 Inm. 22 as Jac. except that cauenda rather than canenda 23 liquor 24 orbes 26 uella 28 bori *m. pr.* ebori (*a corrector*) 31 Ac 32 Temporaque et uarios momentaque mundi (casus *om.*) 33 Quorumque 34 qd (*i.e.* quid) 35 C. quid proprio ~~quid~~ pedibus quid (*sic*, the second *quid* erased) certi 36 o *om.* 37 percere (*sic*) 38 Inp. ducia After 43 DE ATLIS · QVID SIT ATLVM ET QVOD · SINT · EA · ET · QVE · NOMINA · ET QVAS · VIRES · ET QVEM · ORDINEM · HABEANT :– (in red) 44 ministrat 45 dat 46 uiglanti ssnsu (*a later corr. in marg.* sensu) 47 latentem 49 con eluderet (conclu written over by a later hand) 50 pendintem 52 natentem (a coeval) 53 prebere 54 pugnantis rege/ret (*sic*) 55 staretque (& looks coeval) 56 exceptom a summo 60 fammam (famam in lighter ink) ads. 62 Deposita uagasue 63 Euincunt uincitur 65 sane sitque 66 uti fatum 67 labores 69 sortem 70 Conplex ae quod et a. uocarat 71 Res posuit 72 Attribuit~~que~~ (que erased) 73 pars semper uteidem 74 in astris 78 Ex eisdem 78 tempore 80 Atque alius sors quaeque accederet astro (*sic*) 82 modū for motu 83 condita arte est 85 herent 86 in orbe 87 aut 88 fortuna et 89 Utcumque stellae 90 mouet 92 nego for negoti 93 cauenda 98 herencia cauta 99 qui sit concessus 100 Quamque cōp. 102 Post hinc genus est quidquid inarmis 103 Quoque peregrina inter 104 Accipere assueuit c̄ prehenditur 105 est *om.* 106 Hocque 110 ad possitis 112 Fortunaque fudentem 113 as Jac. 114 Inp. 116 as Jac. 117 Quidquid 118 hoccum partem 119 gerunt parent 121 Et socios tenet committem hospitis ima (ima not quite certain. The space between committem and hospitis is larger than usual) 122 Iungitur et similis 127 censentur horenda perielis 128 suscribunt 129 quo 131 praetexto 132 Gratorum sortem dubia 133 intrantum nutricia 135 in quo sorcium rumores aequalibus omnis 136 quamque 137 conp. 139 sumam uir estque gubernant 140 Quae ual/cudo (*sic*) 141 opressa moueute mundum sideraque cumque (*sic*) 142 Non alias sedes tempus uegenu sue medendi 144 sucus (c altered from e) miserere salubris 146 aspiciendis 147 effectus 148 inr. 149 uirtus blanditus nominis 151 uentisque 152 plenā 153 bacchum multa After 153 QVOMODO · FORTVNE · LOCVS · INVENIATVR :– Then 175, 6 Coniunges t. p. et s. s. Et ni f. uagus f. q. s. then 154 haec momenta 155 stelae 157 compandere rerum 158 affectus 159 undis After 159, written as if it were a verse, Quomodo adaper signa de sonibus amnri (? aninri) 162 Athala uocant grai quae 163 cohaerent 164 cauendum est 166 nascentis altered from nascentib 168 Incolomis 169 Erge age uaria 170 uolens labore 172 Quae/prim um pars est numerosis dicta sub achlis 175 *second time but* ut, *not* et. Then QVOMODO · FORTVNAE · LOCVS · INVENIATVR then 176 (*second time*) which begins with omitting Et, then si (changed to ni) forte 177 duplici certa 178 percoepto 179 caela stellis 180 sic 182 adf. 183 seuus fulgeuit 184 leuaque 185 natis 187 Tunsiforte diei nascentem exciperit 188 alunā munerabis in ordine partes 189 totidem ortiuo 190 horoseo ponastris 193 Athla 194 Adcum ob ducta 194 orbem tenexerit 195 materno 196 natura euescitur 197 mutantem 199 Quoque 200 fulgens horos copus ase 201 ahlis 202 natura. Then QVOMODO · HOPVS[1] · INVENIATVR :– 204 r. quie asnatalis (subsequently / has been introduced after qu and / after as) 205 inmenso 206 sub stellis uisum 208 falsisque cuncta

[1] An error of the scribe for HOROSCOPVS.

gubernant 210 memento 211 effectur esest 212 Cur sibi 213 Vt 214 Exprimet et cop. certos 217 Auferat occasus aut imo sederit orbem 218 praeterit 219 orientibus 220 spaclis 225 orbem 227 Astilis 228 proprius 229 Vix sunt cancer uix brumare ducit (*sic, om.* luces) 230 illa circula 237 manere 238 Addet quod 239 pars 243 Quod sit ut inbinas 244 oris 246 Quem numerum usu After 246 DE MENSVRA · TEMPORVM · ET · SIGNORVM :– 248 paris demensus 250 exacta horas 251 Quae signemque diem sedem perpendat et umbras 252 eum 254 tempore 255 phobus 256 His eum hieme sub motus in astro 257 oetaua 258 augusta uernalis 259 Dimidia 260 opposita numerus neclaudice hora 261 uirumque 262 natura 265 Atque ibi 266 Brumalis 269 Inp. quartum 271 Atque haec illa demum mensura per hora (est *om.*) 272 esti nisgradibus t. amnis (? annus) 273 immitatur (the first i was originally a) 274 ora *om.* 275 quod 277 careant copendia 278 sequntur 279 duplicat atque ducit 281 occidus 283 admittunt gelida uergentia 285 in quarta parte siducitur eius 287 diua 288 ad sidera 290 per quod 292 Occidusque tempusque cadendi 293 chelecon s. perstat 294 initial E *om.* uersis 296 siquod quandoque horosco per astrum 297 Nosceret signa 298 adscribere 300 In quos quarum. Then DE INCLINATIONIBVS · MVNDI :– 302 aeadem est 304 Numquam phrixei 306 binas sibi 309 iungentur 310 Obscurare foere 311 Nec falsi fallacia 313 Omnibus acuminis 315 Nec resque et ~~tunne~~ tunc quo foebus decurat in astro (*sic*) 316 Litoreum uequoquat contraue 317 medis quatuor 318 quāquam 319 Obliquos ordinae 323 Adsimilis ex illa 324 Quidquid ad extremos axe 325 conuexsa grauis gressum 326 Quam teret inatura orbe 327 et mediam inmundo suspendit adoiu (*h.e.* ad omnium 328 consedes scandesque 330 redditur orbe 331 inclinauit posituri 332 limiter octo (r *very* clear) 333 curauator ether 334 oblituus 335 spacio quando 337 uanosque 340 propriusue 343 Vltimaque et fulgent celeris merguntur in umbras 344 quando proprius 345 efficiunt oculos 346 ortus 348 Tricinasque connexo tempore noctes 350 atricis oris 351 spacio 352 partis sub rupto 353 medio tempore c. timore 354 Add. 355 emptis 356 initial S *om.* 360 meatu 361 currit 362 obliquos ex 363 Circum nullo sum quam 364 terentem aeclini 369 uersetur 370 *om.* 373 iunget nox una tenebris 374 as Jac. 375 Dimidium et toto m. uidet orbe rotundi 376 illum 377 mediamque t. descinguitur aluo 378 spectantes 381 quod mensibus iactis 382 unde redit 384 partito After 384 QVOMODO · INOMNI · INCLINATIONE · MVNDI · HOPVS · INVENIATVR :– 385 quinto 386 E quibus e 387 Quod 389 horoscopos 393 quique 395 Quacumque hoc para t. quisque requiret 397 crancro numinis (*changed to* minimis) 398 fuerint 400 Atque nocturnus (*changed to* nocturnis) 402 tribuantur 403 aduerso nascencia s. 404, 5, 6 *om.* 407 Vincat atque 409 Quo modo diuisis nemea siduxerit horis 410 actu 411 prioris semper ut astris 412 crescensque 413 addenas 415 Et quantis utrumque 416 mergentis 418 Illa quod standis 419 ter centum numerus uicinaque cō s t ent (*sic*) 420 quod ademitur utque 422 soliscitium 423 exs. ducit ineasquas 425 numine 427 exuperat partem superatur 429 numerum 430 Traditur 431 semper tanta prioris 432 nouem uicinas munero 433 perueniet 437 monstrauit 440 rigione horoscopus umquam 442 partē After 442 DE · ACCESSIONIBVS TEMPORVM ET DESESSIONIBVS :– 443 Nunc n 444 Incipiam neque enim 445 Contingant 449 horam 450 quoque ad uisto s. umbras 451 Etrepident 453 tria signa ualent sed 456 Accedit 459 accsibi temporis ipse tollat 461 tatum ~~accipiant de sorte prioris~~ (*sic*) 463 Etribus 465 procedere par tepus (*sic*) 466 arencia 467 Vltimaque Then 470 Cedere 471 Namque aries 472 Quod prius 473 Hora datur t. cumuletque 474 Dimidiam adiungunt geminis sic Then 468 Redditur 469 Rursus et Then 475 Respondent 478 v Haec uice discedunt noctes ad siderab; romae (*sic*) After 482 ALTERATIO[1] INVENIENDI HORAM 486 Asp. 487 decens hisdem 488 summis qualicuque 489 sex tollunt 490 coniunges sub et illas (*sic*) 491 momenta 492 Ex haec tricinas summas p. s. partis 493 in astra (but last *a* doubtful) 495 Tum quo subsistet consumtus 496 Quae in parte numerique reliquit 497 et pars et forma

[1] For ALTERA RATIO.

per ignes 498 Contineat summa fecerit unum 499 Tricenas dabis ex illa 500 quae illa sub astris 501 cadet 503 uidis sep 504 horoscopus 505 Vt cum ex hac fides steterit 506 possit 507 Nosceret oblitus 508 Sint ueri uerique subortus 509 Denaque[1] in proprias After 509 CVIVS · SIGNI QVISQ · ANNVS · AVT · MENSIS · AVT DIES AVT · HORA · SIT :– 511 Quique diuisa 514 sole fulserit 515 Annum tempora mundum 516 aliis secuntur 518 horoscopos 519 Adserit atque dies tradit sequentibus 520 tuos 521 munerandi signa per horas 525 est *om.* 526 sequntur 528 usque 529 omnis 530 usque 531 ipsa dies aliumque requiret 532 nonulli (*sic*) 532 sistant 535 menses aminantur 536 tum uertimur asta After 536 ALTERATIO · CVIVS · SIGNI · QUISQ3 ANNVS :– (so far in red Capitals, then in another line) A(a red initial)ut mensis aut dies aut hora sit (in the ordinary writing of M) 537 et *om.* placeat horae 538 as Jac. 539 describitur 541 capit ex imo 542 tradit (*om.* que) 546 Hora dies 547 exacti solibus annum 549 et pariter sit mensis et annus 550 Asperioris agam 551 si triste 552 si durior 554 Non annos signi 556 proprerant 557 de est alius modo est 558 autque 559 uariatā Then QVOD · ANNOS · VNV̄ . QVODQ ; · SIGNV̄ · TRIBVIT :– 560 duci 561 uenit 564 quod queque 567 trientē 568 adpositis tut‿aure 569 Vincis et totidem 570 annosque *for* binosque 571 neme e tribues 573 fluerint annis 574 aequauit 576 quattuor 577 Adp. triplicauit 578 Quatuor 579 herens 580 de ēē tribuet After 580 QVOD · ANNOS · QVAEQ · LOCA · TRIBVANT :– 581, 2 as Jac. 586 nunc tantum templorum 587 uenit 588 p cognita 589 turbatur 591 Quo tenebat 593 Ni duo decidant ad 595 quadragenus inactus 596 olimpa luna 597 Primaque 599 Quoque 601 sequentur 602 duplicant tris 604 Tertia forma et summo 605 Nec tris abstrahat annis 606 sub abequo (*sic*) 607 complent 610 Adc. 611 praecidit 614 temptatum est ter dena remittit 615 Annorum spacia et decum (*cett. om.*) 616 Interius puerum in (*cett. om.*) 617 Inm. trahant natalis corpore morti Then QVAE SINT · TRIPLICIA · SIGNA · ET · QVAS · VIRES · HABEANT 620 tenet 621 adp. quatuor 625 a destinae 627 quarito 629 Tum 630 destringunt 631 Et templum pelagus iactatum 632 morte 633 Scytharam (*sic*) hyemps germinia 634 tellurem (*sic*) fugit in aura 635 Huic 637 Parte ex aduerso 640 legit suplet 641 Tunc figit 643 Stat quinto 644 P. in infectum et simili r. motus 645 luces *for* noctes 650 subc. . 651 ueniat a sidere 652 mici 656 uemus 657 Viribus 659 paritur foedera ducem 660 as Jac. 661 Ex ipsa uiuet a brumae cum tempora uincat 663 inp. muicta[2] 666 Quactuor ut tempora 667 Nequiquam manerē After 668 QVAE · PARTES · IN · QVATVOR · SIGNIS · TROPICE · SINT 671 Qua *for* una 674 Qui 675 urguent 676 gerdenda figuris 677 mundumque mutent 678 Facta mouent 679 flectant reuoluant 680 octauam in parte 681 defluit 682 as Jac.

M · MILNILI ASTRONOMICON LĪB · III · EXPLĪC · INCĪP · IIII ·

ROBINSON ELLIS.

[1] In Denaque the first e is almost an o.

[2] Conceivably for *mulctra*.

(*To be continued.*)

REMARKS ON THE *SUPPLICES* OF EURIPIDES.

SINCE the publication of an admirable critical text in Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's *Analecta Thucydidea*, nobody need wish for a better recension of the *Supplices*. In the senarii, Wilamowitz has left little more than tinker's work for those that come after him. A part of this humble task I shall now attempt to perform before giving a few notes on some passages that appear to me to have been misunderstood by the commentators.

L. 100. ὦ παῖ, γυναῖκες αἵδε μητέρες τέκνων
τῶν κατθανόντων.

W. removes τέκνων, and marks the loss of a foot. We should read νεκρῶν. Both in

prose and verse *νεκρὸς* is often found with *-θνῄσκω*, as Thuc. vii. 87 *τῶν νεκρῶν . . οἳ . . ἀπέθνῃσκον*, and in our passage the word used by Aethra to her son, whose sympathy she wishes to rouse, makes an excellent point.

L. 120. *τούτους θανόντας ἦλθον ἐξαιτῶν πόλιν.*

W. gives *μέτα* for *πόλιν*, with Kaibel. The request was made to Eteocles and the victorious generals, not to Thebes at large. Perhaps *λαβεῖν* is the missing word.

L. 164. *ἄναξ Ἀθηνῶν, ἐν μὲν αἰσχύναις ἔχω πίτνων πρὸς οὖδας γόνυ σὸν ἀμπίσχειν χερί.*

W. notes '*ἔχω* Φ vere. cf. *El.* 238 qui non rectius corrigitur.' In *El.* 238 *ὅπου ζῶσα συμφορᾶς ἔχεις*, the partic. goes with *ἔχω*. In our passage *ἀμπίσχειν* is direct object of *ἔχω*, and the meaning is 'I deem clasping thee . . among disgraces,' such as slavery.

L. 248. *χαίρων ἴθι μὴ γὰρ βεβούλευσαι καλῶς*
αὐτὸς πιέζειν τὴν τύχην ἡμᾶς λίαν.

W. reads with Matthiae in 248 *χαίρων ἴθ· εἰ γὰρ μὴ*, and on 249 writes the sad note 'conclamatus.' The two lines form the close of Theseus' long and sententious speech, and, as we are in the midst of rhetoric, we might well substitute *αἰσχρὸν* for *αὐτός*.

L. 302. *σκοπεῖν κελεύω μὴ σφαλῇς ἀτιμάσας· σφάλλει γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ μόνῳ τἄλλ' εὖ φρονῶν.*

σφάλης for *σφάλλει* Φ. Hence we rearrange 303 thus:

τἄλλ' εὖ φρονῶν γὰρ ἐν μόνῳ τούτῳ 'σφάλης.

L. 321 W. gives
ὁρᾷς, ἄβουλος ὡς κεκερτομημένη
τοῖς κερτομοῦσι γοργὸν † ὡς ἀναβλέπει
σὴ πατρίς.

and notes '*γοργόν*' *ὥς* conjecit *φ.* alii alia. alterum *ὡς* languet.' Read *γόργ' ὁρῶσ'*.

L. 352. *καὶ γὰρ κατέστησ' αὐτὸν εἰς μοναρχίαν*
ἐλευθερώσας τήνδ' ἰσόψηφον πόλιν.

W. gives *κ. γ. κατέστησ' αὐτὸς ἐκ μοναρχίας.* Query *καὶ γὰρ καταστὰς αὐτὸς ἐς μοναρχίαν | ἠλευθέρωσα κ.τ.λ.*

L. 406. *δῆμος δ' ἀνάσσει διαδοχαῖσιν ἐν μέρει*
ἐνιαυσίαισιν, οὐχὶ τῷ πλούτῳ διδοὺς
τὸ πλεῖστον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ πένης ἔχων ἴσον.

W. del. 408. But read *τὸ πλεῖον* (with Elmsley) *ἀλλὰ χὠ πένης ἄρχει 'ν ἴσῳ.*

L. 444. *ἀνὴρ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐχθρὸν ἡγεῖται τόδε,*
καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους †οὓς ἂν ἡγῆται φρονεῖν
κτείνει. W., who notes

'Corrupta haec esse vidit Marklandus. Debebant juvenes nominari.' Read *νέους τ'* for *καὶ τοὺς* and cf. l. 1092 *νεανίαν τεκὼν ἄριστον.*

L. 469. *εἰ δ' ἔστιν ἐν γῇ, πρὶν θεοῦ δῦναι σέλας*
λύσαντα σεμνὰ στεμμάτων †μυστήρια
†τῆσδ' ἐξελαύνειν. So W.

Creon, in sending his message from Thebes to Theseus, could not include an order that Theseus should 'free the mysteries,'—a matter which in no way concerned Creon. The general sense must be 'reject Adrastus' supplication.' L. 470 should be read *θύσαντα σεμνὰ στεμμάτων λυτήρια*, 'offering sacrifices that will release thee from suppliant wreaths.' It was necessary that Creon should answer beforehand the objection that Athens was not in the habit of rejecting suppliants. Cf. l. 38, where Aethra says of Theseus *ὡς ἢ τὸ τούτων λυπρὸν ἐξέλῃ χθονός | ἢ τάσδ' ἀνάγκας ἱκεσίους λύσῃ θεοὺς | ὅσιόν τι δράσας.*

L. 555. *γνόντας οὖν χρεὼν τάδε*
ἀδικουμένους τε μέτρια, μὴ θυμῷ, φέρειν
ἀδικεῖν τε τοιαῦθ' οἷα μὴ βλάψει πόλιν.

L. 557 is sarcastic. Very likely we should read *βλάψει* (pass.) *πάλιν*. If not, the sense is 'such as will not injure (your) city' in the end, by provoking retribution.

L. 587. *μοναμπύκων τε φάλαρα κινεῖσθαι †στόμα*
ἀφρῷ καταστάζοντα †Καδμείαν χθόνα. W.

Clearly *φάλαρα καταστάζει στόμα ἀφρῷ* is nonsense, and the passages cited by Paley in defence of it are quite different. *στόμα* has been confused with *χθόνα*, and we should read *στίχας*, and construct the sentence *στίχας τε μοναμπύκων κινεῖσθαι φάλαρα* ('accus. of respect') *ἀφρῷ καταστάζοντα.*

L. 716. *ὁμοῦ τραχήλους κἀπικείμενον κάρα*
†κινεῖς θερίζων κἀποκαυλίζων ξύλῳ. W.

Markland explains 'heads with helmets on'; but this does not solve the difficulties. *θερίζειν* is a queer word to use of a man who is laying about him with a club, only taking care to hit high; and if you 'reap' a man's neck, you can hardly help 'reaping' his head as well, and the helmet doesn't count. We should read *κυνέας τ' ἐρείκων*. In some cases Theseus smashed to atoms neck, head and helmet: sometimes he merely knocked them off.

L. 878. *τοὺς δ' ἐξαμαρτάνοντας οὐχὶ τὴν πόλιν*
ἤχθαιρ', ἐπεί τοι κοὐδὲν αἰτία πόλις
κακῶς κλύουσα διὰ κυβερνήτην κακόν.

W. marks the loss of a foot after *αἰτία*, and notes 'magis etiam interpolate *αἰτία πέλει* Stobaeus.' But we require a verb of some sort; and it is probably *πονεῖ*, which is supported by *κυβερνήτην*.

L. 899. *πολλοὺς δ' ἐραστὰς κἀπὸ θηλειῶν †ὅσας*
ἔχων ἐφρούρει μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτάνειν. W.

For *ὅσας* read *πόθους*, and we have another case of *ἐρῶ* and *ποθῶ* in proximity.

Ll. 903 *πολλά τ' ἐξευρεῖν σοφά*...908 are regarded by W. as an interpolation. In l. 903 we should read *ἐξηῦρεν*, and in l. 907, for *φιλότιμον ἦθος πλούσιον*, which is nonsense, *φιλότιμον ἦθος πλουσίου* (*sc.* *ἔχων*). In l. 1194 *ἦν δ' ὅρκον ἐκλιπόντες ἔλθωσιν πόλιν*, we should perhaps read *ἐνδῶσιν δόλον*. The words *ἔλθωσιν πόλιν* recur in l. 1208.

Twice in this play the chorus is prevented, by a device common in the Greek drama, from ascending the stage, from which it has descended at the end of the first scene. The second example of this proceeding is quite clear. But the point of the earlier passage, which occurs in the Commos between Adrastus and the chorus, has escaped the commentators. The recovered bodies of the dead heroes having been brought on to the stage, their mothers naturally express from the orchestra a desire to embrace them. The passage runs (l. 815 fol.):—

ΧΟ. *δόθ', ὡς περιπτυχαῖσι δὴ*
χέρας προσαρμόσαιμ' ἐμοῖς
ἐν ἀγκῶσι τέκνα θῶμαι.

818. ΑΔ. *ἔχεις ἔχεις*—ΧΟ. *πημάτων γ' ἅλις βάρος.*
ΑΔ. *αἰαῖ.* ΧΟ. *τοῖς τεκοῦσι δ' οὐ λέγεις.*
ΑΔ. *ἀίετέ μου.* ΧΟ. *στένεις ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν ἄχη.*

It is clear that Adrastus is here answering the mothers from the stage. They ask for their children; but Adrastus does not assent. He puts them off with the words *ἔχεις ἔχεις*, and they at once catch his meaning and fill it up with the words: 'true, I have trouble enough, but I have not my son.' Adrastus meant that it would only increase their sorrow to approach the bodies. It is the very same point that Theseus makes again subsequently when Adrastus thinks there is now no objection (ll. 940 *fol.*). Adrastus continues the lamentation. But the chorus objects: 'but you are disregarding us parents'; that is, you are not giving us the bodies. To this Adrastus retorts: 'listen to me'; that is, 'obey me.' But the mothers take *ἀίετε* in its literal sense only. There is in reality a double sense running through the last two lines. This explanation disposes, by the way, of Nauck's *οὖν λέγεις* for *οὐ λέγεις*.

In l. 187 *πεποίκιλται τρόπους*, applied to Sparta, is a reference to the concealment and diplomacy practised at Sparta as contrasted with the frankness that Pericles claims as characteristic of Athenian *τρόποι*. Mr. Coleridge's rendering, 'her customs variable,' misses the point. Among similar mistranslations comes l. 185 *ἀπαιτεῖ πρὸς χάριν θάψαι νεκρούς*. *πρὸς χάριν* is not 'as a favour' (Col.), nor does it go with *θάψαι* (Paley); but it = *amice*, as Markland translates. It would be idle to quote other adverbial expressions with *πρός*.

Creon's herald delivers his message to Theseus in a remarkable manner, as though he were himself giving the orders—l. 467 *ἐγὼ δ' ἀπαυδῶ κ.τ.λ.*. Is it not probable that *ἐγὼ* means Creon, and that something has been lost denoting 'but my master bids me say this'?

L. 846. *ἓν δ' οὐκ ἐρήσομαί σε, μὴ γέλωτ' ὄφλω,*
ὅτῳ ξυνέστη τῶνδ' ἕκαστος ἐν μάχῃ
ἢ τραῦμα λόγχης πολεμίων ἐδέξατο.

The next ll. to these are regarded as spurious by W. They stand in the MSS.

849 *κοινοὶ γὰρ οὗτοι τῶν τ' ἀκουόντων λόγοι*
καὶ τοῦ λέγοντος, ὅστις ἐν μάχῃ βεβὼς
851 *λόγχης ἰούσης πρόσθεν ὀμμάτων πυκνῆς*
σαφῶς ἀπήγγειλ' ὅστις ἐστὶν ἀγαθός;

This passage refers exclusively to the difficulty of identifying persons in the midst of a battle. There is nothing in it about noticing who displays courage, as Paley supposes. The passage that follows amounts

to a demonstration of this. What appears to me to be fatal to the four lines in question is that they confuse together the actual progress of a battle (850, 1) with the report carried from the field (852). In 849 κοινοὶ means 'commonplace' on the stage, and the remark reminds us of the great scene at the opening of the *Phoenissae*, as well as of Aeschylus. 851 means 'while serried ranks of spearmen pass before his eyes.'

Two pyres are lit for the dead heroes, one for Capaneus, a second for the rest. This action is going on during the singing of the stasimon that begins at l. 955. Hartung wrongly says that both pyres are in sight of the audience. Theseus goes off with the procession before the stasimon is begun, and slaves remain behind to burn Capaneus on the stage. This is certain from l. 940, στειχέτω δ' ἄχθη νεκρῶν, where στειχέτω = 'let them move off,' as usual, and from the reference that Athena afterwards makes to their pyre as lit between Eleusis and Isthmus. But it is also clear that Adrastus is off the stage during the singing of the stasimon and the subsequent scene between Evadne and Iphis. L. 948, where Adrastus says ὅταν δὲ τούσδε προσθῶμεν πυρί, ὀστᾶ προσάξεσθ' (should we read προσίξεσθ'?), is alone enough to prove this. He returns when the boys come in procession into the orchestra, bringing the bones of their fathers to their mothers.

At l. 1075, after Evadne has thrown herself on to the pyre, the chorus exclaims to Iphis,

ἐ ἔ, σχέτλια τάδε παθών,
τὸ πάντολμον ἔργον ὄψει τάλας.

The passage continues:

1077 ΙΦ. οὐκ ἄν τιν' εὕροιτ' ἄλλον ἀθλιώτερον.
ΧΟ. ἰὼ τάλας·
1079 μετέλαχες τύχας Οἰδιπόδα, γέρον, μέρος.

τὸ πάντολμον ἔργον ὄψει is supposed to refer to the fallen body of Evadne, which Iphis will soon see. But Iphis had seen her fall, and could now see nothing further than the mingled ashes of Evadne and Capaneus; and any force that can be extracted from the words on the assumption that they refer to Evadne merely is extremely weak. Probably Euripides intended a wider reference to the story of Oedipus and the resulting strife of Eteocles and Polynices, which produced the πάντολμον ἔργον of the invasion of Thebes, and finally the misery of Iphis. Aeschylus makes Eteocles call Polynices πάντολμος. By ὄψει is meant that Iphis will presently see the mingled ashes of husband and wife, and will thus realise the full meaning of the ἔργον πάντολμον that had begun with Oedipus and resulted in the death of Evadne. ἔργον thus refers to the whole series of troubles. I should connect l. 1075 with l. 1079 in this way:—

ΧΟ. ἐ ἔ, σχέτλια τάδε παθών,
τὸ πάντολμον ἔργον ὄψει· τάλας—
ΙΦ. οὐκ ἄν τιν' εὕροιτ' ἄλλον ἀθλιώτερον—
ΧΟ. ἰὼ τάλας,
μετέλαχες τύχας κ.τ.λ.

E. C. MARCHANT.

ST. MARK IN THE *DIATESSARON*.

THE publication of a version of Tatian's long lost *Diatessaron* (ed. Ciasca, Romae 1888) gives an opportunity of testing some theories about the Gospels and their history. In this note I shall speak chiefly of the Gospel according to St. Mark.

Papias writes on the authority of a certain elder, Μάρκος μὲν ἑρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου γενόμενος ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν. οὐ μέν τοι τάξει τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα. οὔτε γὰρ ἤκουσε τοῦ Κυρίου, οὔτε παρηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ· ὕστερον δέ, ὡς ἔφην, Πέτρῳ, ὃς πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διδασκαλίας. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν Κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λογίων· ὥς τε οὐδὲν ἥμαρτε Μάρκος, οὕτως ἔνια γράψας ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευσεν. ἑνὸς γὰρ ἐποιήσατο πρόνοιαν, τοῦ μηδὲν ὧν ἤκουσε παραλιπεῖν, ἢ ψεύσασθαί τι ἐν αὐτοῖς (Routh *R. R.* i. 13, ed. 2). Briefly, St. Mark wrote ἔνια and οὐ τάξει from his recollections of St. Peter's Gospel teachings, which themselves did not constitute a σύνταξις.

In the opinion of some writers the canonical St. Mark does not answer to this description, and accordingly it is said that some other writing or recension must have been referred to. This however does not at once follow; for it is possible to think with Eusebius that Papias was σφόδρα

σμικρὸς τὸν νοῦν, and so failed to see the discrepancy between the Κατὰ Μάρκον known to him and the supposed description of it. The question is, not whether our St. Mark is actually in good order, but whether Papias could have imagined that it was not. In his work on the *Logia* he may have followed by preference the order of St. Matthew, who (he tells us) τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο.

In Mr. Rushbrooke's *Synopticon* St. Mark occupies the first column and St. Matthew the second, so that, for example, Mark iv. in its order has opposite to it selections from Matt. xii. v. x. xi. vii. vi. xiii. viii. If St. Matthew's order were followed, St. Mark's Gospel would be in corresponding disorder.

Of the *Diatessaron* it has been lately remarked, 'As a rule Tatian strives to follow the order of events contained in St. Matthew's Gospel...In the first eight chapters he seems to appreciate the more accurate chronological arrangement of St. Luke...The value of St. John's Gospel from a harmonistic point of view he does not anywhere seem to have realized. As modern commentators in general consider St. Matthew to have least of all four sought to have reproduced the events of our Lord's life in their chronological order, Tatian's narrative differs very widely from all recent Harmonies in this respect' (Maher). Here St. Mark is not even mentioned as having contributed to the determination of Tatian's order. The substance of his chapters is brought in, at the most a few verses at a time, in the order i.-vi. ix. vi. iii. vi. iii. iv. vi. vii. i. viii.-xii. xi. xii. xiv. xi.-xiv. xiii.-xvi.

The order of the Fourth Gospel is undisturbed from vii. 31 to the end. In one place (T. 34 *sq.*) Tatian's harmony takes from it a sequence of 212 verses from vii. 31, unbroken except by Matt. xxii. 41-46, which supersedes the pericope of the Woman taken in Adultery; and in another place (T. 45 *sq.*) a sequence of 119 verses, broken only by Luke xxii. 35-39. Thus its order enters largely into the framework of the *Diatessaron*, according to the Arabic Version of it as edited by Ciasca.

Modern critics differ as to the value of the order in Κατὰ Μάρκον. Mr. Badham on *The Formation of the Gospels* writes of the Papian St. Mark, 'But above all, it is John the Elder's comment on the *disorder* of this first document that precludes our identifying it with the canonical St. Mark; for the latter is by all appearance the most orderly Gospel we possess. Definite notes of time ...abound.' Dean Alford wrote of the same, 'There is no attempt to bind on one section to another, or to give any sequences of events.'

In the following case Badham and Alford change sides. The one writes, 'But the most striking example of posteriority [in St. Mark] is afforded by a comparison of Matt. xiv. 12, 13 with Mark vi. 30, 31. In St. Matthew the disciples *of the Baptist* come and tell Jesus what has been done *to John*, and Jesus *for the sake of safety* withdraws into privacy. In St. Mark the Apostles, returning from their mission, come and tell Jesus what they themselves have done. And another reason for withdrawal into privacy is suggested—that they may rest after their fatigue...A very slight misapprehension accounts for the process by which Matt. xiv. 12, 13 develops into Mark vi. 30, 31. The reverse process is simply inconceivable.' The other comments thus on Mark vi. 31-34, 'One of the most affecting descriptions in the Gospels...Matt. has a brief compendium of it. Every word and clause is full of the rich recollections of one who saw and felt the whole.' Tatian takes the passage to pieces, giving Mark vi. 30, 31 far away in T. 14, and Mark vi. 33, 34[b] in T. 18 in connexion with the other accounts of the Feeding of the Five Thousand. He must have been fully persuaded that this Gospel was not quite 'in order,' and Papias before him may have been of the same way of thinking.

In respect of τάξις what did Papias and his authorities take as their standard? If Κατὰ Μάρκον came to him as Petrine, it might have seemed that he was bound to honour it as the 'very chiefest' of the Gospels; but he finds that it is neither complete nor in perfect order—in a word, not at all what a Gospel of St. Peter should be. Its meagreness tended to its disuse except for matter peculiar to itself, so that by Tatian and others after him it was cited least in proportion to its length of the four Gospels, and of itself it contributed comparatively little to the order of his *Diatessaron*.

Why was Papias concerned about the τάξις of the Gospels? Possibly he was one of the first of harmonists on a large scale. In his pentateuch of Λογίων Κυριακῶν Ἐξηγήσεις (or -σις) he would have had to think what was the true grouping and sequence of events in places where the Gospels disagreed, and his famous work may have led up to and influenced the structure of the *Diatessaron* of Tatian, and prepared the way for its speedy reception in the East.

C. Taylor.

NOTE ON PLINY *HIST. NAT.* III. 142.

My attention was drawn to this passage by Mr. J. A. R. Munro, in connexion with the recent excavations at Doclea in Montenegro. It contains an account of the political organization of the peoples living around the colony of Salona in Dalmatia. This account is extremely interesting, but at the same time very obscure. Pliny writes:—

Petunt in eam (*i.e.* Salonam) iura viribus discriptis in decurias cccxxxxii Delmatae, xxii Deuri, ccxxxviiii Ditiones, cclxviiii Maezaei, lii Sardeates, &c.

From these words it would seem that five peoples or clans of some kind were reckoned politically under the colony (for the meaning of *petere ius in* see Nettleship's *Contributions to Latin Lexicography* p. 500). It would also seem that these clans were subdivided into smaller groups called *decuriae*; but we are as yet almost entirely without information as to the nature of these, which are unique, so far as we know, in the empire. The words *viribus discriptis* do but increase the difficulty: it would be hard to say exactly what we are to understand by them unless it be that the clans were arranged in this singular way for financial purposes. I have not as yet found a parallel to this use of *vires* in Pliny's account of the empire and its populations. Nor if we read, with some MSS. and editions, (*e.g.* that of Sillig) *iuribus* is the matter made any plainer.

I would suggest that the passage should be read thus:

Petunt in eam iura *V tribus*: discripti in decurias etc.

There is very little difference between VIRIBVS and VTRIBVS; and a copyist, not noticing that the names of five clans were added immediately, may have easily read *viribus*, and then written *discriptis* to suit it, instead of *discripti*, which however is the reading of some MSS. There seems to be no MS. reading besides *viribus* or *iuribus*; at least I can find no mention of any such in the editions of Sillig and Detlefsen. A New College MS. of the twelfth century has plainly *viribus*. The editio princeps has *iuribus*.

It may possibly be objected that *tribus* is an unusual word for a clan, or whatever we are to suppose these divisions were. This is true; but in the first place it is used by Pliny himself a few chapters before in this sense: *Boii quorum tribus CXII. fuisse auctor est Cato* (iii. 116). And secondly it seems appropriate in connexion with the word *decuria*; for the latter must surely mean some artificial division of a larger group, and the larger group itself would in this case more naturally be called by a word like *tribus* signifying an artificial division, rather than by a word like *gens*.[1] There are some indications that the population of this district was extremely primitive, and it may be that the Romans in this case could not adapt the native social organization to their own purposes as they did elsewhere, and were thus driven to use terms of division which are unusual and indicate an organization not based on native groupings. But for further light on this point we must wait for some chance inscription more instructive than *C.I.L.* iii. 2107, which seems to be the only one yet found which bears on the subject: and meanwhile the suggestion made above may possibly contribute to lessen the difficulty.

W. Warde Fowler.

[1] See *e.g.* Verrius Flaccus *ap.* Gell. *N.A.* 18. 7: 'Tribus quoque et decurias dici et pro loco et pro jure et pro hominibus.'

VARIOUS EMENDATIONS.

Plat. *Protag.* 322 A. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ ἄνθρωπος θείας μετέσχε μοίρας, πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ συγγένειαν ζῴων μόνον θεοὺς ἐνόμισε κτέ. The words διὰ τὴν τοῦ θ. συγγέν. are nonsense in this context: nothing is said anywhere about *kinship* with the gods. The text seems to have had originally πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τοῦτο ζῴων μόνον κτέ., in which τοῦτο = τὸ θείας μετασχεῖν μοίρας. The reading of BT, as quoted above, is the result of a thoughtless gloss on τοῦτο.

Thuc. vi. 96, 2. ἐξῄρτηται γὰρ τὸ ἄλλο χωρίον, καὶ μέχρι τῆς πόλεως ἐπικλινές τέ ἐστι καὶ ἐπιφανὲς πᾶν ἔσω· καὶ ὠνόμασται ὑπὸ τῶν

Συρακοσίων διὰ τὸ ἐπιπολῆς τοῦ ἄλλου εἶναι Ἐπιπολαί. Read τὸ ἄ ν ω χωρίον and ἔ σ ω θ ε ν (*i.e.* ἐκ τῆς πόλεως).

Eur. *Ion* 545. I. ἦλθες εἰς νόθον τι λέκτρον; Ξ. μωρίαι γε τ ο ῦ ν έ ο υ. Read μωρίαι γ' ἔ τ' ὢ ν ν έ ο ς.

Eur. *Med.* 364 *sq.*

κακῶς πέπρακται π α ν τ α χ ῇ—τίς ἀντερεῖ;
ἀλλ' οὔτι ταύτῃ τ α ῦ τ α—μὴ δοκεῖτέ πω.

Read π ο λ λ α χ ῇ in 364 and π ά ν τ α in 365. The corruption is of a familiar type.

MORTIMER LAMSON EARLE.

CICERO, *EPIST. AD FAM. XI.* 13.

I DO not know whether it has been noticed that the letter of Dec. Brutus to Cicero (*ad Fam.* xi. 13) appears to consist of fragments of two letters; the one written at or near Pollenza, about May 7, the other written in Savoy, apparently a little after June 6. The first of these letters, of which we get the beginning, breaks off with the words: 'In hoc enim victoriam puto consistere.' The second, of which the beginning is lost, opens with the words: 'In spem venerant.' It may perhaps be suspected that it is also imperfect at the end, as all of this series of letters from Brutus to Cicero have date and place given at the end, which are wanting here. Compare *ad Fam.* xi. 9, xi. 10, xi. 11, xi. 19, xi. 20, 23, xi. 26.

In Schütz's edition this letter (841) is headed 'Scr. Pollentiae Maiò exeunte,' which is clearly incorrect on the face of it. For it was written immediately after an attempt of Anthony on Pollenza, which Brutus had frustrated, while we know from a letter of Plancus (*ad Fam.* x. 17) that Anthony was at Fréjus on May 15. We have also a letter of May 6 from Brutus written 'in finibus Statelliensium' (*ad Fam.* xi. 11), that is in the neighbourhood of Acqui, in which he says: 'In itinere est Antonius; ad Lepidum proficiscitur.' But in the letter before us Brutus informs Cicero that, when he was about thirty miles from Vado, where Anthony was, he heard through his spies that Anthony had addressed his soldiers and asked them to follow him beyond the Alps, for he had come to an agreement with Lepidus; that they however had refused and asked to be led to Pollenza, to which he was forced to consent; that on hearing this he sent five cohorts to occupy Pollenza, who reached it an hour before Trebellius arrived with Anthony's cavalry. Here the fragment breaks off, and we must infer that this check enabled Anthony to persuade his soldiers to follow him into Lepidus' province, so that turning his back on Pollenza he marched to Fréjus, probably by the Col di Tenda, arriving there on the 15th. His brother Lucius had reached the same place with his van-guard a few days before, for Plancus tells us in an undated letter (*ad Fam.* x. 15) that hearing Lucius Anthony had come to Fréjus, he sent on his brother to encounter him, May 11, and in the same letter we learn that he crossed the Isère, May 12. He therefore heard of Lucius' arrival at Fréjus before crossing the Isère, so that it could hardly have taken place later than May 9.

A comparison of these dates would lead one to suppose that Brutus' letter of May 6 was written early in the morning, before he began his march on Vado; that while on the march he was informed that Anthony was about to advance against Pollenza; and that the events described in his letter took place on the same day. If so, as the whole tone of the letter shows it was written immediately after the events described in it took place, we may fairly suppose it written on the 7th or thereabouts.

As regards the second part of the letter, it would at once occur to any one to ask, what the four legions of Plancus had to do in this connexion, and still more how there could be any question of a crossing of the Isère. Moreover it is not at all clear who it is who 'in spem venerant.' The explanation seems to be given by the letter of Plancus (*ad Fam.* x. 23) written at Cularo 'in Allobrogum finibus,' that is in Savoy, and dated June 6, in which he states that he had recrossed the Isère on the 4th and broken down the bridges, and that he expected to be joined by Brutus in three days. When the letter therefore, to which our fragment belongs, was written, the junction had been effected, and we have the key to the whole situation. Those who 'in spem venerant' are Anthony and Lepidus; the army they supposed could not be transported so quickly across the Alps is that of Brutus; the Allobroges who so gallantly held Anthony and Lepidus in

check are the auxiliaries of Plancus, referred to in his letter (*ad Fam.* x. 21) written in the immediate prospect of the junction of Anthony and Lepidus, which took place May 29 (*ad Fam.* x. 23). His words are: 'Huc me venire, et duobus exercitibus coniunctis obicere exercitum fidelissimum, auxilia maxima, principes Galliae, provinciam totam, summae dementiae esse vidi.' Again the 'nobis' by whom the men are sent forward are Brutus and Plancus. For that the junction actually took place we know from the letter of Plancus of July 28 (*ad Fam.* x. 24). I should perhaps add that the letters of Brutus from Ivrea dated May 24 and 25 (*ad Fam.* xi. 20, 23) point to his being then on his way to join Plancus no doubt by Aosta and the Little St. Bernard. He had then suspended his march and resolved for the present to remain in Italy, because of the favourable accounts he had heard of Lepidus' intentions, to which he alludes, but had resumed it on hearing from Plancus of the junction, or impending junction, of Anthony and Lepidus. We have indeed a letter of his (*ad Fam.* xi. 26) dated June 3 from his camp, no doubt written when on the march from Ivrea to join Plancus.

HARBERTON

PHILOLOGICAL NOTES.[1]

X.

(*The Greek Aorist.*)

To conclude the account given in my last paper of the origin of the σ aorist, it remains to discuss the singular group, ἤδη (ἠείδεα) ἦα (ἤϊα) and their pendant ἦ (ἦα). The chief peculiarities of the three forms are: 1. That though they were, as I contend, created from the σ subjunctives of an unthematic indicative, still that indicative was not an aorist, but a present or imperfect, and consequently the derivatives are not aorists but imperfects. 2. That though formed like σ aorists with the terminations of the perfect, yet because ἤδη which set the type for the other two remained in close connection with the one form οἶδα that adhered to the older endings, all three were kept from following the subsequent changes in termination of perfects and σ aorists in general; the more so that neither ἦα nor ἦ had any perfect at their side to influence them. 3. That the σ formation in the better language is restricted to the singular in the first two tenses, the termination of the stem excluding this characteristic in the case of ἦ.

Ἤιδη, as I have said, set the type. I account for its formation in the following way. In pre-historic Greek the pluperfect was not generally needed as a distinct tense. The perfect throughout had both a presential and a narrative meaning; only in the third plural the original ending σ had been differentiated into a presential ασι and a narrative σαν. In the dual and plural this state of things remained substantially unchanged in the time of Homer; μέμαμεν, μέματε, μεμάασι is the present perfect; μέμαμεν, μέματε, μέμασαν is the narrative perfect. The singular however at that time presented a difficulty as it had always done in the case of οἶδα. The perfect singular, at least in many verbs, if my previous explanations are correct, had received in pre-historic Greek the reduplication for the express purpose of emphasizing the presential force of the tense. In ordinary cases the language found a substitute in the employment of the aorist, but whenever it was desired to retain some of the special shades of meaning that were attached to the reduplicated perfect, it was driven to create a new tense. Now the analogy of Latin and some facts in Greek warrant us in assuming that the perfect, like other unthematic forms, had originally an σ subjunctive and optative. Thus we have 1. from vowel stems—in Latin the common tenses amaro, amarim, flero, flerim, &c. (the true formation of which from the stem of the perfect is established by the solitary but well attested monerim)—and in Greek ἑστῶμεν, ἑσταίην for ἑστάσωμεν, ἑστασίην and so τεθναίην and τετλαίην; and 2. from consonantal stems—in Latin cepero ceperim &c., and in Greek εἰδέω, εἰδείην for εἰδέσω, εἰδεσίην

[1] Continued from Vol. VII. p. 292.

with which we may compare δεδιείην. It is no wonder that the examples in Greek should be so few; for when the perfect was used only in one of its special meanings, the subjunctive and optative must have been rarely called for; the instances that exist are from perfects which in sense are simply presents. Hence the common type of these moods easily overpowered the inherited forms. Even εἰδέω, there is some reason to think, had perished from the Homeric dialect in favour of εἴδω (Monro p. 84). But the perfect subjunctive in εω (σέσω) did not disappear without leaving clear traces of its former existence in the singular of the common pluperfect in εα which was formed on the analogy of the σ aorist. In Homer (apart from the exceptional ἐοίκεσαν) there is no plural to this tense. The function is discharged by such persons of the perfect as remained unaffected by what I have called the intrusive α. In fact this intrusive α seems to have had the same power of destroying the narrative sense in the plural as the reduplication had in the singular and, when it became general, required the extension of the ε-α formation to the plural. This was done at a time when all traces of the original σ were lost, and took place on the analogy of δέδια, δεδιμεν, so that from ἐπεποίθεα was got ἐπεποίθεμεν.

That the ε of εα in ᾔδεα did not in the better language spread beyond the singular, is explained by the account that has been given by the post-Homeric plural of the pluperfect. Ἴσμεν (ἴδμεν) and ἴστε, ἴσασι in all dialects over which analogy did not exert an overwhelming force remained without the intrusive α; thus there was no discord between ἴσμεν, ἴστε, ἴσαν and the corresponding forms of the perfect, while the long augment sharply differentiated them. Ἴδεμεν however with ᾔδετε and ᾔδεσαν were no doubt constantly called into existence after the strong and obvious analogy of the pluperfect, but do not appear to have established themselves except when and where ἴσμεν, ἴστε, ἴσασι were wholly or in part supplanted by the similar neologisms οἴδαμεν, οἴδατε, οἴδασι.

The 2nd person must originally have been ἠειδεσθα. If the Homeric ᾔδησθα is correct, which Mr. Monro seems to doubt, it is a contraction from ἠδέασθα with the same intrusive α as in δέδιας or rather, as the accent shows, formed by the addition of θα to an already contracted ᾔδης (ἤειδης). It is at any rate the earlier Attic form and probably arose in that dialect under the influence of the contracted terminations of the pluperfect η, ης, ει. The change was natural in Attic: the stem ἠδε which the language recognized in ᾔδεσθα has nothing in the standard forms of the tense to support it. The retention of the θα is of course due to the connection with οἶδα, which, though obscured in the singular, remained sufficiently evident in the plural. I will return to the later Attic ᾔδεισθα presently.

The discussion of the second member of the group ῆα (ῆϊα) is one of great interest. Brugmann and other eminent philologists denounce the whole singular inflection as it exists in Homer η-ϊα, including ἤϊον &c. as an 'Unform,' and in face of tradition deny its existence. But on the principles I am trying to establish, the formation is in strict agreement with the ordinary methods of the language. I take it to be the indicative with the terminations of the perfect and formed from the σ subjunctive ἴομεν (ἴσομεν), Latin irem, which in its turn comes from the lost imperfect of εἶμι—ῖν, ῖς, ῖ. The long ι instead of the diphthong εἰ may seem surprising. No one has investigated the conditions under which ι becomes in its strong form ει or ῑ respectively. But the only other unthematic stems ending in ι, πι and φθι show the same long vowel under similar circumstance, πῖθι, πῖομαι, and φθῖῃς the subjunctive of the lost ἔφθιν.

The singular of this imperfect disappeared of course as unsubstantial and liable to confusion, but the language contentedly retained the longer dual and plural with the short vowel which were common to the present and imperfect. For the three lost persons a substitute had to be provided. Two ways of doing this lay within the ordinary resources of the language. One was to adopt thematic terminations as in ἔπιον, ἔφθιον; traces of this procedure may perhaps be seen in the κατεῖεν of Hesiod, if the reading is correct, and the Homeric ἴε. A second was to form a new indicative with perfect terminations from the σ subjunctive ἴω (for ἴσω, cf. irem) of the lost ῖν, in which case we should have ῖα, ῖεν. But all the forms so constructed were chargeable though in a less degree with the same fault of indistinctness that caused the disappearance of ῖν. Both sets of inflexions however were rescued from destruction by the use of the long vowel ῑ as an augment. In other words, as a long augment before a vowel indicates the existence of a subsequent digamma, the language substituted for the stem ἰ the synonymous ϝι. Numerous

derivatives from the digammated root are quoted by Maas in the first number of *Indo. Fors.*, and its existence is I imagine universally recognized in the Homeric ἐείσατο, ἐείσασθην, ἐπιείσομαι, ἐπιεισαμένη, καταείσατο. It is strange that a homonym of this ϝι should have left its mark in the inflection of *volo*.

If this contention is correct the new tense must at first have run ἤϊα, ἤϊσθα, ἤϊε. In the 1st and 3rd persons the long ι was shortened before the succeeding vowel; just as the substantive ἤϊα passed into ἤϊα and thence into ᾖα. The 2nd person is not found in Homer. That the early form was not ἤεισθα but ἤϊσθα appears not merely from its origin from ἴω (ἴομεν) and its connection with ἤια, but from a consideration of the laws of contraction. Hϝει passes into η as is clear in ἤδη for ἠϝείδεσα, and consequently if ἤϝεισθα had been the basis, the normal form in Attic would have been ᾖσθα. Now for ᾖσθα from εἶμι there is no external authority though the form has been introduced on conjecture into *Ag.* 511. For ᾖσθα from οἶδα there is the evidence (valeat quantum) of the *Et. Mag* I see no reason to dispute the possible existence of these forms. Individuals would naturally construct them from time to time from ᾖτε, ᾖστε on the obvious but misleading analogy of ἴστε, οἶσθα. But there is nothing to make us believe that the language ever accepted them. In fact if the Attic dialect had ever recognized an inflection ᾖα, ᾖσθα, ᾖεν, ᾖμεν, ᾖτε, ᾖσαν, it would have one of the typical paradigms, and in virtue of its symmetry and regularity would have lasted on, defying attack or modification.

On the other hand ἤϊσθα would remain uncontracted. Two simple long vowels do not contract till by the operation of some phonetic law one or other of them is shortened. Compare νηΐτης. It may be remarked that κλῄς κληδός is no exception. The Attic form is not to be identified with the Homeric κληῖδες, but with κλαΐδες which is to be found both in Simonides and Pindar. On this reasoning the contracted Attic inflection must have been ᾖα, ἤισθα, ᾖεν. Perhaps the first change was from ἤισθα to ἤϊσθα. The change was called for to establish an apparent harmony throughout the tense, and the difference between ηϊ and ηϊ is so minute that it is only here and there represented graphically. Again ᾖεν was too attenuated for common use as a significant word unless it had been protected by the strongest analogy, and a substitute was sought. Now ᾔδη and ᾖα were in close connection in their plurals, the 1st and 2nd persons only differing by a single consonant ᾖσμεν, ᾖμεν, ᾖστε, ᾖτε and the 3rd persons by what was the same thing, the unvoiced σ, in ᾖσαν (from ᾔδη) and the voiced σ in ᾖσαν (from ᾖα). The same relation was extended to the 3rd sing. of ᾖα, and thus ᾖει arose from ᾔδει.

In ᾖει the final of the stem thus became a thematic ε, no longer as in all other persons of tense a simple ι, and this lengthened stem forced its way into the 2nd person sing. which in Greek stands in a peculiarly close relation to the 3rd. Cf. ἐτίθεις, ἐτίθει in spite of ἐτίθην. Thus ᾖϊσθα became ᾖεισθα. The change was facilitated by the exceptional character of ᾖϊσθα, which was the only instance in the whole language of the retention of an unthematic long ι in the indicative. To this consideration we may add the minuteness of the difference in pronunciation between the original form ῑ and its successor ει. The slighter an apparent anomaly is, the less its chance of preservation.

The new ᾖει not only called ἤεισθα into existence, but the combined forces of the two strengthened the connection between the imperfects of οἶδα and εἶμι to such an extent that the language began to treat the structure of the tenses as identical, making the difference to consist in the presence or absence of the medial consonant. Whatever change the one underwent was necessarily extended to the other. Compare two forms which lie outside the present inquiry, ᾔδεσαν, ᾖεσαν. With this felt interdependence of the pair of inflections ᾖεισθα could not but give birth to ᾔδεισθα. Ἤια and ᾔδη naturally offered a longer resistance, but the instinct to identify the accent and the termination of the two was so strong that it eventually destroyed both and substituted ᾖειν and ᾔδειν.

In the coexistence of ᾖεισθα and ᾖει, ᾔδεισθα and ᾔδει we have doubtless to seek the cause of the later modification of the ending of the pluperfect 2nd sing. from ης to εις. When the language had occasion to employ one of these 2nd persons, it followed not tradition and memory, which in the case of words so rarely used must have but little life, but instinctively created a new form from the commoner 3rd person in ει after the type of the more familiar verbs.

Nor is the 3rd pers. ἤϊσαν (ᾖσαν) without importance in the history of Greek grammar. The uncontracted ἤϊα gave birth to ἤϊσαν and the lost ἴα to ἴσαν after the analogy of δέδια to δέδισαν, and in their turn ἤϊσαν and

ἴσαν produced ἴασι after the analogy of δέδισαν to δεδίασι. From the relation of ἤϊσαν, ἴσαν to ἴασι and from no other source, as it seems to me, we have to trace the creation of the common Attic type τίθεασι by the side of ἐτίθεσαν in the place of the Ionic τιθεῖσι (τιθέντι) or the Doric τίθεντι. Whether the Ionic or Doric accent is the older, is a subject of dispute. It has become usual to affirm that the unbroken tradition as to the Ionic form is in error and that we should write τίθεισι. But the external authority is overwhelmingly strong in favour of διδοῦσιν, ἰεῖσι, τιθεῖσι and there are the numerous forms in ῦσι which could not be accented on the first without introducing an improbable confusion between the 3rd sing. and plural. Compare the accentuation of the corresponding participles, διδούς, ἱείς, τιθείς, ζευγνύς. Whether or no the 3rd persons plural of the present and imperfect are, as is generally maintained, cases of the present participle, their identity in form is obvious. It only remains to account for the Doric τίθεντι. The Doric dialect followed the same course with the 3rd pl. pres. of verbs in μι as it did with the same person of the thematic imperfect, *i.e.* it transferred the accent in the 3rd plural to the same vowel as was accented in the 1st and 2nd persons plural.

Ἦ(ἦϊ), ἦσθα, ἦν (ἦεν) are formed on the same principle from the uncontracted subjunctive ἔω, the language in this instance making no distinction between the modal and radical σ. The hereditary form of the imperfect ἦα (ἦσν), ἦσ (ἦσσ), ἦσ (ἦστ) is known from the dialects. But though ἦα is common to the two series of persons, the instinct of the classical language regarded it as having the termination of the perfect and created from it ἦσαν as ἤϊσαν from ἤϊα. The epic ἔασι obviously bears the same relation to ἔσαν as ἴασι to ἴσαν, but, analogical as it is, it never was strong enough to displace so common a word as the inherited εἰσί.

An attempt at a similar formation is found in the Herodotean ἐτίθεας created from ἐτίθεσαν, after the analogy of ἔσαν ἔας. The motive of the change from ἐτίθης apparently was that the termination in ης was felt to be connected with an intransitive meaning. The same motive accounts for the thematic ἐδίδουν, ἐδίδους, ἐδίδου, ἐτίθεις, ἐτίθει, the laws of contraction rendering the Herodotean expedient useless in the Attic dialect.

I have succeeded I hope in giving a consistent and rational account of the apparently anomalous forms which are the subject of this paper. If I have done so, it affords an almost convincing demonstration of the truth of the position that the Greek σ aorist is an indicative formed with the personal suffixes of the perfect from the σ subjunctive of an unthematic stem. For years I was, like other students of Greek Grammar, perplexed and baffled by the formation of ἤϊα, ἤεισθα, ἤει. The comparative philologists yielded no help, Their explanations (see Brugmann's *Greek Grammar*, p. 109) came to nothing more than a statement that the tradition of the language had gone seriously wrong. Even such great Atticists as Dawes and the Headmaster of Westminster conceived that ἤεισθα violated the dialectic law of contraction and denied its existence. But in the light of the theory I am striving to maintain it will be seen that all three persons are regularly formed in accordance with the usual procedure of the Greek language, and, if ἤεισθα had not been attested by manuscripts and grammatical tradition, it would be necessary to suppose its existence as a link in the chain of causes which transformed ἤδησθα into ἤδεισθα and introduced ει into the 2nd person of the pluperfect.

F. W. Walker.

JUVENAL, IV. 116.

I take leave to doubt Mr. S. G. Owen's interpretation of 'dirusque a ponte satelles,' Juv. iv. 116 (*Class. Rev.* vii. p. 401). He says 'it is simpler to understand by *pons* the celebrated causeway.....by which the Appia Via was carried across the foot of the valley below Aricia.' On general questions of Latinity I should not think of engaging with Mr. Owen, but *pons* or 'bridge' I take to imply in either language a passage from one point to another, generally carried on arches or otherwise open at the bottom, certainly detached at both sides. Now the 'causeway' which still remains below La Riccia and the Madonna di Galloro does not in the least correspond to this simile. The road is carried up the side of the steep hill from

the ancient Aricia to the modern Genzano, and where the ascent begins it is for some way buttresed up by a massive wall of stone, so high as to suggest a portion out of a Florentine palace. This no doubt was made necessary partly by the very steep natural slope, which the embankment modified, partly by the watery and half-submerged condition of the Vallericcia. The road however on its inner side is continuous with the hill, and presents no analogy to 'bridge,' 'causeway' or 'viaduct.' A better parallel is a railway embankment carried along a slope, like many that may be seen on Italian and Swiss mountain lines. Similar pieces of the Via Appia embanked with stone substructures may be seen on the descent from Genzano to the Pontine plain, between Genzano and Castel S. Gennaro, and at other places further along, *e.g.* between Fondi and Itri.

Again the carriage is not necessarily 'journeying from Puteoli to Rome.' The Via Appia after climbing from Bovillae to Castra Albana (Albano) descended into the Vallericcia, and up out of this to the modern Genzano. There were two slopes, and no doubt beggars on both. Aricia was the only town for miles along the road, and 'Aricinos axes' would suit either hill. And did beggars encamp upon bridges because they were narrow? I am not aware that they were narrower than roads. The ancient bridge was often a lofty arch, and offered the carriage a *clivus* which it slackened to climb.

T. W. Allen.

By the courtesy of the editor I have been allowed to see Mr. Allen's remarks in the proof. I feel very diffident at finding myself in conflict with such an adept as Mr. Allen on Italian topography; still, in justice to myself, I must say that when I was in Italy last April I made an excursion to Ariccia, with a special view to clearing up this passage in Juvenal; and what I wrote in my article is the result, based on notes taken at the time. It seemed to me that the causeway in question might very well be described as a bridge (*pons*). In support of the testimony of my own eyes I will only add the following quotation from Murray's *Handbook to Rome* (ed. 1888), p. 436; 'About ten minutes' walk from the village, descending into the valley to the S., is the magnificent causeway, 700 feet in length, and about 40 in width, by which the Via Appia was carried across the northern extremity of the Vallariccia: it is built of quadrilateral blocks of peperino, *and is pierced by three arched apertures for the passage of water.* In the deepest part of the valley its height is not less than 40 feet; a short distance from its S.E. extremity is the opening of what appears to be the emissarium of the lake of Nemi, from which flows an abundant and pellucid stream, which carries with it fertility into the subjacent plain of Vallariccia.' The italics are my own. I venture to think that there is here more than an 'analogy' to a 'bridge.' Further, as this causeway slopes from the ridge of the hill towards Ariccia, if the carriage were coming from Puteoli, it would be journeying down (*devexae*).

S. G. Owen.

DORIC FUTURES IN ARISTOPHANES.

The existence, outside the Doric dialect, of a future at once sigmatic and circumflexed is too well established to need proof. The use however of such a future in the best Attic is generally denied, and those instances that occur in Aristophanes are even by the author of the *New Phrynichus*, the one safe guide in all such matters, attributed to the exigencies of metre.

The futures in question are all of the middle voice, and come from roots containing a υ diphthong. They fall naturally into three readily distinguishable groups.

1. φεύγω (φυγγάνω), φεύξομαι or φευξοῦμαι: πυνθάνομαι (πεύθομαι), πεύσομαι or πευσοῦμαι.

2. νέω, νεύσομαι or νευσοῦμαι: πλέω, πλεύσομαι or πλευσοῦμαι: πνέω, πνεύσομαι or πνευσοῦμαι: ῥέω, ῥεύσομαι or ῥευσοῦμαι (and θέω, θεύσομαι, no form θευσοῦμαι actually occurring in our texts, though Stephanus says that it 'citatur ex Thucydide,' while the form ἀποθευσούμεθα is mentioned by a Grammarian in Bekker, 428, 3).

3. καίω, καύσω, or καύσομαι or καυσοῦμαι: κλαίω, κλαιήσω, or κλαύσομαι or κλαυσοῦμαι.

These groups demand separate treatment.

1. With regard to the first group (*φεύγω, πυνθάνομαι*) the metre guarantees *φευξοῦμαι* and its forms in the following five passages of Aristophanes:

(α′) N. 442. *εἴπερ τὰ χρέα διαφευξοῦμαι.*
(β′) Π. 495–6. *ὡς τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων βαδιεῖται κοὐκ ἀπολείψει*
τοὺς δὲ πονηροὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀθέους φευξεῖται· κᾆτα ποιήσει κ.τ.λ.
(γ′) Π. 446–8. *εἰ τὸν θεὸν ἔρημον ἀπολιπόντε ποι φευξούμεθα*
τηνδὶ δεδιότε, μηδὲ διαμαχούμεθα.
(δ′) O. 932. *εἰ μή τι τούτῳ δόντες ἀποφευξούμεθα.*
(ε′) A. 1129. *ἐνορῶ γέροντα δειλίας φευξούμενον.*

That is to say, in all the persons &c. of the future in which the forms of *φευξοῦμαι* differ in quantity from those of *φεύξομαι* (*i.e. φευξοῦμαι, φευξεῖται, φευξούμεθα, φευξούμενος*) the former are metrically established.

On the other hand (except in the case of Σ. 157, as to which *v. infra*) not a single person of *φεύξομαι* is so supported, for in every other instance where the manuscripts present the shorter the metre would equally admit the longer termination.

The list is as follows:

(ς′) A. 203. *ἐγὼ δὲ φεύξομαί γε τοὺς Ἀχαρνέας* (*φευξοῦμαι* R.).
(ζ′) I. 442. * * * * *φεύξει γραφὰς ἑκατονταλάντους τέτταρας.*
(η′) Θ. 1204–6. *σὺ δ' ὅπως ἀνδρικῶς,*
ὅταν λυθῇς τάχιστα, φεύξει καὶ τενεῖς
ὡς τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ παιδί' οἴκαδε.
(θ′) Εκ. 625. *φεύξονται γὰρ τοὺς αἰσχίους, ἐπὶ τοὺς δὲ καλοὺς βαδιοῦνται.*

Now in ς′ the Ravenna manuscript is said to read *φευξοῦμαι*, and while in ζ′ and η′, though no variant occurs, manuscript authority is almost valueless as between *φεύξει* and *φευξεῖ*, there exists in the case of θ′ a special reason for restoring the lost *φευξοῦνται*.

As in the passage from the *Plutus* (γ′) *φευξούμεθα* and *διαμαχούμεθα* are contrasted, and as again in the same play (β′) *βαδιεῖται* and *φευξεῖται* are set in strong opposition, the correspondence in metrical position of the two futures in the latter case being materially emphasized by their common properispomenon termination, so in this line from the *Ecclesiazusae* we are led to look for a similar correspondence or opposition, and can hardly do otherwise than read:

φευξοῦνται γὰρ τοὺς αἰσχίους, ἐπὶ τοὺς δὲ καλοὺς βαδιοῦνται.

It will be observed that in all these passages, the future is that either of the simple *φεύγω* or else of the two compounds *ἀποφεύγω* and *διαφεύγω*, in both of which the final vowel of the preposition is short. But in such a word as *ἐκφεύγω* the first syllable is long, so that had the Attic dialect formed for this compound also a future on the model of *φευξοῦμαι* and *ἀποφευξοῦμαι*, the result would have been a most distasteful sequence of four long syllables. Accordingly, not so much for the sake of metre as of euphony, or rather adopting for the purpose of metre a form already required by euphony, Aristophanes himself prefers in this compound the uncircumflexed inflection as is shown by:

(ι′) Σ. 156–7. *τί δράσετ'; οὐκ ἐκφρήσετ', ὦ μιαρώτατοι,*
δικάσοντά μ'; ἀλλ' ἐκφεύξεται Δρακοντίδης.

These instances, then, show that, except under the circumstances just mentioned, no authority worth the name can be adduced in support of *φεύξομαι* from the Aristophanic writings, and *φευξοῦμαι* holds the field. Nor is the evidence for this conclusion weakened by a comparison of Tragic usage.

The less Attic Tragedians, Aeschylus and Sophocles, do not know *φευξοῦμαι*.

Aesch. *Persae*, 369. *ὡς ει μόρον φευξοίαθ' Ἕλληνες κακόν* (*φευξοίαθ'* might indeed conceivably come from *φευξοῦμαι*).
Aesch. *Supplices*, 456. *ἤκουσα, καὶ λέγοις ἄν· οὔ με φεύξεται.*
Soph. *Oedipus Rex*, 355. *τὸ ῥῆμα; καί που τοῦτο φεύξεσθαι δοκεῖς;*
Soph. *Philoctetes*, 1404. *αἰτίαν δὲ πῶς Ἀχαιῶν φεύξομαι; μὴ φροντίσῃς.*

But the more Attic Tragedian, Euripides, varies between the uncircumflexed and circumflexed forms.

For the former see *Electra* 975, *Heraclidae* 506, *Orestes* 1594: for the latter, *Medea* 338, 341 and 346, *Bacchae* 659, *Helen* 500

and 1041. Of these every instance in either direction is guaranteed by the metre: there are also others where the metre is no guide.

It is worth noticing that in the passage from the *Orestes* (1594):

'οὐ φευξόμεσθα· πυρὶ δ' ἀνάψομεν δόμους'

several manuscripts present the unmetrical φευξούμεθα, and that this variant is characterized by Porson himself as 'too Attic.'

Such being the evidence for φευξοῦμαι, we should naturally expect πυνθάνομαι (πεύθομαι) to form a future πευσοῦμαι in Aristophanes. This form, the existence of which is sufficiently vouched for by the well-known mistake of πευσεῖσθαι for πεύσεσθαι in Aesch. *Prom.* 988, does not occur in our Aristophanic texts.

The instances of πεύσομαι are as follows:

(α′) Π. 40. πεύσει· σαφῶς γὰρ ὁ θεὸς εἶπέ μοι τοδί.
(β′) Εἰ. 67. πεύσεσθ'· ἔφασκε γὰρ πρὸς αὑτὸν ἂν ταδί.
(γ′) Ο. 1120. οὐδεὶς ὅτου πευσόμεθα τἀκεῖ πράγματα.
(δ′) Π. 36. πευσόμενος εἰ χρὴ μεταβαλόντα τοὺς τρόπους.
(ε′) Ο. 250–2. ὧν τ' ἐπὶ πόντιον οἶδμα θαλάσσας
φῦλα μετ' ἀλκυόνεσσι ποτῆται,
δεῦρ' ἴτε πευσόμενοι τὰ νεώτερα.

It is noticeable that in all of these passages, except the last (which is obviously non-Attic and may be put wholly out of account), the forms of πευσοῦμαι may be substituted for those of πεύσομαι without detriment to the metre. It therefore seems more probable than not that this substitution should be made, if we take into account the identity of type of the two verbs. Beside φεύγω and πυνθάνομαι there exist two other formations of the same class, ἐρυγγάνω (ἐρεύγομαι) and τυγχάνω. The future of ἐρυγγάνω (ἐρεύξομαι) appears to occur outside the Old and New Testaments once only in the whole of literature (Hippocrates 8, 100), but τεύξομαι is common, nor is there any trace in any writer or dialect of the existence of a form τευξοῦμαι.

In Aristophanes we have:

I. 112. δέδοιχ' ὅπως μὴ τεύξομαι[1] κακοδαίμονος.

[1] The absurdity of the scholiast's note on this passage suggests that the original reading was διατύχω, in which case τεύξομαι would have no metrical support in Aristophanes, and the positive evidence against τευξοῦμαι would be much weakened.

and N. 435. τεύξει τοίνυν ὧν ἱμείρεις· οὐ γὰρ μεγάλων ἐπιθυμεῖς.

It is at least possible that the total absence of τευξοῦμαι is due in part to the influence of τεύξω, the future of τεύχω, a verb to which τυγχάνω bore somewhat the same relation as *fio* to *facio*.

2. Turning to the second group (θέω, νέω, πλέω, πνέω, ῥέω), we are confronted with the rather singular fact that in Aristophanes neither νέω, πλέω nor ῥέω form a future of any kind, and πνέω once only:

B. 1221. τὸ ληκύθιον γὰρ τοῦτο πνευσεῖται πολύ (πνευσεῖται omnes codices).

The future of θέω occurs twice:

I. 485. θεύσει γὰρ ᾄξας ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον.
O. 205. ἐάνπερ ἐπακούσωσι, θεύσονται δρόμῳ.

From data so doubtful and indecisive no conclusion can be drawn.

3. The third group consists of the two words καίω and κλαίω.

Whatever may have been the usage of later authors, it can be proved that the circumflexed future of these verbs is not Aristophanic.

The middle future of καίω occurs once only in Aristophanes:

Π. 1054. ὥσπερ παλαιά γ' εἰρεσιώνη καύσεται.

καυσοῦμαι is apparently not to be found except in Galen and the Second Epistle of St. Peter.

But κλαυσοῦμαι has intruded itself into the Aristophanic text:

(α′) Εἰ. 1277. ἀνδρῶν οἰμωγή; κλαυσεῖ νὴ τὸν Διόνυσον.
(β′) Ο. 342. κάρτα· πῶς κλαυσεῖ γὰρ, ἢν ἅπαξ γε τὠφθαλμὼ 'κκοπῇς;
(γ′) Θ. 1187. καλό γε τὸ πυγή. κλαυσεῖ γ', ἂν μὴ 'νδον μένῃς.
(δ′) Εἰ. 1080–2. ἀλλὰ τί χρῆν ἡμᾶς; οὐ παύσασθαι πολεμοῦντας;
ἢ διακαυνιάσαι πότεροι κλαυσούμεθα μείζω,
ἐξὸν σπεισαμένοις κοινῇ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄρχειν;

In α′, β′ and γ′ the manuscripts vary between κλαυσεῖ and κλαύσει: in δ′ all the manuscripts read κλαυσούμεθα, except the Ravenna, which presents κλαυσούμεσθα. γ′ may at once be put on one side, as

κλαυσεῖ (equally with κλαύσει) is unmetrical. A Scythian is speaking, and the true reading is clearly κλαῦσι, as is seen from comparing

Θ. 1216. οἴμοι, τί δρᾶσι; ποῖ τὸ γρᾴδιο;

κλαύσομαι and its forms occur twelve times in the received text:

(ε′) N. 58. ΣΤ. δεῦρ' ἔλθ', ἵνα κλάῃς. ΘΕ. διὰ τί δῆτα κλαύσομαι;
(ς′) Εἰ. 262. ἔγωγε, νὴ Δί'· εἰ δὲ μή γε, κλαύσομαι.
(ζ′) Π. 572. ἀτὰρ οὐχ ἧττόν γ οὐδὲν κλαύσει· μηδὲν ταύτῃ γε κομήσῃς.
(η′) N. 933. κλαύσει, τὴν χεῖρ' ἣν ἐπιβάλλῃς.
(θ′) Εἰ. 255. ΠΟ. παῖ παῖ Κυδοιμέ. ΚΥ. τί με καλεῖς; ΠΟ. κλαύσει μακρά.
(ι′) Λ. 505. ΠΡ. ὑπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς αὐτὰς ἴσχειν. ΓΥ. κλαύσει τοίνυν πολὺ μᾶλλον.
(ια′) Θ. 916–7. ΜΝ. λαβὼν ταχὺ πάνυ. ΓΥ. κλαύσετ' ἄρα νὴ τὼ θεώ,
ὅστις σ' ἀπάξει τυπτόμενος τῇ λαμπάδι.
(ιβ′) Π. 174. ὁ Πάμφιλος δ' οὐχὶ διὰ τοῦτον κλαύσεται;
(ιγ′) Π. 425. ΧΡ. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔχει γὰρ δᾷδας. ΒΛ. οὐκοῦν κλαύσεται.
(ιδ′) Β. 1209. τουτὶ τί ἦν τὸ ληκύθιον; οὐ κλαύσεται;
(ιε′) Λ. 435–6. εἰ τἄρα νὴ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν τὴν χεῖρά μοι
ἄκραν προσοίσει, δημόσιος ὢν, κλαύσεται.
(ις) Σ. 1327–8. κλαύσεταί τις τῶν ὄπισθεν ἐπακολουθούντων ἐμοί.

Though in ε′ and ς′ the true reading may perhaps be διὰ τί δὴ κεκλαύσεται; and εἰ δὲ μὴ, κεκλαύσεται, as in the former passage, several manuscripts present an unmetrical δὴ for δῆτα, and in the latter γε has not much meaning, yet such instances as ιβ′ and ιε′ are alone sufficient to stamp κλαύσομαι as the true Aristophanic form.

Hence in α′ and β′ we need have no hesitation in reading κλαύσει paroxytone. In δ′ the *New Phrynichus* admits κλαυσούμεθα as a true reading, on the ground that the passage is non-Attic. It is true that in the immediate neighbourhood avowedly non-Attic passages occur, but it may be urged that there is no obvious reason for regarding the three lines spoken by Trygaeus as anything but pure Attic, except the occurrence in them of the word διακαυνιάσαι, than which in reality nothing could be more Athenian.

Compare:
Aristoph. *Fr.* 543. πόσος ἔσθ' ὁ καῦνος;

and the no less Attic

Cratinus, *Pytina Fr.* ἀπὸ ποτέρου τὸν καῦνὸν ἀριθμήσεις;

It can therefore be hardly doubted that for κλαυσούμεθα we ought to substitute the regular future optative κλαυσοίμεθα, which is at once required by the more strictly normal consecution and presents no difficulty of form. We thus may safely conclude that the circumflexed future of κλαίω, like the uncircumflexed future of φεύγω, was unknown to the comic dialect of Aristophanes.

Outside the three groups already mentioned, and not sharing in the one characteristic common to the three, a υ diphthong, are two verbs that nevertheless appear at first sight to form middle futures at once sigmatic and circumflexed, πίπτω, and χέζω.

But πεσοῦμαι, which, it should be remarked, does not occur in Aristophanes, stands, as is generally admitted, for πετέομαι (πετέσομαι), so that the *sigma* is not a part of the future termination but a modification of the *tau* of the root under the influence of the so-called indeterminate vowel which in this respect resembles an *iota*. ἔχεσον (instead of ἔχεσα) and χεσοῦμαι (instead of χέσομαι) are usually considered to be modelled on ἔπεσον and πεσοῦμαι. Not only is it difficult to find in the other tenses of the two verbs any similarity sufficient to serve as the basis for such an analogical formation, but a consideration of the circumstances under which the forms are alleged to occur casts considerable doubt upon their authenticity.

In the first place it is clear that the normal aorist of χέζω in Aristophanes was ἔχεσα.

Putting aside two forms, κατέχεσεν and χέσῃ,

N. 173. ἀπὸ τῆς ὀροφῆς νύκτωρ γαλεώτης κατέχεσεν.
Εἰ. 24–5. ὃς μὲν γὰρ, ὅ, τι περ ἂν χέσῃ τις, ἢ κύων
φαύλως ἐρείδει τοῦθ'· ὁ δ' ὑπὸ φρονήματος κ.τ.λ.

which might come either from the first or second aorist, we find:

Εκ. 347. ἵνα μὴ 'γχέσαιμ' ἐς τὴν σισύραν· φανὴ γὰρ ἦν.

Εκ. 808. πρότερον χέσαι πλεῖν ἢ τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας.

Εκ. 320. ἀλλ' ἐν καθαρῷ ποῦ ποῦ τις ἂν χέσας τυχοι;

Ν. 174. ἥσθην γαλεώτῃ καταχέσαντι Σωκράτους.

and:

Ι. 1057. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν μαχέσαιτο· χέσαιτο γὰρ, εἰ μαχέσαιτο.

χεσεῖν appears once only:

Θ. 570. τὸν σησαμοῦνθ' ὃν κατέφαγες, τοῦτον χεσεῖν ποιήσω.

Both Herodian and Choeroboscus attribute a form ἔχεσον to Alcaeus the Comedian, neither to Aristophanes. But a grammarian in Cramer's *Anecdota* (i. 176, 19) states that Aristophanes similarly used χεσεῖν. Probably both Alcaeus and Aristophanes had been corrupted, owing to the similarity of ἔπεσον, πεσεῖν, which must have proved a pitfall for copyists. The fragment of Alcaeus is:

Ganymedes Fr. κατέχεσον τῆς Νηρηΐδος

which will not scan. It probably should run:

κατέχεσα τῆς Νηρῇδος.

The χεσεῖν in Θ. 570, having even less authority, ought almost certainly to be changed to χέσαι, an emendation originally proposed by Dobree. If, as some have maintained, both the first and second aorists existed side by side, the Attic usage in the case of εἶπον and ἤνεγκον shows that the conjugation would have been ἔχεσον, ἔχεσας, ἔχεσε, ἐχέσατον, ἐχεσάτην, ἐχέσομεν, ἐχέσατε, ἔχεσον, χέσω, χέσοιμι, χέσε, χεσεῖν, χεσών, but the existence of χέσαιμι and χέσας sufficiently disproves such a supposition.

If then Aristophanes did not admit the analogy of πίπτω in the aorist, it is difficult to imagine that he did so in the future.

χέσομαι is preserved to us in Aristoph. *Fr.* 207 (*apud* Pollux vi. 111): τότε μέν σου κατεκοττάβιζον, νυνὶ δὲ κατεμοῦσι, τάχα δ' εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ καταχέσονται.

Elsewhere χεσοῦμαι appears:

Εἰ. 1235. ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ δεκάμνῳ χεσεῖ καθήμενος.

Εκ. 1062. ΝΕ. ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους. ΓΡ. θάῤῥει, βάδιζ'· ἔνδον χεσεῖ.

Λ. 440. τὴν χεῖρ' ἐπιβαλεῖς, ἐπιχεσεῖ πατούμενος.

Λ. 441. ἰδού γ' ἐπιχεσεῖ. ποῦ 'στιν ἕτερος τοξότης.

Εκ. 640. ἄγχουσι, τί δῆθ', ὅταν ἀγνὼς ᾖ; πῶς οὔ τότε κἀπιχεσοῦνται;

Σ. 941. τοῦτον δέ γ' οἶμ' ἐγὼ χεσεῖσθαι τήμερον.

The restoration of χέσει, χέσονται, χέσεσθαι is obvious.

In short, forms of the antecedently improbable ἔχεσον and χεσοῦμαι are presented six times in the Aristophanic text. Neither these forms nor the equal number of those that occur from ἔχεσα, χέσομαι, are guaranteed by the metre, but four of the former disappear if we merely change the accent, and the two remaining if we make a very insignificant alteration. Consequently we may safely say that ἔχεσον and χεσοῦμαι are not sufficiently supported.

It is now possible with some certainty to assign to the various verbs their Aristophanic futures: φεύγω, φευξοῦμαι; ἐρυγγάνω, ἐρευξοῦμαι; πυνθάνομαι, πευσοῦμαι; τυγχάνω, τεύξομαι; καίω, καύσομαι; κλαίω, κλαύσομαι; χέζω, χέσομαι. In the cases of θέω, νέω, πλέω, πνέω, ῥέω the data do not warrant a conclusion.

If it is of any use to investigate origins, it seems probable that the circumflexed forms are, like the Homeric ἐσσεῖται, survivals from a time when the inherited future, which we call Doric, had not been as yet discarded by the sister dialects. Attic lost it in all but a few words. In these it was kept because of the digamma of the root. The sequence -(ϝ)υ was as distasteful in φεύξομαι as in βασιλῆϝος. Hence φευξοῦμαι was not displaced.

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PROTHETIC VOWELS, OR ERRORS IN WRITING?

In the fragment of the preamble to Diocletian's Edict *De Pretiis Rerum Venalium*, discovered at Plataea in 1889, during the excavations by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, the following forms occur: *debacchanidi* (line 10), *idirigi* (45), and *idepraedatores* (51). In the publication of the inscription by Professor

Tarbell and myself in the *American Journal of Archaeology* (vol. v., No. 4, pp. 428 fol.; afterwards reprinted in vol. v. of papers of the American School at Athens) the three forms are explained in the same way; '*d* was probably mistaken for *i*, and the mistake at once discovered.'

This view is supported by the form *detestaniam* (11) where *i* seems to be written for *d* (I say 'seems to be' for the reason given below), and by *tconferatur* (18), where *t* is written for *c*, and the mistake corrected without the erasure of the *t*; and as the inscription abounds in flagrant blunders, it is possibly the safest explanation.

But on the other hand we have the inherent improbability of three errors of precisely the same kind within forty lines (four, if *detestaniam* be counted); the slight resemblance of the forms used in the inscription for *d* and for *i* (ȣ, ᵈ, Δ, Δ̀; I, ⊲ twice), whereas the forms for *c* and *t* are so nearly alike as to be readily mistaken for each other (C, C̄); and finally, the possibility of a different explanation. The form *detestaniam* may be thrown into this side of the scale, by supposing that the stone-cutter intended to write *detestanidam* (cf. *debacchanidi*), but omitted the *d*, a supposition which is perhaps not an unreasonable one.

A phonetic explanation of the three forms seems possible. In *idirigi* and *idepraedatores* we may have examples of the prothetic vowel. This phenomenon, foreign to the language until the second century of our era, is of general occurrence only before the groups *sc-*, *sm-*, *sp-*, and *st-*, but the following isolated exceptions are noted by Seelmann (*Die Aussprache des Latein*, p. 318): *ibrittiorum*, I. R. N. 109; *imelissianus*, Le Blant, I. G., 74; *ilocus*, Mai, I. Chr., 369, 5; *ifilia*, Muratori, 1939, 3.

King and Cookson (*Sounds and Inflections in Greek and Latin*, p. 196) suggest that prothetic vowels 'may have originally occurred in many cases only where the preceding word ended with a consonant, after which an initial group of consonants would be difficult to pronounce.' This is the case with *idirigi*, which is preceded by *nostros*, but not with *idepraedatores*, which is preceded by *quo*.

On the whole it would seem that *idirigi* and *idepraedatores* belong to the same category as the isolated examples cited by Seelmann; that all are errors in writing, or that all are exceptional examples of prothetic vowels due to individual peculiarities of pronunciation. To me the latter view seems the more reasonable; it is certainly odd that errors in writing of this same kind should occur in widely separated places, all falling within the period of prothetic vowels before *sc-*, *sm-*, *sp-*, and *st-*; moreover prothetic vowels are frequently heard in ordinary conversation with us, and are a very natural phenomenon.

In the same way the *i* in *debacchanidi* might be explained as an irrational vowel, inserted for ease of pronunciation 'e prava provincialium consuetudine' (*C. I. G.* 4, p. 434).

The versions of the preamble found in Egypt and in Stratonice, as might be expected, show no *i* in these words.

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CRITICAL NOTES ON THE *REPUBLIC* OF PLATO.

(*Continued from Vol. VII. p.* 352.)

484 A. οἱ μὲν δὴ φιλόσοφοι...καὶ οἱ μὴ διὰ μακροῦ τινὸς διεξελθόντος λόγου μόγις πως ἀνεφάνησαν οἵ εἰσιν ἑκάτεροι.

Neither διεξελθόντος nor the much less well supported διεξελθόντες can stand for a moment. Διεξελθοῦσι, written perhaps with an abbreviated termination, has been 'accommodated' to the genitives on either side of it. Διεξελθόντες is a poor attempt at correction.

485 E. ὅταν κρίνειν μέλλῃς. After μέλλω Plato prefers the future (cf. two lines below, μελλούσῃ ἐπορέξεσθαι), though he also uses the present. Here and in 409 A it may be better to write κρινεῖν. So Bekker κρινεῖ for κρίνει in 582 D.

486 B. ἐπισκέψει εἰ ἄρα δικαία τε καὶ ἥμερος ἢ δυσκοινώνητος καὶ ἀγρία. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν. Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τόδε παραλείψεις, ὡς ἐγῷμαι. Τὸ ποῖον; Εὐμαθὴς ἢ δυσμαθής. Before the ευ in εὐμαθὴς an εἰ has probably dropped out; or has ποῖον caused the loss of πότερον?

487 B. ἡγοῦνται...παρ' ἕκαστον τὸ ἐρώτημα σμικρὸν παραγόμενοι ἀθροισθέντων τῶν σμικρῶν ἐπὶ τελευτῆς τῶν λόγων μέγα τὸ σφάλμα καὶ ἐναντίον τοῖς πρώτοις ἀναφαίνεσθαι.

A gross anacoluthon may be avoided by the trifling change of παραγόμενοι to παραγομένοις.

488 A. νόησον γὰρ τοιουτονὶ γενόμενον εἴτε πολλῶν νεῶν πέρι εἴτε μιᾶς. Read γιγνόμενον. The participles following in apposition to this are all in the present tense, and the situation is summed up in 488 E by the words τοιούτων δὲ περὶ τὰς ναῦς γιγνομένων. Cf. note on 330 C. The same correction should perhaps be made in 574 E.

488 C. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐπαινοῦντας ναυτικὸν μὲν καλοῦντας καὶ κυβερνητικὸν...ὃς ἂν ξυλλαμβάνειν δεινὸς ᾖ...τὸν δὲ μὴ τοιοῦτον ψέγοντας ὡς ἄχρηστον. Cobet wished to omit ἐπαινοῦντας, but ψέγοντας supports it, and the faulty μὲν may be cured by reading μὲν ναυτικόν instead of ναυτικὸν μέν.

488 D. τοῦ δὲ ἀληθινοῦ κυβερνήτου πέρι μηδ' ἐπαίοντας, ὅτι ἀνάγκη αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖσθαι ἐνιαυτοῦ, καὶ ὥρων κ.τ.λ. εἰ μέλλει τῷ ὄντι νεὼς ἀρχικὸς ἔσεσθαι· ὅπως δὲ κυβερνήσει ἐάν τέ τινες βούλωνται ἐάν τε μή, μήτε τέχνην τούτου μήτε μελέτην οἰομένους δυνατὸν εἶναι λαβεῖν ἅμα καὶ τὴν κυβερνητικήν.

Almost all MSS. (including A) have the nominatives ἐπαίοντες and οἰόμενοι, but the accusatives are now generally, and I think rightly, accepted. Prof. H. Sidgwick has pointed out (*Journal of Philology*, v. p. 274) that the sense of the latter part of this passage is extremely faulty. It attributes to the crew in general the true opinion, not at all natural to them, that a man can never learn the art of inducing or forcing other people to accept him as steersman at the same time that he learns the art of steering. [Of course the κυβερνήτης was more than a mere steersman]. This is a truth which they who know nothing about the true steersman would certainly not understand. Aristotle also (*Politics* 4, 2, 13) states it, or something like it, probably with a recollection of this passage: οὔτε γὰρ τοῦ ἰατροῦ οὔτε τοῦ κυβερνήτου ἔργον ἐστὶ τὸ ἢ πεῖσαι ἢ βιάσασθαι τοῦ μὲν τοὺς θεραπευομένους τοῦ δὲ τοὺς πλωτῆρας. But the ignorant and self-confident sailors are the last people in the world to admit the principle, and 488 C (ὃς ἂν ξυλλαμβάνειν κ.τ.λ.) has in point of fact almost ascribed to them the opposite belief. It is however impossible to accede to Prof. Sidgwick's proposal to read οἰομένῳ for οἰομένους. The sentence would be most clumsy in form, nor is it to the point what the true steersman thinks. Plato is describing the state of mind of the crew, (ἐπαινοῦντας, ψέγοντας, ἐπαίοντας, οἰομένους). The simple remedy for the corruption of the text is, I think, to read ἀδύνατον for δυνατόν. The crew deem it by no means as impossible as it really is that, while a man acquires κυβερνητική, he should at the same time acquire this other art, whether it is an art proper or only a knack got by practice. [Or do τέχνη and μελέτη mean the theoretical and practical parts of the art?] Grote's usual good sense showed him that this was the meaning required, but he seems not to have seen that it could not be extracted from the Greek. See his *Plato*, vol. III. p. 80.

489 A. τὸν θαυμάζοντα...πειρῶ πείθειν, ὅτι πολὺ ἂν θαυμαστότερον ἦν, εἰ ἐτιμῶντο. Ἀλλὰ διδάξω, ἔφη. Καὶ ὅτι τοίνυν τἀληθῆ λέγει, ὡς κ.τ.λ.

Τοίνυν is used as a connecting word (*e.g.* τἀληθῆ τοίνυν λέγει), but is it ever used as here? Perhaps it is an error for τοι, as in 343 A ὅτι τοί σε κορυζῶντα περιορᾷ, and elsewhere.

490 C. Ἡγουμένης δὴ ἀληθείας οὐκ ἄν ποτε, οἶμαι, φαῖμεν αὐτῇ χορὸν κακῶν ἀκολουθῆσαι.

Goodwin (*Moods and Tenses*, § 159) cites this as an example of a 'gnomic aorist' in the infinitive. I think there is no doubt that we should read ἀκολουθήσειν, like the future tense μετέσται just preceding.

490 D. ὅτι πᾶς μὲν ἀναγκασθήσεται ὁμολογεῖν οἷς λέγομεν, ἐάσας δὲ τοὺς λόγους, εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀποβλέψας περὶ ὧν ὁ λόγος, φαίη ὁρᾶν κ.τ.λ.

It is strange that editors have acquiesced so long in φαίη after ἀναγκασθήσεται. The future tense would be enough in itself to show that Plato wrote φαίη <ἄν>: but, as a matter of fact, he is repeating the words of 487 C νῦν γὰρ φαίη ἄν τις...ὁρᾶν κ.τ.λ.

491 A. τόδε μὲν οὖν, οἶμαι, πᾶς ἡμῖν ὁμολογήσει, τοιαύτην ψυχὴν...ὀλιγάκις ἐν ἀνθρώποις φύεσθαι καὶ ὀλίγας, ἢ οὐκ οἴει; Σφόδρα γε. Τούτων δὴ τῶν ὀλίγων σκόπει ὡς πολλοὶ ὄλεθροι καὶ μεγάλοι.

For the ungrammatical ὀλίγας read ὀλίγοις, comparing note on 425 A for the corruption of οι to α. ὀλίγοις is implied in τούτων τῶν ὀλίγων following. Cf. Ar. *Eth.* vii 9. 1151 b 30 διὰ τὸ τὴν ἑτέραν ἐν ὀλίγοις καὶ ὀλιγάκις εἶναι φανεράν. Stephanus proposed ἐν ὀλίγοις here; if ἐν is necessary, as perhaps it is, we might read κἀν ὀλίγοις. καί and κἄν or κἀν are several times confused in the *Republic*.

491 D. εἴτε ἐγγείων εἴτε τῶν ζῴων. Τῶν should probably be omitted before ζῴων or added before ἐγγείων. Cf. 546 A οὐ μόνον

φυτοῖς ἐγγείοις ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἐπιγείοις ζῴοις. See however Riddell § 240.

492 C. ἢ ποίαν ἂν αὐτῷ παιδείαν ἰδιωτικὴν ἀνθέξειν (οἴει);

If ἄν is not a mere dittography, it may not improbably be a corruption of δή: see note on 472 D.

492 E. οὔτε γὰρ γίγνεται οὔτε γέγονεν οὐδὲ οὖν μὴ γένηται ἀλλοῖον ἦθος πρὸς ἀρετὴν παρὰ τὴν τούτων παιδείαν πεπαιδευμένον, ἀνθρώπειον, ὦ ἑταῖρε· θεῖον μέντοι κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν ἐξαιρῶμεν λόγου.

If this be translated 'another type of character, trained to virtue independently of them,' the statement is surely strange in the mouth of the Platonic Socrates, who is actually proposing to form another type by another training. It would be unreasonable to say that his guardians are to be preserved by a θεοῦ μοῖρα and therefore do not fall under the rule. What he says of the θεοῦ μοῖρα applies to the 'present constitution' (ἐν τοιαύτῃ καταστάσει) of states, but there is no such limitation in οὔτε γὰρ γίγνεται κ.τ.λ. He would be asserting that under no circumstances can a different type be formed by training.

Stallbaum translates παρά by 'juxta' (Davies and Vaughan 'in close contact with'), but παρά obviously would mean not this but 'besides,' or rather 'in contrariety to,' as in 529 C etc. The sense 'because of' is inadmissible, as παρὰ τὴν τούτων παιδείαν must go with πεπαιδευμένον.

For ἀλλοῖον suggestions of τέλεον and ἀξιόλογον have been made. Baiter inclines to the latter. Neither however is sufficient to make good sense of the passage. I strongly suspect that Plato wrote οὐδὲ οὖν μὴ γένηται ἀληθινὸν ἦθος πρὸς ἀρετὴν κατὰ τὴν τούτων παιδείαν πεπαιδευμένον. For ἀληθινόν, which occurs often in this part of the *Republic*, cf. *Critias*, 121 B, ἀληθινὸν πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν βίον. When ἀληθινόν had been corrupted to ἀλλοῖον, κατά may have been changed to παρά in an unsuccessful attempt to make sense of the passage.

493 D. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ.....ἡ Διομηδεία λεγομένη ἀνάγκη ποιεῖν αὐτῷ ταῦτα ἃ ἂν οὗτοι ἐπαινῶσιν.

There is nothing to govern ὅτι. Unless something has been accidentally omitted, we might read ἔστι μὲν γάρ.

494 D. ἆρ' εὐπετὲς οἴει εἶναι εἰσακοῦσαι διὰ τοσούτων κακῶν; Πολλοῦ γε δεῖ, ἦ δ' ὅς. Ἐὰν δ' οὖν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, διὰ τὸ εὖ πεφυκέναι καὶ τὸ ξυγγενὲς τῶν λόγων εἷς αἰσθάνηταί τέ πῃ καὶ κάμπτηται κ.τ.λ.

Εἷς or εἷς <τις> can hardly be right, because the subject of the verbs is given in the preceding sentence, τῷ οὕτω διατιθεμένῳ. Madvig εἴσω. Is it too rash to suggest εἰσακούων or εἰσακούσας?

494 E. οὐ πᾶν μὲν ἔργον, πᾶν δ' ἔπος λέγοντάς τε καὶ πράττοντας.

There is no possible construction for the participles. Insert διατελεῖν before or after λέγοντάς τε καὶ πράττοντας.

496 D. οἷον ἐν χειμῶνι κονιορτοῦ καὶ ζάλης ὑπὸ πνεύματος φερομένου ὑπὸ τειχίον ἀποστάς.

Read ἐν χειμῶνι καὶ κονιορτοῦ ζάλῃ, or ζάλῃ κονιορτοῦ. I doubt whether χειμὼν κονιορτοῦ is Greek, for δορὸς ἐν χειμῶνι (Soph. *Ant.* 670) is both poetical and different; and the writers of the imitative passages given in Stallbaum's note evidently found the genitive governed by ζάλῃ in their texts.

498 B. προϊούσης δε τῆς ἡλικίας, ἐν ᾗ ἡ ψυχὴ τελειοῦσθαι ἄρχεται.

Ἐν ᾗ is plainly a blunder for ἐν ᾧ, corresponding to the ἐν ᾧ βλαστάνει τε καὶ ἀνδροῦται (τὰ σώματα) just preceding. Ἡ ἡλικία is 'their years,' not any particular time of life.

500 A. 'The multitude will not be so hostile, if you explain to them who the genuine philosophers are,' ἵνα μὴ ἡγῶνταί σε λέγειν οὓς αὐτοὶ οἴονται, ἢ καὶ ἐὰν οὕτω θεῶνται, ἀλλοίαν κ.τ.λ.

The words following ἀλλοίαν are very doubtful, but with them I am not now concerned. Ἐὰν οὕτω θεῶνται can scarcely be right. The expression is unsuitable to the meaning required, nor does θεῶνται seem proper, even if we altered οὕτω. I believe Plato wrote αἴσθωνται. Cf. the words a little farther on (500 D) ἀλλ' ἐὰν δὴ αἴσθωνται οἱ πολλοὶ ὅτι ἀληθῆ περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγομεν and again (E) οὐ χαλεπανοῦσιν, ἦ δ' ὅς, ἐάνπερ αἴσθωνται. Perhaps we may read καὶ ἐὰν τοῦτ' αἴσθωνται, and suppose τουταις to have turned into οὕτως.

501 A. ἀλλ' οὖν οἶσθ' ὅτι τούτῳ ἂν εὐθὺς τῶν ἄλλων διενέγκοιεν, τῷ μήτε ἰδιώτου μήτε πόλεως ἐθελῆσαι ἂν ἅψασθαι μηδὲ γράφειν νόμους πρὶν ἢ παραλαβεῖν καθαρὰν (πίνακα) ἢ αὐτοὶ ποιῆσαι.

Baiter μηδ' ἐγγράφειν νόμους after Cobet. It would perhaps be better to omit μηδὲ—νόμους altogether, for the words involve a most awkward and inartistic confusion of the figure (painting) with the thing figured (legislation). Ἐγγράφειν, as far as I can see, only makes the matter worse by actually supposing laws to be put into the picture.

501 E. Ἔτι οὖν ἀγριανοῦσι λεγόντων ἡμῶν ὅτι κ.τ.λ.; Ἴσως, ἔφη, ἧττον. Βούλει οὖν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, μὴ ἧττον φῶμεν αὐτοὺς ἀλλά παντάπασι πράους γεγονέναι καὶ πεπεῖσθαι.

Surely ἀγρίους or ἀγριαίνειν should be inserted to go with μὴ ἧττον.

502 A. τοῦδε δὲ πέρι τις ἀμφισβητήσει ὡς οὐκ ἂν τύχοιεν γενόμενοι βασιλέων ἔκγονοι ἢ δυναστῶν τὰς φύσεις φιλόσοφοι; Οὐδ' ἂν εἷς, ἔφη. Τοιούτους δὲ γενομένους ὡς πολλὴ ἀνάγκη διαφθαρῆναι, ἔχει τις λέγειν; ὡς μὲν γὰρ χαλεπὸν σωθῆναι, καὶ ἡμεῖς ξυγχωροῦμεν· ὡς δὲ ἐν παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ τῶν πάντων οὐδέποτε οὐδ' ἂν εἷς σωθείη, ἔσθ' ὅστις ἀμφισβητήσει; Καὶ πῶς; Ἀλλὰ μήν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, εἷς ἱκανὸς γενόμενος, πόλιν ἔχων πειθομένην, πάντ' ἐπιτελέσαι τὰ νῦν ἀπιστούμενα.

The argument of this passage with its sharp distinction between γενέσθαι and σωθῆναι necessitates the conclusion that in the final sentence we should read εἷς ἱκανὸς <σῶς> γενόμενος, or εἷς ἱκανὸς γενόμενός <τε καὶ σῶς γενόμενος>, or something similar.

502 D. λεκτέον τίνα τρόπον ἡμῖν καὶ ἐκ τίνων μαθημάτων τε καὶ ἐπιτηδευμάτων οἱ σωτῆρες ἐνέσονται τῆς πολιτείας.

Read ἐγγενήσονται or simply γενήσονται for ἐνέσονται. The question is not how they will live, but how they are to be obtained. In 521 C we have the parallel question, τίνα τρόπον οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἐγγενήσονται. Cf. 552 E, 557 C, etc.

503 B. ὄκνος γάρ, ἔφην, ὦ φίλε, ἐγώ, εἰπεῖν τὰ νῦν ἀποτετολμημένα.

The verb can hardly be omitted, when the time is past. Read ἔφην, <ἦν> or <ἦν>, ἔφην·

504 B. ἐλέγομέν που, ὅτι ὡς μὲν δυνατὸν ἦν κάλλιστα αὐτὰ κατιδεῖν ἄλλη μακροτέρα εἴη περίοδος.

No doubt ἦν should be omitted, as Madvig proposed. Plato would have written εἴη. But I think we need an insertion too. Read ὡς μὲν <ὡς> (or <ὅσον> or <εἰς τὸ>) δυνατὸν κάλλιστα αὐτὰ κατιδεῖν. The first ὡς is wanted to go with the infinitive, the second with δυνατόν.

504 E. ὁ μέντοι μέγιστον μάθημα καὶ περὶ ὅ τι αὐτὸ λέγεις, οἴει τιν' ἄν σε, ἔφη, ἀφεῖναι μὴ ἐρωτήσαντα τί ἐστίν; Οὐ πάνυ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἀλλὰ καὶ σὺ ἐρώτα. πάντως αὐτὸ οὐκ ὀλιγάκις ἀκήκοας.

Περὶ ὅ τι αὐτὸ λέγεις cannot be harmonized either with the ὅ preceding or with the τί ἐστίν which follows. I conjecture that οτιαυτο is a corruption of τοιούτων: 'which you speak of as the greatest and as concerned with the greatest questions.' For τοιούτων = μεγίστων after μέγιστον μάθημα see the instances cited by Riddell in *Platonic Idioms* § 54 b, *e.g. Phaedo* 80 C ἐὰν μέν τις χαριέντως ἔχων τὸ σῶμα τελευτήσῃ καὶ ἐν τοιαύτῃ ὥρᾳ 'where τοιαύτῃ simply means χαριέσσῃ.' Τῶν μεγίστων occurs in our passage two lines above. I conjecture further that for καὶ σὺ ἐρώτα we should read καὶ σὺ ἐρωτᾷς; Socrates feels or affects surprise that the question should come from Adeimantus, who has often heard about the μέγιστον μάθημα.

507 D. Ἐνούσης που ἐν ὄμμασιν ὄψεως καὶ ἐπιχειροῦντος τοῦ ἔχοντος χρῆσθαι αὐτῇ, παρούσης δέ χρόας ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἐὰν μὴ παραγένηται γένος τρίτον ἰδίᾳ ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο πεφυκός, οἶσθα ὅτι ἥ τε ὄψις οὐδὲν ὄψεται τά τε χρώματα ἔσται ἀόρατα.

Commentators have been considerably puzzled by ἐν αὐτοῖς, but it ought to be abundantly clear that it cannot refer to the eyes. It can only refer to the δεύτερον γένος, external objects. Read ἐν αὖ τοῖς <ὁρατοῖς>. The omission is due to homoeoteleuton. For the running of αὖ τοῖς into αὐτοῖς cf. 550 A where Paris A has αὐτούς for αὖ τούς. For the position of αὖ after the preposition compare 371 D τοῖς δὲ ἀντὶ αὖ ἀργυρίου διαλλάττειν: 577 B καὶ ἐν αὖ τοῖς δημοσίοις κινδύνοις, etc.

511 A. εἰκόσι δὲ χρωμένην αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν κάτω ἀπεικασθεῖσι καὶ ἐκείνοις πρὸς ἐκεῖνα ὡς ἐναργέσι δεδοξασμένοις τε καὶ τετιμημένοις.

There is so much difficulty in ἐκείνοις that I venture to suggest the possibility of its having accidentally changed places with αὐτοῖς.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

(*To be continued.*)

ANNOTATIONS IN LEWIS AND SHORT'S LEXICON.

QUANTITIES.

acūleus, acūleatus, etc. ŭ: cf. Pl. *Bacch.* I, 1, 30 al.

ego. To reff. for ō *add* Val. Cato, *Lydia* 53 egōn.

fio. For fĭere Enn. *read* fĭere.

fŏcillo. But fōcĭlat *Laus Pisonis* 126.

fortassē. ĕ.

Ītalus. Ĭ.

lūtito. ŭ.

mugĭnor. But mugīnor in Lucil. *ap.* Non. 139, 6. Is there any authority for ĭ?

2 *mūto* etc. But ŭ in *Priap.* 52, 10; Mart. 3, 73, 1.

myrtus. ū (nom. sing.) in Ov. *Met.* 10, 98, and perh. in Hor. *Od.* 2, 15, 6.

natrix, īcis. But nătrĭcem in Lucil. *ap.* Non. 65, 30. There seems to be no authority for ī.

Pălatia. But Pālatia Stat. *S.* 1, 34.

1 *pedĭculus* (= 'little foot'). Probably ĭ.

rĕglesco, rĕglutino. Probably ē, as before γλ.

rūtrum, rūtellum. ŭ: cf. Lucil. *ap.* Non. 18, 22.

sanguis. ī: Ov. *Met.* 12, 127, etc; but ĭ also class.

sarīsa. ă.

scatūrio etc. scatŭrio or scaturrio.

siccinē, sicinē. ĕ: cf. Prop. 3, 7 (2, 15), 8 *al.*

supernē. But ĕ in Lucr. and Hor. Is there any authority for ē in this word, or in abunde, temere, which are also marked long in this lexicon?

Tethys. ȳ.

trĭbulosus. ĭ.

1 *ūter.* Why not ŭ, as ŭterus?

vertăga. ă; cf. Grat. *Cyn.* 203.

volo. Note vĭs in Mart. 9, 7, 4.

Miscellaneous Corrections and Additions.

abstineo. abstinendus sum = 'I am to be dieted, kept from food.' Sen. *Ep.* 75.

aevum. The plural is found Ov. *Met.* i. 649.

albus. The proverbs with 'albus' are badly treated. 'Qui albo rete aliena oppugnant bona' in Pl. *Pers.* 1, 2, 22, certainly does not mean 'to attack in a delicate, skilful manner.' The commentators here give no help. Gronovius tries to connect it with the praetor's 'album'; Ussing says 'si verum est, de legum et iudicii laqueis dicitur, sed corruptum videtur.' There is no need to alter the text: the proverb is explained in Gellius, *praef.* 11, 'in quas res cunque inciderant, alba ut dicitur linea *sine cura discriminis solam copiam secuti* convertebant' (? converrebant). The words in italics explain the proverb: 'albo rete (alba linea) converrere' is 'to make a clean sweep of,' 'to carry off everything promiscuously, without distinction.' A corrupt fragment of Lucilius (629 Baehrens), 'et amabat omnes: nam ut discrimen non facit, neque signat linea alba,' contains, I believe, the same proverb, though the text cannot be restored with certainty. 'Signat' = 'discernit,' Nonius tells us; and the words 'discrimen non facit' are so much like the passage of Gellius above quoted, that I think 'alba linea' must here too mean 'with a white net' (or 'line'), and not 'a white line on a white ground'; though the latter is certainly a Greek proverb, ἐν λευκῷ λίθῳ λευκὴ σταθμή, cf. Paroem. Graeci, Diog. Cent. 3, 9; Zenob. 4, 89. There is not much use in guessing why 'a white net' should have this meaning, any more than why 'gallinae filius albae' should mean 'a favourite of fortune': the two explanations of the latter proverb suggested in L. and S. are very improbable.

ambulo. rerum venalium fides male ambulans Petr. 12.

aposia (α-πίνω), 'refusal to drink' Leges Conviv. Bücheler p. 239.

arcera in Q. Cicero (Baehr. *Frag.* p. 316) seems to be = the Great Bear.

aris = aridus Lucil. 186 Baehr.

assurgere with abl. for dat. Val. Max. 5, 2, ext. 8.

bona aetas = 'so much the better for you!' Sen. *Ep.* 47, 12, nullum habes dominum. Bona aetas est; forsitan habebis; and id. *Ep.* 76, 1, bona, inquis, aetate.

cocio or *coctio.* Add prob. Petr. 14.

curabilis = 'requiring medical treatment' Juv. 16, 21. [L. and S. strangely, 'that is to be feared.']

deiungere. met. 'to throw off a yoke,' se a forensi labore Tac. *Dial.* 11.

desino. perf. desimus Sen. *Ep.* 90, 31.

deturpo ['post-Aug. and very rare' L. and S.] occurs [Verg.] *Ciris* 284.

dissimulare feras = λανθάνειν, Grat. *Cyn.* 208.

ductus = 'a draught of fishes' Val. Max. 4, 1, ext. 7, also d. [litterarum] = 'tracings of letters, writing-copies' Quint. 1, 1, 27; 10, 2, 2.

epigri in Sen. *Ben.* 2, 12, cannot mean 'pegs'; the context requires some kind of 'soccus' or part of a 'soccus.'

eugium Lucil. *ap.* Non. 107, 30, is not in the Lexicon. Add the same ref. under *destina.*

excutere = ἀμβλίσκειν Scrib. Largus p. 2 Helmreich; and perh. in Verg. *Aen.* 12, 158.

exsultans in Quint. not 'diffuse,' but 'finicking,' suggesting the mincing gait of Asiatics.

ferocia, ferocitas. Erase the sections beginning 'in a bad sense.'

fulica. Add 'or fulca,' in a *frag.* of Furius Antias.

gryllus. Add to ref. from Pliny, Val. Cato *Dirae* 74.

helix Cic. Univ. 9, 27, means 'a spiral,' not 'a kind of ivy,' as L. and S.

hieran fecimus Sen. *Ep.* 83, 4. The context strongly favours the meaning 'we ran a dead heat.' Was the wreath in such cases dedicated to the god?

impuns = impudens Lucil. *fr.* 46 Baehr.

instabilis = 'that cannot be stood upon,' Ov. *Met.* 1, 16.

iubar in its original sense = 'the morning star,' Paul. ex Fest. p. 104 Müll.; and in Enn. *frag.* 314 Baehr. 'interea fugit albus iubar Hyperionis cursum,' where Baehrens most unhappily alters 'fugit' into 'facit.' So prob. in Verg. *Aen.* 1, 130. Festus says it also = 'the evening star': this sense is found in Licinius Calvus *ap.* Prisc. 1, 170.

libella. heres ex l. = 'heir to $\frac{1}{10}$,' not = ex asse (L. and S.). The mistake is repeated s.v. *teruncius.*

1 *liceo.* Erase section II.: in these passages liceo has its true sense = 'to fetch a price.'

malo. 'malet' occurs Sen. *Ep.* 28: this has escaped Neue.

maneo = 'await,' with dat.: Verg. *Culex* 38, which Baehrens emends without reason: and cf. Verg. *Aen.* 9, 301.

mapalia 'II. B. useless things, follies.' In the passage quoted from Sen., if the reading be sound, the word = 'low haunts.'

memini. Part. meminens Laevius *fr. ap.* Prisc. 1, 560.

ne. ut ne is denied to Tac.; it occurs *H.* 4, 58. Add ne = nedum *e.g.* Sall. *Cat.* 11, 8.

neo 3 Plur. neunt Tib. 3, 3, 36.

ocris. Add Lucil. *ap.* Gell. 16, 9, 3, (79 Baehr.).

pistillus. Add Verg. *Mor.* 111.

plagium in Grat. *Cyn.* 24, casses plagiique exordiar astus, seems to mean 'catching animals with a plăga.'

plectricanus Chalcidius ex Alexandro Milesio Baehr. *Fragm.* p. 409.

prorogo = 'advance money.' So prob. in Quint. 10, 7, 10.

regemo. Add 'II. "to groan repeatedly" Verg. *Culex* 386.'

reses ['nom. sing. does not occur' L. and S.]. The nom. occurs Lucil. *fr.* 827 Baehr.

salebrosus. Add to reff. from Apuleius, Verg. *Mor.* 110.

scio. Add to perfect forms, sciero *Priap.* 68, 36; scieris Sen. *Ep.* 110, 13; scierit Petr. 3.

scultimido Lucil. *Fr.* 887 Baehr.

tessera = 'a backgammon-board,' Mart. 14, 17.

tŏtus. Add Lucr. 6, 652 to reff. from Col. and Manil.

undivagus. Add Sil. 14, 372 to reff. from late authors.

vapor = 'smell,' v. ferinus Grat. *Cyn.* 223.

W. R. Inge.

THE 'EXTENDED DELIBERATIVE' IN GREEK.

The debate in the *Classical Review* upon the question of the existence of 'Extended' and 'Remote Deliberatives' in Greek (in two groups of examples illustrated by Soph. *Ai.* 514 ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐκέτ' ἔστιν εἰς ὅ τι βλέπω | πλὴν σοῦ and Aesch. *Cho.* 172 οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις πλὴν ἑνὸς κείραιτό νιν) has not resulted, as it seems to me, in any clear settlement of the case for either the subjunctive or the optative idiom under examination. The nature of the latter is perhaps difficult to establish beyond a doubt. As regards the subjunctive, the case is different. At a meeting of the American Philological Association in July 1892, I gave, during an informal discussion at the close of the reading of Mr. Earle's 'Notes on the Subjunctive of Purpose in Relative Clauses in Greek' (published in abstract in the 'Proceedings' of the year), what seems to me a sure disproof of the theory that the subjunctive idiom under dispute is descended from a clause of purpose. Our discussions are not reported, and my argument consequently was not put into print. At the meeting of the same Association in the summer just passed, I presented a formal paper, which will appear in the 'Transactions' for the year 1893, and will contain an attempt to solve the question for both modes. In view, however, of the fact that the debate still goes on (see *Classical Review* for October), I venture to contribute at once that part of the evidence upon the origin of the subjunctive idiom which seems to me to be unanswerable.

Two origins have been proposed, one in the deliberative subjunctive, the other in the final clause. Against the latter stands the overwhelming objection that no such

relative clause of purpose as has to be assumed (namely a relative clause with the bare subjunctive, as in the idiom in question) was ever, in literary times, in vogue in Greek. In the Homeric poems, to be sure, the subjunctive with the relative pronoun is freely used to express purpose, *but*, with the exception of Γ 287 (and the duplicate 459),[1] *the mode is accompanied by ἄν or κε.* On the other hand, the deliberative question in the subjunctive, to which the rival theory refers the idiom, is regularly unaccompanied by either of these particles.

Mr. Earle's example, Hes. *Op.* 57 δώσω κακὸν ᾧ κεν ἅπαντες τέρπωνται (the one instance thus far cited[2] that has ἄν or κε), is of an entirely different nature from the other examples, not only in its outward form but in the character of the introductory phrase. By both of these points it should have given warning.

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[1] Monro (*Homeric Grammar*, p. 257) follows Delbrück, *Synt. Forsch.* i. p. 130, in classing σ 334 under the same head. My own view with regard to this example agrees with that of Professor Goodwin, viz. that it is not final. But both examples, and even others, might be admitted without affecting the substantial weight of the argument.

[2] In my full paper, I shall discuss Σ 192, [ἄλλου δ' οὔ τευ οἶδα, τεῦ ἂν κλυτὰ τέυχεα δύω] not yet cited by any one.

THE 'REMOTE DELIBERATIVE' AND THE 'PROSPECTIVE SUBJUNCTIVE AND OPTATIVE.'

In my paper on the Prospective Subjunctive (*Class. Rev.* Feb. 1893) I quoted Soph. Trach. 903

κρύψασ' ἑαυτὴν ἔνθα μή τις εἰσίδοι

as parallel in past time to Soph. Aj. 658 f.

κρύψω τοδ' ἔγχος...ἔνθα μή τις ὄψεται.

These passages are twice alluded to in the last number of the *Clas. Rev.* (pp. 343 f. and 353 f.). Mr. A. C. Pearson thinks that I have accidentally fallen into the error of regarding the Opt. as the normal way of expressing past purpose in a Relative Clause; and Mr. A. Sidgwick says 'the historic sequence of a Future cannot be an Aorist.' J. D. on the other hand treats the above two passages as parallel; and I still think that they correspond to one another, the one in present, the other in past time. But I never said that the Optative is *final* (that is just what I meant to *deny*), nor that the former passage is the *historic form* of the latter. (O.T. 796 ἔφευγον ἔνθα μήποτ' ὀψοίμην corresponds more in form, though here there is a case of virtual or. obl., as Mr. Pearson says.)

My view was that the Opt. mood in Trach. 903 marks the action as *prospective in the past;* and my object in writing the present note is to add a new suggestion to those that have already been made as to the 'affinities' of such constructions as τίν' ἔχων φήμην ἀγαθὴν ἥκεις, ἐφ' ὅτῳ κνισῶμεν ἀγυιάς Aristoph. Knights 1320, an instance to which Mr. H. Richards calls my attention, and ὁρῶντα ...ἄνδρα οὐδέν' ἔντοπον, οὐχ ὅστις ἀρκέσειεν, οὐδ' ὅστις νόσου κάμνοντι συλλάβοιτο, Soph. Phil. 276 f., cf. 695 οὐκ ἔχων...τιν' ἐγχώρων κακογείτονα, παρ' ᾧ στόνον...ἀποκλαύσειεν. Is not the 'affinity' of these Subjunctives and Optatives to be found (partly at any rate) in those clauses, chiefly temporal, in which the Subj. (sometimes without ἄν) marks an action as *in prospect* in the present, and the Optat. (always, or nearly always, without ἄν) marks it as in prospect in the past? *e.g.* μὴ στέναζε πρὶν μάθῃς 'till thou learn,' Phil. 917 (Goodwin § 648), ἕως τὸ χαίρειν καὶ τὸ λυπεῖσθαι μάθῃς Aj. 555 (Goodw. § 620); so with ἐς ὅ or ἐς οὗ in Herodotus and μέχρι or μέχρι οὗ even in Thucydides: περιεμένομεν ἕως ἀνοιχθείη τὸ δεσμωτήριον 'donec apertus esset carcer,' Plato, Phaedo 59 D, ἡσύχαζε... ἕως δέοι βοηθεῖν Thuc. iii. 102, etc. (Goodw. § 614). I am assuming (against Goodwin) that the latter clauses do not express *purpose*, and in my article on the 'Prospective Subjunctive' I gave reasons for that view.[1] To my mind 'I am waiting till he come' (ordinarily μένω ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ) and 'I was waiting till he should come' (ἔμενον ἕως ἔλθοι) are not equivalent to 'I am (was) waiting *in order that* he may (might) come'; the Subj. and Opt. seem to me to express simple futurity. Now is not ἔνθα μή τις

[1] I would add a pretty example from Ovid. Fast. iv. 387

Ante tamen quam summa dies spectacula *sistat*
Ensifer Orion aequora mersus erit.

εἰσίδοι 'where none should see' (ubi nemo videret) precisely parallel? No doubt in this particular case we *may* speak of purpose—i.e. of a special kind of futurity; but if we call εἰσίδοι final, it is an anomaly; if we call it simply prospective, it is quite normal, the only peculiarity being in the word by which the clause is introduced (ἔνθα instead of a relative of time).[1] In a word I regard ἔνθα μή τις εἰσίδοι as precisely parallel to Hor. Od. iii. 3. 41 f. *ubi mutaret ...et demeret*—the text of my previous paper.

I am far from intending to deny that in the Interrogative-Deliberative construction there are models on which some of the cases recently discussed may have been based.[2] My contention simply is that the prospective use of the Subj. and Optat. may also have served as a model, and that it is especially well adapted to explain cases like Trach. 903, which both Mr. Sidgwick and Mr. Pearson find puzzling.

E. A. SONNENSCHEIN.

[1] Are we not in danger of exaggerating the differences between the various kinds of subordinate classes, under the influence of the classifications current in our grammars?—Still I should be very glad if anyone would direct my attention to a really representative collection of subordinate clauses introduced by Relatives of *Place*.

[2] *e.g.* cases like ἔστ' οὖν ὅπως Ἄλκηστις ἐς γῆρας μόλοι; Eur. Alc. 52 (cf. 113—117), where the Optat. stands *in present time*. These seem to come from Direct Deliberative Questions like ποῖ τις φύγοι; = quo fugiat? (not quo fugeret?)

VALERIUS FLACCUS III. 20.

I hope Mr. Bury's paper in *Hermathena* will lead to the termination of the neglect which has befallen the text of this author—the second of Rome's surviving epic poets. I offer the following slight correction of iii. 20—

Dindyma sanguineis famulum bacchata lacertis.

Read *catervis*. There may be some reminiscence of *laceris* in *lacertis*.

A. PALMER.

LUCRETIUS IV. 741.

Verum ubi equi atque hominis casu convenit imago.

The elision of the iambic word *equi* before *atque* is very strongly objected to by Lachmann, who transposes *casu*. I have no doubt that the elision is illegitimate, but an easier correction is suggested by the first line of the *Ars Poetica*. I propose:

Verum ubi *equina* hominis casu convenit imago.

This is very like

Humano capiti cervicem pictor equinam
Iungere si velit.

A. PALMER.

CHASE ON THE OLD SYRIAC ELEMENT IN THE TEXT OF THE CODEX BEZAE.

The Old Syriac Element in the Text of the Codex Bezae. By FREDERIC HENRY CHASE, B.D., Lecturer in Theology at Christ's College and Principal of the Clergy Training School, Cambridge. London, Macmillan and Co., and New York. 1893. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

MR. CHASE's theory is that the peculiarities of Codex Bezae are due to the influence of an Old Syriac Version, of which he holds it is to some extent a translation, this Version having been frequently interpolated and not seldom misunderstood or misread by the Greek copyist. The theory would be for some reasons attractive if there existed any other clue to this Old Syriac Version; but when we have to construct the Syriac text for ourselves and then to account for the readings of D by some error or misunder-

standing the process becomes rather precarious. Mr. Chase indeed for reasons given in the Preface has (with scarcely an exception) confined his inquiry to the text of the Acts where he has no extant Old Syriac whereby to confirm or to check his results. Let us test a few of his instances.

Acts xi. 26, omitting some other differences, we have ΕΝΙΑΥΤΟΝ ΟΛΟΝ | ΣΥΝΕΧΥΘΗΣΑΝ ΟΧΛΟΝ ΙΚΑΝΟΝ, the true reading being [ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς] ἐνιαυτὸν ὅλον συναχθῆναι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ διδάξαι ὄχλον ἱκανόν. Here nothing seems simpler than to suppose that the archetype had

ΣΥΝΗΧΘΗΣΑΝ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ
ΚΑΙ ΕΔΙΔΑΞΑΝ

and that the eye of the copyist passing from ΣΑΝ to ΞΑΝ the intervening words were omitted. Possibly the first word had been written ΣΥΝΕΧΘΗΣΑΝ, at all events the proximity of ΟΧΛΟΝ would favour the misreading ΣΥΝΕΧΥΘΗΣΑΝ. Now let us see Mr. Chase's account of the matter. 'Were confounded' must come from the Old Syriac. But what could have suggested such a reading? His reply is that it was desired to assimilate the history of St. Paul's preaching to that of St. Peter. Now we read in ii. 6 that the people were assembled and were confounded, and so here the Old Syriac instead of 'assembled for a whole year in the church and taught etc.' substituted 'assembled for a whole year and were confounded and they taught etc.' Then two letters being alike at the beginning of the last two verbs, the latter of the two was accidentally omitted, and it was this mutilated reading which D translated. (Why he put ΟΧΛΟΝ in the accusative does not appear.)

Now we have to go back to ii. 47 where D reads Ο ΔΕ ΚΣ ΠΡΟΣΕΤΙΘΕΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΣΩΖΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ | ΚΑΘΗΜΕΡΑΝ ΕΠΙ ΤΟ ΑΥΤΟ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ, the last three words being an addition to the genuine text. Whence have they come? Mr. Chase refers them to the desire to assimilate the histories of St. Paul and St. Peter. In xi. 26 as above (after the words 'much people was added to the Lord') we have the words 'for a whole year they were gathered together in the church.' This, as Mr. Chase says, presents no points of contact with the verse before us. Still less the Old Syriac used by D, which, as reconstructed just now, had not even the words 'in the church.'

Mr. Chase then finds what he wants in the Syriac Vulgate, which has 'together they assembled in the church.' From this then the last three words were introduced into ii. 47. But as the gloss has found its way into many MSS. before ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, he supposes further (1) that 'together' and 'in the church' were transposed; then (2) ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό was transferred to the history of the miracle in ch. iii. Meanwhile (3) an introductory clause was inserted which in D reads: 'And in those days,' but in the Syriac Vulgate: 'And it came to pass' (the latter proceeding: 'that Peter and John together'). (4) As 'together' had to be taken into the history of the miracle, it was, on the revision of the Syriac, placed lower down after the name of John. Now, to take the third point first, these are simply examples of the phrases supplied as introductory to Church lessons, and given in the margins of later MSS. which mark the beginning of these lessons. Indeed a MS. cited by Tischendorf (104) which marks iii. 1 ΑΡΧΗ, actually places ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις in the margin for this purpose.

That these phrases are not the same in D and in the Syriac Vulgate is so far against the supposed dependence of D in this passage on the Syriac. Mr. Chase however adopts the method of those scribes to whom we owe so many conflate readings, and supposes that the Old Syriac combined both. As to the words ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ it must be observed that τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ without ἐν is found in a large number of MSS. not generally sympathizing with D or supposed to Syriacize. And a simple explanation seems to be that when ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό was not unnaturally taken as belonging to Peter and John, it was felt that προσετίθει was incomplete, and the most natural complement was τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, whose first and natural place therefore was after καθημέραν, where most MSS. have it. This involved a change in the position of δέ, but D has the gloss in a more simple form though not in its original place. The ἐν may possibly have been suggested by the Syriac, or perhaps merely inserted to connect τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ with ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό. The position of the latter words contradicts in this particular instance the derivation from the Syriac.

Next let us take Acts xix. 1. Here the genuine text is: ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ τὸν Ἀπολλὼ εἶναι ἐν Κορίνθῳ Παῦλον διελθόντα κ.τ.λ. The reading of D is ΘΕΛΟΝΤΟΣ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ | ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΙΔΙΑΝ ΒΟΥ-

ΛΗΝ | ΠΟΡΕΥΕCΘΑΙ ΕΙC ΙΕΡΟCΟΛΥΜΑ | ΕΙΠΕΝ ΑΥΤΩ ΤΟ ΠΝΑ ΥΠΟCΤΡΕΦΕΙΝ ΕΙC ΤΗΝ ΑCΙΑΝ | ΔΙΕΛΘΩΝ ΔΕ κ.τ.λ.

The gloss, says Mr. Chase, can only have come from the Old Syriac, for it is derived from the Syriac of xix. 21, where the Syriac Vulgate has: 'Paul *purposed in his mind* that he should go round all Macedonia and Achaia *and should go to Jerusalem.*' The Greek there has *ἔθετο ἐν τῷ πνεύματι*, but as the Syriac word for 'mind' is used to translate such words as *γνώμη*, Mr. Chase thinks *βουλή* here was quite a natural rendering. But why *ἰδίαν*, a word for which the Syriac language has no equivalent? Mr. Chase replies that *ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ* in Jno. xvi. 13 becomes in the Syriac 'from the thought (or mind) of his soul,' 'soul' in Syriac being = 'self.' The inference is not obvious, seeing that 'soul,' *i.e.* 'self,' is not in the Syriac of xix. 21. As to *εἶπεν τὸ πνεῦμα* this is 'a gloss from a gloss,' namely that in xx. 3, which it is unnecessary to quote.

All this is very far-fetched, and after all inadequate. Even admitting that xix. 21 interpreted as above was the source of the gloss, why could not a Greek glosser have taken it from a Greek or Latin source? The modern Italian has 'si mise nell' animo' and chronology alone forbids this being suggested as a source equally probable with the Syriac. But in truth the words *ἰδίαν βουλήν* are inseparably connected, and intentionally opposed to *εἶπεν τὸ πνεῦμα*. The glosser was not collecting unconnected expressions but wished to emphasize the contrast between what Paul wished of himself and what he was led by the Holy Spirit to do. But why was this necessary? The answer is in xviii. 20, where there was an early and widely accepted gloss (retained in the Received Text) which made Paul account for his hurried departure from Ephesus by his anxiety to go to Jerusalem. Apparently he did not then go to Jerusalem but to the 'upper coasts,' the highlands of Asia Minor. This to any intelligent reader would seem to require explanation, and a hint at the explanation was found in xix. 21, *ἔθετο ἐν τῷ πνεύματι*, which was understood to mean the Holy Spirit. This view of the latter verse appears even in some modern versions, such as the Portuguese which actually inserts 'Santo.' The gloss then in xix. 1 was intended to clear up the difficulty. But it will be seen that this implies an interpretation of xix. 21 wholly inconsistent with that found in the Syriac Vulgate and quoted above. Even if the gloss was not suggested by xix. 21 no translator having adopted it would proceed to gloss the latter verse so as to represent Paul's movements, as determined by his own wishes.

Acts vi. 10 is one of the passages which Mr. Chase selects as most convincing. The genuine text reads: *καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυον ἀντιστῆναι τῇ σοφίᾳ καὶ τῷ πνεύματι ᾧ ἐλάλει.* The Syrian Vulgate has: 'And they were not able to resist the wisdom and the spirit which was speaking in him.' The leading of D is ΟΙΤΙΝΕC ΟΥΚ ΙCΧΥΟΝ ΑΝΤΙCΤΗΝΑΙ ΤΗ COΦΙΑ | ΤΗ ΟΥCΗ ΕΝ ΑΥΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΤΩ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙ ΤΩ ΑΓΙΩ Ω ΕΛΑΛΕΙ. Mr. Chase's explanation is as follows: (1) 'was speaking in him' is a gloss from Matth. x. 20. (2) *τῷ ἁγίῳ* was added from Mk. xiii. 11. (3) To balance this gloss, a further gloss was added to 'wisdom,' viz. 'which was in him.' (4) The former gloss fell out in the Old Syriac, 'the passage being heavy with glosses,' or else *ᾧ ἐλάλει* was retained by D as being fairly equivalent to the Syriac. This is a weak chain of hypotheses. The Syriac obviously read *ὅ* instead of *ᾧ*, a very frequent error (which occurs here in some Greek MSS.); a translator doing this would be sure to complete the sense by adding "in him." On the other hand D wished to make it clear that the spirit was the Holy Spirit and therefore added *τῷ ἁγίῳ*. If it is thought necessary to suppose that he borrowed this from Mark xiii. 11, it was as easy for a Greek writer to borrow it as a Syriac. Once this was added however, *ᾧ* could not include *σοφίᾳ*, and the addition of ΤΗ ΟΥCΗ ΕΝ ΑΥΤΩ became almost inevitable. This view involves the minimum of hypothesis, Mr. Chase's the maximum. Here again the derivation from the Syriac is contradicted.

There are two other glosses in this verse, but limits of space compel me to confine myself to one ΜΗ ΔΥΝΑΜΕΝΟΙ ΟΥ ΑΝΤΟΦΘΑΛΜΕΙΝ ΤΗ ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ. According to Mr. Chase this is a conflate gloss made up from Lk. xxi. 15 and 2 Tim. iii. 8. As the gloss does not resemble the Syriac of these passages more than the Greek, I need not discuss this part of the hypothesis; the question is, how came D to use ΑΝΤΟΦΘΑΛΜΕΙΝ for 'resist'? Mr. Chase replies: Because he remembered that the Syriac word in the gloss before him was the same that in Acts xxvii. 15 was used to render this verb. It must be noted

that Mr. Chase supposes D to have had in his mind the Greek of the verse referred to, for instead of giving the literal rendering of the gloss as constructed by Mr. Chase (from Cod. E) he adopts ΜΗ ΔΥΝΔΜΕΝΟΙ from xxvii. 15. This being so, what need is there to suppose that he made three steps to reach the word when one would have sufficed? But it is quite unnecessary to suppose that he was influenced by xxvii. 15 at all. The verb *ἀντοφθαλμεῖν* was a familiar one in later Greek (it is frequent in Polybius), and it is much more likely that it was suggested to the glosser by this familiar use than by the seemingly nautical application in xxvii. 15.

Mr. Chase supposes D to have travelled by a like circuitous route in xvii. 34 where the epithet *εὐσχήμων* is given to Dionysius. It was desired, he says, to assimilate the description of Dionysius to that of Joseph of Arimathea in Mk. xv. 43. Granting this, is not the epithet accounted for on Greek ground? Not so, thinks Mr. Chase; we must suppose that there was an Old Syriac Version here which had interpolated the Syriac word used in Mk. xv. 43 and D rendered it *εὐσχήμων* (not the most obvious rendering) because this was the Greek word there. Had the Greek there been different it would have served Mr. Chase better. In the same verse he again has recourse to the Syriac to account for the omission of a line ΚΔΙ to ΚΔΙ in the Greek.

Acts xix. 29 is claimed by Mr. Chase as one of his most convincing passages. Curiously enough, Dr. Rendel Harris regards it as equally conclusive in favour of his view of the influence of the Latin. The genuine text has *ἐπλήσθη ἡ πόλις συγχύσεως*, whereas D reads ϹΥΝΕΧΥΘΗ ΟΛΗ Η ΠΟΛΙϹ ΔΙϹΧΥΝΗϹ the Latin being 'repleta est tota civitas confusionem' (*sic*). Mr. Rendel Harris has the advantage of having certain facts to go upon. The Latin exists and is clearly not translated from the Greek of D but (except for 'tota' which is a very widely adopted addition) from the genuine text. Again, if we leave out ΔΙϹΧΥΝΗϹ, the Greek gives a complete sense, equivalent to that of the true text, and this makes it probable that this was the reading of the archetype, and this it may be observed agrees with the Syriac Vulgate, which has here simply the same word which in Acts ii. 6 represents *συνεχύθη*. Whence then ΔΙϹΧΥΝΗϹ? Admitting the bare possibility of Latin influence the answer is obvious, for *αἰσχύνη* and *αἰσχύνομαι* do sometimes correspond to 'confusio, confundor.' Now let us see what is Mr. Chase's view. He supposes the Old Syriac to have adopted here a word which is found in several places in the O.T. where the English version has 'confounded,' the word 'ashamed' being often coupled with it, 'ashamed and confounded' (especially Is. xlv. 16). He thinks the Old Syriac was assimilated to this passage, running thus: 'it-was-confounded all-of-it the-city and-was-ashamed.' There is absolutely no resemblance between the present passage and those which he cites from the O.T. except in the English Version. The Syriac word means, like that with which it is there coupled, 'to be ashamed.' The Hebrew words which it is used to translate (one of which is the same as the Syriac root) mean likewise 'to be ashamed.' In none of these passages do the LXX employ *συγχέω* or any similar word, but such words as *ἐντρέπομαι*. Indeed in no case is either of the Hebrew words in question rendered *συγχέω*. The Latin again usually renders the first of the two words 'erubescet' and reserves 'confundetur' for the second, which we render 'ashamed.' Even apart then from the total unsuitability of both words here, there was nothing to suggest to a Syriac translator the version supposed by Mr. Chase. It is superfluous to mention his further conjecture that D made the blunder of mistaking the latter of the two verbs for the noun.

More than once Mr. Chase invokes the Syriac to account for an omission which is quite as easily accounted for by the Greek (as in ii. 9 and xvii. 34). That Codex Bezae was influenced by the Syriac is probable, and I do not mean to deny that some of Mr. Chase's suggestions have a certain degree of plausibility; but the foregoing examination, which includes some of his strongest passages, shows, I think, that he is very far from having made out his theory that Codex Bezae is to a large extent a translation of a lost Syriac Version.

T. K. Abbott.

C. MUTZBAUER ON THE TENSES IN HOMER.

Die Grundlagen der griechischen Tempuslehre und der homerische Tempusgebrauch, ein Beitrag zur historischen Syntax der griechischen Sprache, von CARL MUTZBAUER. Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner. 15 Mark. Pp. viii. + 402.

THIS volume, which consists of about 400 pages, and treats of the use of the tenses in Homer, is intended to be the first of a series. Dr. Mutzbauer proposes to go on to deal with the moods in the same way, then with the construction of sentences and finally with the syntax of the noun. The work, it will be seen, is planned on a generous scale. The type and paper are excellent.

The first business of the reviewer of the present instalment is to construct a table of contents. The task is rendered somewhat more difficult by the absence of headlines: but a certain amount of turning over the pages will show that the book consists of two main parts. The first part, which occupies forty pages, is entitled *Die Grundlagen der griechischen Tempuslehre*, and is chiefly taken up with a discussion of the peculiar Greek uses of the aorist and imperfect. The second part, entitled *Das homerische Verbum*, gives nearly all the verbs which occur in Homer, with a complete citation of the passages in which the different tenses are found. It is, in short, a concordance of Homer, drawn up from the point of view of the tenses. The verbs are arranged in five classes: A. the verbs with present stem unaltered (identical with the verb stem); B. (p. 172) the verbs with aorist stems formed without the thematic vowel; C. (p. 252) the verbs with thematic aorist; D. (p. 323) the verbs with reduplicated aorist; E. (p. 337) the verbs which lengthen the root in the present stem (*Dehnclasse* of Curtius). This classification is not a particularly happy one. It does not even profess to be exhaustive: and owing to the use of several *fundamenta divisionis* the sub-classes are not mutually exclusive. Moreover it is incorrect in several points, the author having followed Curtius in views which are now quite antiquated. Thus he puts δέρκομαι at the head of his list as a verb 'mit unverändertem Praesensstamm.' But δέρκομαι is to the aorist ἔδρακον precisely as φεύγω, a verb of the *Dehnclasse*, is to the aorist ἔφυγον. The term *Dehnclasse*, it need scarcely be said, belongs to a theory which is no longer tenable. Again, φύω, λύω, θύω, &c., are all placed among the 'verbs with unaltered present stem,' though in fact they are of the Yod-class. It is a singular result of specialization when a good Greek scholar—which Dr. Mutzbauer clearly is—can remain ignorant of the recent progress of etymology.

As a collection of material the book will be of great service to students who are interested in comparing the forms of Homeric syntax with those of later Greek. The question, however, which we have now to ask is, what use has Dr. Mutzbauer himself made of the ample stores of his own work? What is there that is new in the conclusions which he draws in his introductory pages?

Dr. Mutzbauer begins by pointing out that from the days of the Alexandrian school scholars have recognized a difficulty in the Homeric use of the tenses. The imperfect, especially, is often found where later usage would lead us to expect the aorist. Again, if there is a difference in this respect between Homeric and later Greek, there is a still greater difference between Greek and Latin. Grammarians have hitherto been too much in the habit of beginning with Latin, and then endeavouring to apply the Latin scheme of tenses to Greek. The result has been that they have given a wholly false impression of the nature of the tense-system in Greek, and have been especially unfortunate in explaining the tenses of the Homeric language. In particular, according to Dr. Mutzbauer, they have attributed to the Greek tenses the force which the Latin imperfect and pluperfect possess of representing one past event as contemporaneous with, or prior to, another. On the other hand they have not appreciated the distinctions which the Greek usage makes in the character of an action in itself (*die Art der Handlung*); especially the distinction between a *single* or momentary act and a *process*.

It will at once occur to the reader who is acquainted with recent works on the subject that much of this is already familiar to him. The essential difference of meaning between the present, the aorist, and the perfect was drawn out very clearly by G. Curtius in the *Erläuterungen* to his Greek Grammar. The clear distinction which Curtius there made

between the *Zeitart*, or character of the action expressed by a tense stem, and the *Zeitstufe*, or difference in time as past, present, or future, is the basis of Dr. Mutzbauer's exposition. What is new in it seems to be the denial that the aorist and the imperfect can ever be used to indicate the relation in point of time between two past events—to show, for instance, that one is contemporary or subordinate to the other. In this he surely goes too far. The use of the imperfect with ἄρα to express something that was previously denied or overlooked seems clearly te be derived from a relative use of the kind. And the use of ἦν = 'is as we proved' is of the same kind (Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses*, § 40). Similarly Dr. Mutzbauer maintains that an aorist participle never expresses that an act is prior to that of the verb with which it is construed: *e.g.* that ἰδὼν ταῦτα ἦλθεν does not mean 'after seeing this he came,' but only 'seeing this he came.' This contention may be just in so far as it applies to the *original* use of the aorist participle, since ἰδών does not contain any inflexion which expresses past time. But the choice of the aorist rather than the present wherever the action of the participle was prior to the other must have soon created a usage according to which the notion of priority was implied in every phrase of the kind. Dr. Mutzbauer would reply that this notion is not in the words, that it is supplied by the hearer out of the context. But a notion which is irresistibly suggested not merely in a particular context but in every combination of the kind must surely be regarded as being (or having become) part of the *meaning* of that combination.

A somewhat similar point is raised by Dr. Mutzbauer regarding the use of the optative to express the repetition or indefinite frequency of an action (the so-called *iterative* use). To show that the optative does not convey this meaning he quotes examples of it along with others in which the same mood is used with a different force: *e.g.* Plat. *Phaed.* p. 59 D περιεμένομεν οὖν ἑκάστοτε ἕως ἀνοιχθείη τὸ δεσμωτήριον· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀνοιχθείη ἤειμεν παρὰ τὸν Σωκράτη. Here the first ἀνοιχθείη conveys no sense of repetition or frequency: but the second undoubtedly does, and Dr. Mutzbauer is strangely mistaken in making the first use an argument against the ordinary explanation of the second. He should have been guided in this by Delbrück: for it is an excellent and indeed crucial instance of the difference between the clauses called by Delbrück *Die posteriorischen Relativsätze* and *Die prioriischen Relativsätze* respectively (*Synt. Forsch.* i. pp. 36-50).

The latter pages of the introductory part are chiefly taken up with the gnomic aorist. Dr. Mutzbauer has good reason for rejecting the explanation according to which a gnomic aorist asserts the occurrence of an event in the past by way of showing that it may occur again at any time. Rather the gnomic aorist is a 'present aorist' in meaning, which has survived under the guise of the augmented form. The survival is doubtless due, as he says, to the comparative unimportance of the time relations of past and present in the Greek system of tenses.

D. B. Monro.

HOSIUS'S EDITION OF LUCAN.

M. Annaei Lucani de bello civili libri decem. G. Steinhartii aliorumque copiis usus edidit Carolus Hosius. Leipzig 1892. Teubner. Mk. 3.60.

The appearance of this book marks an important epoch in the critical study of Lucan. Since the days of Oudendorp, Kortte and Burmann little or nothing had been done of importance towards the establishment of the author's text on a satisfactory footing till within the last forty years. The fragmentary notes left by Bentley did not add to his reputation, and in reading such a book as Withof's *Encaenia* [1741] one is irresistibly driven to ask 'If this be sound criticism, what is the use of collating manuscripts?' Both he and Bentley look over Lucan's work as a sort of school exercise; it is as well to know what he is said to have written, but it is more important to show what he ought to have or 'must have' written.

It is in no such spirit that the present editor approaches his task. He is the representative of the sober and patient criticism that began with Steinhart's first dissertation in 1854 and is not yet spent.

It is enough to mention the names of Detlefsen, H. Genthe, and Usener.

The MSS on which the recension is really based are:—

M = *Montepessulanus* [olim *Buherianus*], the leading position of which was first clearly asserted by Steinhart.

V = *Vossianus primus* and U = *Vossianus secundus*, both well known by repute to readers in Oudendorp.

B = *Bernensis*, now first raised to the rank of a leading MS.

G = *Bruxellensis*, olim *Gemblacensis*, also a selection of Dr Hosius' own, chosen, it seems, mainly on account of a *subscriptio* to which he attaches some importance.

To these should be added:—

C = *commenta Bernensia*, Scholia without text, published by Usener in 1869.

Also, for parts of books v—vii the palimpsest fragments published by Detlefsen in *Philologus* 1857-60-67. These are:—

N = the leaves of one MS. partly at Vienna partly at Naples.

P = *Palatinus*, the Vatican fragments.

Of the above, M V U B G C are ascribed to the tenth, N P to the fourth century.

To the other MSS included in the list it is not necessary to refer here. They are only used now and then, and their evidence is of comparatively little value, if the fundamental position of Steinhart and Hosius be sound.

The position is briefly this. Internal evidence shows that a certain group of MSS, which from their *subscriptiones* seem to be descended from an archetype corrected by one Paulus Constantinopolitanus (probably in the seventh century), omit most of the certainly spurious lines, and in disputed passages generally give the best readings. To this group M and U belong. With them Hosius associates B and C, though neither bears the *subscriptio*. Two other MSS, which do bear it, turn out to be later and much corrupted. M U B C therefore stand as the true representatives of the Pauline recension. Of MSS not belonging to this group far the best is V, to which G is joined as a more than usually good specimen of the non-Paulines.

Dr Hosius' text then rests primarily on M, secondarily on U B with occasional help from C; and, where these are in the editor's opinion not satisfactory, V and G—rarely any other MSS—are called in. The result is a text far superior to any of its predecessors, though I doubt whether the judgment of Dr Hosius will in all passages be accepted as final.

It is to be regretted that the early fragments N and P are so scanty. Enough however remains to show that (not counting mere slips of the pen) they, or N at least, represent a text differing considerably from the Pauline recension, sometimes from V G etc. also. I give a few instances, using the symbol O = M B U V G or those of them not separately mentioned.

V 44 *exhausto* O *exacto* N, 50 *pelagi* O *pelago* N, 197 *obstruxit* O *obstrinxit* N, 300 *ducem* O *virum* N, 659 *abruperit* O *abrumperet* N.

VI 24 *removentibus* M V U —*que vomentibus* G P —*que moventibus* B, 58 *flexus* O *flexum* P, 244 *putatis* O *putastis* N, 400—1 *scindens* . . . . *terrenum ignotas* O *secuit* . . . . *terrenumque novas* N, 420 *indigna* O *non digna* N, 552 *luporum* O *ferarum* N.

On the other hand we find striking cross testimony in some passages, as—

V 52 *famae* M *fama* O N, 53 habent O om. M N, 175 *stimulos* O N *stimulis* V G, 375 *revocare* O *retinere* V N, 386 *dominis* O N *dominos* V, VI 32 *metatur* O P *metitur* V [et M, *i* in ras.], 161 *inpulsu* M U *incursu* V B G N, 237 *trementem* M V B N *tenentem* G P, 312 *malorum* V B G C N *laborum* M U, 330 *condixit* M B N *convertit* V G, VII 462 *tempus* V et ut vid. M *vultus* B U P.

For one reading we have the most complete evidence: VI 228 *furorem* O N P, *dolorem* having no good MS authority; and in VI 550, where editors mostly read *quacumque* with Grotius, the *quodcumque* of O is surely not the less probable for the *quocumque* of N.

The above are only a selection, meant for a fair one; it may be that I make too much of these early variants, but I think it an important fact that the text was already considerably corrupted within perhaps 300 years of Lucan's death. How far the testimony of the Paulines M B U should outweigh that of all other kinds of authority, how far the 'better' reading is the more likely to be the *vera Lucani manus*, are just the questions that seem to me unsuited for a confident answer.

How great is the gain to Lucan's text from the labours of Dr Hosius may be seen in the following passages. I give the reading as established by him, and note the MS authority followed in each case, appending the rejected reading in brakets.

I 531 *tenso* M B U C [*denso*], II 106 *praecepisse* M V B [*praecipitasse*], 289 *velit* M V B [*valet*], 728 *descivit* M B U [*destituit*], III 348 *attingere* M B U C [*carpere*], 484 *incerta* M B U G C [*incensa*], IV 578 *uritur*

O [*utitur, vertitur*], V 71 *summotus* O N [*semotus*], 91 *contactum...hominis* O [*contactus...hominum*], 189 *magna* M B U G N [*multa*], 191 *clara* O N [many conjj.], 602 *concidat* O [*pareat*], VI 76 *terrae* O [*Romae*], 137 *vomit* O [*gemit*], 317—8 *suo* M B V N *hortatu* B V N [*sui.....hortati*], VII 191 *nescius* M V [*nescit in*], 325 *inputet* O C [*impetat*], 406 *corpore* B U G [*tempore*], 621 *demissum...ensem* O [*demisso...ense*], VIII 366 *ibitur* M B U [*labitur*], 864 *Tusco..... fulmen* O C [*fusco.....numen*], IX 604 *nunc olim factura deum es* O with trivial variation [*incolumis* etc. conj. Withof], X 329 *moribus* M U ut vid. [*molibus*].

These are a few selections from a large number. Several of them have long been recognized as probably right: but it seems to me that Dr Hosius has now established the reading with as near an approach to certainty as we are likely to get. We now stand on MSS selected on an intelligible principle; as I at present believe, on a right principle. And the collations are now precise. The corrections of other hands are no longer reported as the readings of the MS itself. We no longer have *solutae* given as the reading of M in I 277, an error that lasted till M was fully collated by Steinhart.

Whether in following the Pauline MSS we draw nearer to what Lucan wrote, can hardly be determined. But that we are making the sense clearer and better in many places I for one do not doubt. Let us however not forget that we are dealing with an unfinished poem of which several recensions may have existed within a short time of the writer's death.

If we follow the Paulines as our main guide it is perhaps as well not to leave them without very good reasons. I proceed to give some passages in which I think Dr Hosius has left them too readily.

I 74 *mixtis* O. Why drag in from conjecture the rare Lucretian adverb *mixtim*? Surely the sense remains practically unchanged.

101 *mare* M B G C. Why prefer *male* [V U]? Is then *conferre* intransitive, or *geminum* = *geminum mare*?

320 *minantes* M V U G. Why *micantes* [B]? To prove the use of *micare* [Hos. praef. p. xv] is not to the point.

588 *volitantis* M B. Why *errantis* [V U G C]? Either word might be a gloss on the other, and the Pauline authority is for the former.

II 214 *nam* O. Why *iam* (Hos.) *dum* (Grot.) or *cum* (Bentl.)? Is not the contrast between the stream of Tiber that could not, and the stream of blood that did, sweep away the gathered corpses, very much in Lucan's manner? and is not this much better brought out by *nam*?

476 *vocaret* M B G. Why *vacaret* [V U, for C is not very good evidence here]? Surely the former is much better sense. For the confusion of these words see Hosius. notes vi 126, 558, praef. p. viii.

IV 219 *petenda* V B [*petenda est* in ras. M]. Is not the sense better than *petita* [U G] *est*?

V 383 *summo ... honori* M [*summo ... honore* V B G]. I cannot see why we should prefer *summum...honorem* [U, for in N only *onore-* remains]. The dative is accepted in II 707 by Hosius on the authority of M. Cf. Juvenal VIII 28.

386 *dominis* M B U G N. Why *dominos* [V]?

VI 200 *limine* O C *portae* M U G. Burmann's note may not be quite satisfactory, but I do get a possible meaning from the passage, not unsuited to Lucan. But of the meaning of *limite* and *torta* [V B, ? C] I can get no notion whatever.

453 *adductus* M B U G C. Why *addictus* [V]?

VII 183 *tumultu* M B U C. What is gained by reading *tumultus* after the correctors of M and B [V G have *tumultum*] I do not see.

641 *vincitur* M B U G. Why *vincimur* [V]?

VIII 575 *classemque* M B V U. Why *sociosque* [G]? Is not *socios* much more like a gloss on *classem* than vice versa? It explains the point.

IX 449 *nocens* M B V U. Surely there is no serious objection to this, enough to justify us in reading *nocet* [G].

454 *harenis* M B V U. If we are to prefer *habenis* [G], and to compare II 500-1 *levis totas accepit habenas in campum sonipes*, I reply that there all is clear and the sense plain. Here there is a better supported alternative, and it is unnecessary to introduce a metaphor. Auster gives full vent to his rage 'over the whole stretch of sand.'

X 536 *subito* M B U G. Why *subitus* [V]?

In these passages and many others I am at a loss to divine the grounds on which Dr Hosius' decision is based. I can see pretexts in most cases, but not what I should call sound reasons. If it is to be a matter of taste, what of *mixtim* in I 74?

That M is the leading authority of the

Paulines is quite clear. In illustration let me cite

II 57 *conlatus in ignes* M [*contatus* C, *collapsus* O].

III 149 *non iam potuisse negari* M [*nil iam* O].

571 *nullique perempti in ratibus cecidere suis* M [*multique* O].

663 foll. *at illis...cum prensarent...inpia turba...ferit ense lacertos* M [*illi* O].

V 419 *incumbatque ferens* (*Aquilo*) M and ? G [*furens* O].

VI 610 *medios herbis praerumpimus annos* M [*abrumpimus* O].

IX 379 *mea signa secutis* M [*castra* O C].

592 *indiga cogatur laticis certare iuventus* M and C in interpr. [*latices* V U G and *potare petare portare* O alius aliud].

Dr Hosius seems to me rightly to have followed M in these and other passages. Indeed nothing but the establishment of some entirely new theory of the MSS authority for Lucan's text—of which at present we hear nothing—seems likely to dislodge M from its primacy. Written [see praef. viii—xii] by a copyist both blundering and ignorant, it is probably a more faithful copy than if it were the work of a better scholar of that age. It therefore probably stands nearer to the text of Paulus than U or B. C is on rather a different footing. The readings of M seem to agree with Hosius' appreciation of the MS. But it is not to be proved that M B U C came immediately from the same copy of Paulus' text: and how far in descent they are respectively removed from that original there are of course no means of determining. Hosius p. xiv. thinks that Paulus' own copy may have been the archetype of M B C.

It is well to observe in a few instances the marked difference between V and the Pauline group. Blundering and ignorance are not the faults of the writer of V. But that he [or his original perhaps] allowed himself to correct blunders and improve the text has since Steinhart's inquiries been held most probable. To cite passages:—

I 50 *iuvent* O *iuvat* V, II 133 *hominis quid fata paterent* O *pararent* V, 564—5 *cupis...paras* O *cupit...parat* V, III 66 *prius* O *plus* V, 488 *fronte* O *fronde* V, IV 61 *in euro* O *ab euro* V, 253 *in faciem* O *in facie* V, VIII 617 *vellet* O *possit* V, IX 574 *facimus* O *agimus* V.

In these passages Dr Hosius steadily follows O, rightly as I think. The conscious consistency of the writer of V shows well in IV 318 *tenera sucos pressere medulla*, where B and G have *tener(a)e* and *medulla*, but V *tenerae...medullae*.

Whether V be not right in some places where Dr Hosius rejects its readings is matter of legitimate doubt. For instance,

II 587 *umbras numquam flectente Syene.* V (and a corrector of M) give *nusquam*, which editors [see Oud.] have preferred as explicable without violating facts. M and the rest give *numquam*, and Macrobius taxes Lucan with error on the ground of this very word. Now, we know that there were differences in the text by the time of Macrobius; we know from the Suetonian Life that copies were circulated of the 'cheap and nasty' sort [*non tantum operose et diligenter sed inepte quoque*]: are we to lay the blame on the author or on his copyists, if there be a blunder of fact here? The passage well illustrates what I said above as to the possible difference between a better reading and a genuine reading in Lucan.

It may also be doubted whether V is rightly followed in certain cases. For instance

V 107 *dedit sedem notas mutantibus urbes.* O have *totas* [*totes* C], which Kortte and Hosius reject, but which I prefer, comparing VIII 217, 336, IX 495.

137 *fari* V seems to me a correction of *fati* O [but *ati* in ras. B], and probably wrong.

IX 627 *non mollia suco* [*arva Medusae*]. O have *sulco*, which may be a correction of *suco*, but I doubt it.

What I have now said must suffice for the MS basis of the text. I may add a few words on the conjectural emendations now and then admitted by the editor. This path of criticism has not I think been hitherto a happy one in Lucan's case. Bentley, whose splendid discernment repeatedly led him in choosing between MS readings to a result confirmed by recent research, is miserable when he comes to conjectures. And where he failed others might well do the same. Grotius, Heinsius, Schrader, Withof,—not to name modern scholars—little of real value is to be gleaned from any. About half of the efforts are devoted to removing the near repetition of the same word. Yet, if we admitted every proposed change of this kind, the text would still bristle with such repetitions. The whole attempt is a blunder.

I 295 *pedibusque repagula laxet.* So Hosius, comparing Ov. *met.* II 155. But it is not clear that the two cases are parallel. Here I think the horse is meant to be

using his mouth not his feet. To say that *pronusque* [O] comes from *prono* in 292 is, so far as we can judge from the undoubted usage of Lucan, a baseless assumption.

II 26 *oculosque in morte micantes.* So Hosius from Ennius [fr. 328 B]. This is much more probable, but I have no room for reasons. Still, are we not perhaps simply misunderstanding *minaces* [O]?

VI 25 *exiguo debet, quod non est insula, collo.* So Hosius after Voss. This is very tempting. But *collis* is sometimes a very slight rise in Lucan, as IV 11, 98, will show. And from the point of view of military strength we gain sense by taking *exiguo* of height rather than breadth. I am not convinced that *colli* [O P] is wrong.

663 *praebente* is a fine conjecture of Madvig's, better than Grotius' *praestante* (cf. 607), for the *praesente* of O.

VII 587 *quid ferrum, Brute, tenebas?* So Hosius after Burmann. *quod* O [*quot* M]. It is a pity to emend only to spoil the sense.

There are not a few others, some very probable, but I cannot here deal with more.

Of Dr Hosius' bold transposition of VII 510—20 to between 488 and 489 I can only say that, taken with the argument in praef. xx—xxii, I think it right, and a brilliant achievement. It is well worth while reading all he says.

The editor has also boldly discarded the erroneous title *Pharsalia.*

A few desperate old enemies still await the reader of Lucan. Such are II 126, VII 460—4, IX 568, 777—9.

The services of the editor in punctuation are here and there not small. Misprints are very rare. *status* for *flatus* in II 620 is the most notable. See it again in Jeep's Claudian, II p. 140.

For Lucan's orthography I must depend on the master of many collations, the editor. But that the MSS are really safe guides in this case may be doubted. I observe for instance that *amentavit* VI 221 has one *m.* N seems to give two. The verb or the substantive comes four times in Silius [Ruperti's index], never again in Lucan. Bauer with the MSS accepts the double *m* in Silius, and the form is recognized in other writers. May it not well be so in Lucan also?

I am sorry to omit so much of real interest. Many of the passages I have cited for one purpose serve for other purposes, so I have not repeated them. I have only to repeat that the services of Dr Hosius deserve from students of Latin literature the sincerest gratitude and praise.

W. E. Heitland.

TWO EDITIONS OF *CATULLUS*, BY MERRILL AND OWEN.

Catullus. Edited by Elmer Tuesdell Merrill, Rich Professor of Latin in Wesleyan University. Boston: Ginn. 1893.

Catullus: with the Pervigilium Veneris. Edited by S. G. Owen. Illustrated by J. R. Weguelin. London: Lawrence and Bullen. 1893. 16*s.* net.

These two editions of *Catullus* are perfectly distinct in scope and character. Prof. Merrill's is one of the 'College Series of Latin Authors' published by the enterprising firm of Ginn and Co. As such it deals mainly with interpretation. Mr. S. G. Owen, on the other hand, offers his readers a *livre de luxe,* enriched with costly pictures, and proposing a large number of new conjectural emendations. It is a book for the curious and the virtuoso.

Prof. Merrill has neglected none of the lines which nowadays are indispensable in a conscientious editor. The better to form an opinion of the textual question, he has himself collated and completely transcribed the Oxford MS. (*O*), one page of which, reduced a third in size to fit the shape of his edition, is facsimiled. The readings of this MS. and those of *G*, the Germanensis, now in the National Library of Paris, are given in the Critical Appendix at the end of the volume: with a selection from the numberless emendations of four centuries of critics. From this it will be seen that the American editor sides with Bährens, Bonnet, Munro, Bénoist, Émil Thomas, B. Schmidt and S. G. Owen in considering *GO* to be adequate representatives of all the MSS. This is not the place to raise the question again: but, to say the least, it is unsafe to consider the point settled finally.[1]

[1] The editor of the second edition of Bährens' *Catullus,* K. P. Schulze, says 'nemo hodie omnes

The Introduction treats of the life of Catullus, his amour with Lesbia, his relations with Caesar, the journey to Bithynia, &c. From the plan of the series it is necessarily brief, and rouses rather than satisfies curiosity.

The Commentary, on the other hand, is tolerably minute and rarely leaves any real difficulty untouched. Original, indeed, it is not: but it is, as a rule, careful, and on the whole well-considered. Its chief demerit is the extraordinarily little use made of Munro's *Elucidations*.

Some points will rouse criticism. x. 17 *unum beatiorem* 'the one man who was blest above his fellows.' xii. 8 *mutari uelit* 'Pollio is so chagrined at your conduct that he would give a talent to change the facts,' but *mutari* must mean here an exchange or barter. xxi. 11 *Ah me me* though an emendation of Scaliger's is very questionable Latin. lvii. 7 *uno in lecticulo.* This somewhat doubtful diminutive of *lectus* is supported by *lecticula* which is a diminutive of *lectica* and has a long *i*. lxi. 186 *senibus unis* will not scan, though the reading of MSS. The generally accepted emendation *uiris* has many notes of plausibility. At any rate, if *unis* is left in the text, it should be obelized. vi. 2, 3, *ni sint—uelles.* 'The tenses as they here stand convey the idea of a pause for deliberation after laying down the chosen proposition (*ni sint* &c.), and then a triumphant pounce upon the inevitable conclusion (*uelles dicere* &c.).' I cannot feel this triumphant pounce: but the combination of pres. and imperf. no doubt admits of more than one explanation.

Among the particular views which seem new, the following are among the most noticeable. (1) That the fragm. *non custos si fingar ille Cretum,—essem te mihi amice, quaeritando* is not part of lv. or at least was not so considered by the original editor of the *Liber Catulli*, but a rejected trial-sketch on the same subject, for which lv. was afterwards substituted. If this is so, it seems odd that in both the fragm. and the complete poem lv., and in these alone, the phalaecius is constructed with a spondee in the second foot. (2) That in lxiii. 73 *iam iamque* is not = *et iam iam*, but *iam et iam.* For this is cited Cic. *Att.* vii. 20, 1 *at illum ruere nuntiant et iam iamque adesse*, xvi. 9 *iam iamque uideo bellum.* This is a nice point and deserves careful consideration: but I confess to scruples. (3) lxiv. 130 *extremis querellis* is explained after Prop. iv. 7, 55 *Flens tamen extremis dedit haec mandata querellis* as if Ariadne's grief so far overcame her that she supposed herself dying, and in support of this is cited *Cir.* 347 *super morientis alumnae Frigidulos ocellos* = Catullus' *Frigidulos udo singultus ore cientem* (lxiv. 131). This seems to me more than questionable.

With Merrill's verdict on liv. I am in the completest sympathy. He speaks of it as 'exhibiting in spite of attempts at emendation, an extremely un-Catullian blindness and awkwardness, which fact, together with the repetition in the MSS. of l. 16, 17 after v. 1, makes it altogether probable that the tradition of the text is incurably defective.' The remark, again, on x. 9, 10 *nihil neque ipsis Nec praetoribus esse nec cohorti* 'the order is that of logical emphasis; not even the inhabitants have anything; how then can governors, to say nothing of staff, ever get anything?' is acute and may seem to settle the question, here unusually difficult, of reading.

The commentary is more than usually full and precise on lxiii., the *Attis*: see the notes on *cymbalum* 21, *curuo calamo* 22, *capita ui iaciunt* 23, and *aethera album* 40. But I have found nothing new on lxvi., lxviii., the most obscure of the Catullian poems.

The readers of Mr. Owen's *Tristia* will expect to find much that is new in his *Catullus.* And they will not be disappointed. To begin with what will commend the book to the bibliophile, it is enriched with eight illustrations, six of which refer to scenes in the poems of Catullus, one to the *Peruigilium*, the other forms a frontispiece. The meaning of this frontispiece is not clear; it represents a nude and very pretty female figure whispering into the ear of a long-nosed sphinx on a pedestal. Of the remaining illustrations, the most pleasing, in my judgment, are those in lxiv., the first of which gives a slim-limbed Nereid rising from the sea close by the Argo, the second represents Ariadne wandering with dishevelled hair and in a despairing attitude along the beach of Dia. If I might offer a criticism on this part of Mr. Owen's Catullus, I would suggest that in the picture of Lesbia and her sparrow, the form of the bird is very indistinct and its neck too thick and long, and that in the picture which illustrates *Ille mi par esse deo uidetur*, the nose of the poet looks preternaturally sharp.

praeter codices Oxoniensem et Germanensem ut inutiles reiciendos esse arbitrabitur,' and has added to the readings of *GO* those of a Venice codex, *M*, recently reproduced photographically by Constantino Nigra, the erudite author of *La Chioma di Berenice.*

The body of the work consists of (1) ten elegiac lines to the memory of the lamented J. H. Onions, (2) a short account of the MSS. of Catullus, (3) the poems, (4) a series of critical notes on disputed passages. In these Mr. Owen has brought together the remarks which a very long acquaintance with Catullus has suggested to him. Many, if not most, of them were read in 1892 to the Oxford Philological Society: but to the world at large they will be new. On this point it is impossible not to regret that the luxurious and expensive get-up of the book will make it inaccessible to many, especially continental, readers; and that the new suggestions on the text, of which there are not a few, will only gradually pass into circulation. So much has been written on Catullus, that a volume which should contain, like the Appendix to Wecklein's *Aeschylus*, 'coniecturas uirorum doctorum minus certas' (and even Avancius has his 'less certain' conjectures) would be not without its use. In the interim, it may be worth while to mention *some* of the new emendations. vi. 12 *Nam tu ista ipse vales nihil tacere.* xvii. 3 *axiclis.* xxv. 5 *Cum diva naufragos hiemps ostendit oscitantes.* xxix. 19 *Eumne Gallia et timet Britannia?* xxix. 23 *urbis editissimae.* xxxi. 13 *Gaudete vos quoque Italae lacus undae.* liv. 2 *Hara es, rustice.* lv. 9 *Avelli*, an infinitive of exclamation. lv. 17 *niueae citaeque bigae* is explained as genitive; Mr. Owen's dissent from Birt's theory of this poem (that Camerius was a *pusio* or boy-favourite of Catullus) is certainly justifiable: but, as he observes, Birt's pamphlet has an interest quite apart from the interpretation of lv., as a monograph full of recondite archaeological learning, well worthy of the author of *das antike Buch.-Wesen.* lxi. 152 *cave deneges.* lxiv. 16 *Illa, alia uidere nec ulla, luce marinas* where Owen says '*alia* is misplaced in the order, to show that the stress is on the word'; 29 *te Nerine;* 65 *laniatum pectus amictu* (*uiolatum* Haverfield); 110 *lateque comis cadit obvia frangens* where I venture to prefer my own conjecture, recently published in *Philologus*, *late quaeuis cumque obuia frangens;* 119 *ut consanguinearum amplexum*, 321 *pavientes vellera voce*, cf. Ov. *M.* vi. 55; 388 *templo in fulgente revertens;* lxv. 9 *te voce loquentem.* lxvi. 59 *Hic Veneris.* In this poem Nigra's *Chioma di Berenice* has been carefully considered and quoted. lxviii. 91 *Quaeque itidem;* 118 *Quae tandem indomitum;* 157 *Et qui principio nobis quae tradidit aufert.* cxvi. *evitabimus uncta* 'I shall avoid your poisoned shafts.' Perhaps the most valuable part of Mr. Owen's book is to be found in the discussions on disputed passages which are dispersed among the notes. I have not space to dwell on these here; but hope to return to them elsewhere.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

BURCKHARDT ON *HIEROCLIS SYNECDEMUS.*

Hieroclis Synecdemus, recensuit AUG. BURCKHARDT. Leipzig: Teubner, 1893. Pp. xlix. and 88. Mk. 1.20.

THE sources, the origin, and the character of this most important geographical work are likely to form the subject of much discussion in the future. A new edition, founded on a more extended survey of the MSS. than had been made by Wesseling or Parthey, was much needed: and the task has been excellently performed by Dr. Burckhardt. One MS., which may be of importance, came to his knowledge too late to be used. This is a MS. at Jerusalem, which is mentioned in Mr. Papadopoulos Kerameus's Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, Petersburg 1891, without any account of the character and extent of the text.

Hierocles Grammaticus is not mentioned by any ancient writer except Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who made a good deal of use of him; but Wesseling has proved from the character of his lists and his statement of the government of the provinces that he wrote under Justinian, *i.e.* after 527, but before the reforms of 535. Dr. Burckhardt shows that all extant MSS. go back to one original, which differed in text from the copy used by Constantine Porphyrogenitus; and it therefore appears certain that the text had suffered modifications and changes before the tenth century. It has appeared probable to me that our text is shortened from an older one; but it cannot be said that Dr. Burckhardt's researches have disclosed any facts supporting this view. He distinguished two families; one, which

contains seven MSS., goes back to a text mutilated of the last fourteen provinces, which was written in the tenth century, while the other, containing four MSS., goes back to a complete original. The latter family in its turn is divided into two groups, which have different forms of epilogue (neither of them written by Hierocles) attached to them; two MSS. of each group are known.

The value of Hierocles's lists of the cities of the Eastern Roman Empire can hardly be exaggerated, at least so far as Asia Minor is concerned. If my work on the geography of that country has proved anything, it is that Hierocles's lists must be made the foundation of all study of the country; and, though I have not succeeded in inducing any of the French and German scholars who have in recent years published anything on the subject to follow this principle, I believe that their comparative failure on the whole (as it appears to me) is due to their following a false method; for the many excellent remarks and discoveries in details which they have made show how much more they would have succeeded in doing had they followed a better method.

What then was Hierocles's work? According to the title, it was a 'traveller's companion,' the 'Murray' of the sixth century. According to the view for which I have argued (which is similar to that of Wesseling, but which is, so far as I know, unanimously rejected by all foreign scholars that have recently written on the subject), Hierocles founded his account of Asia Minor on the ecclesiastical lists of his time. These he modified in various ways to suit his special purpose, and he performed his task with much greater skill and knowledge in the north-western provinces than in the southern and eastern provinces of Asia Minor. From this it may be argued that he was well acquainted with Bithynia and Hellespontus, and not with the provinces further away from Constantinople. The phenomena of his list seem to me to be inconsistent with the view that he used a political or administrative list of the cities of each province. The errors which he makes are those of a writer who, in ignorance of the geography, tries to compile from the ecclesiastical lists a complete list of the cities of each province. The ecclesiastical list and the political list would of course coincide to a great extent; but there would be certain discrepancies between them, and it is precisely in regard to these discrepant points that Hierocles makes most of his blunders. Against this view almost all recent writers maintain that Hierocles used as his authority a governmental list.

I speak only of Asia Minor in this question. It is not absolutely certain that Hierocles would follow the same method in Europe and in Asia. In regard to Europe, Syria, and Egypt, I am not able to form any opinion; for it needs years of specialized work to know the geography of any of these countries sufficiently well to justify the expression of an opinion against the general consensus.

Dr. Burckhardt's admirable edition is precisely the kind of work for which my studies have made me long; and I only hope that he will supplement it by a short account of the Jerusalem MS., if it prove to be of any interest.

W. M. Ramsay.

CHARLES'S TRANSLATION OF THE *BOOK OF ENOCH.*

The Book of Enoch, translated from Professor Dillmann's Ethiopic text, emended and revised in accordance with hitherto uncollated Ethiopic MSS. and with the Gizeh and other Greek and Latin fragments, which are here published in full. Edited, with Introduction, Notes, Appendices, and Indices by R. H. Charles, M.A., Trinity College, Dublin, and Exeter College, Oxford. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1893. 16*s*.

Mr. Charles's work must undoubtedly take its place at once as the authoritative edition of the *Book of Enoch* for English readers: I see no reason why he should not in future years produce what may be the *final* edition.

In the first place, he has presented us with a translation of the Ethiopic version of the book, made on the authority of manuscripts more in number and better in quality than were accessible to Dillmann. This part of his work deserves, and has met with, a warm welcome from all scholars. It is true that his very high estimate of certain of his new MSS. is not by any means unreservedly accepted by Dillmann,

who states (in the *Theol. Literaturzeitung* for Sept. 2, 1893) as the result of his own investigation, that the group of MSS. G (G^1M) which Mr. Charles ranks highest cannot claim to be the exclusive preservers of the best text; and who, further, disputes Mr. Charles's contention that the Ethiopic text was transmitted 'with the greatest care and accuracy' through successive copies from the sixth to the sixteenth century. Points of this kind, however, cannot materially detract from the great value of Mr. Charles's main work, his new translation of a decidedly improved Ethiopic text. All students of Jewish literature, and indeed all who approach the study of the 'origins of Christianity,' are very grateful to him.

In the next place, Mr. Charles has proved himself a laborious student of the modern literature dealing with *Enoch*. His *résumés* of the opinions of his predecessors will be exceedingly useful. His bibliography does not profess to be complete: one or two suggestions as to additions will be made when I come to criticize. At present I am trying to reckon up the good points of the book before me.

Thirdly, we have in this volume for the first time a juxtaposition of a revised translation of the Ethiopic and of the text of the Greek fragments. Mr. Charles has been rather unlucky in respect of the principal Greek fragment, that discovered at Akhmîm by M. Bouriant. It was not printed until most of Mr. Charles's work had gone to press, and he has consequently been forced to give it in an Appendix, and has only been able to introduce a few corrections from it into the main part of his book. The result of this is that various points in the early chapters have to stand corrected in the light of Appendix C. It is fortune, and not Mr. Charles, who is to blame for this: perhaps it would not be unfair to add that the curious slowness of the French *Mission Archéologique* in publishing their great find has here again led to most unfortunate results. But I am far from wishing to blame the first editors: we do not know what difficulties they may have had to contend with.

From what has been said, I wish the conclusion to be drawn that Mr. Charles's work has very considerable value: but I have faults to find with it. I am not competent to criticize that part of it which deals with the Ethiopic text; nor, in any case, would this *Review* be an appropriate vehicle for such criticism. I shall concern myself with the introductory matter, and with the Greek and other fragments.

On the first page of his Introduction, Mr. Charles postulates the existence of a large literature connected with the name of Enoch, of which we possess fragments in the present Book, and in the Slavonic *Enoch*. The hypothesis receives a certain confirmation from the existence of this latter text; but, until we know more of that (and I own to a wish that Mr. Charles had given some slight abstract of its contents), we cannot pronounce on its relation to the main book. As regards the general question, I should like to enter a humble protest against the sweeping assertions which are current that a very large number of Jewish Apocalypses existed, of which neither *uola* nor *uestigium* remains. The more I see of the literature the less am I inclined to believe that any considerable proportion of it has disappeared and left no record of its existence. This is by the way: in the case of the *Book of Enoch*, is it so certain that the various portions of that book were current separately? It seems fairly clear that there must have been an *Apocalypse of Noah* which has been broken up and interspersed over the *Book of Enoch*: but will not the hypothesis that the Enochian portions were written to occupy their present position by successive authors meet the case?

On p. 5 we encounter for the first time the curious variant of Hallévi for Halévy, which, as Dillmann (*l. c.*) notes, is a frequent feature. On the same footing with this I would place a number of rather uncouth names and words which do not seem to be either necessary or expedient: 'J. Hyrcanus' (p. 7), 'Judas Maccabee' (p. 9), 'the Book of Enoch was made' (=translated: p. 22), 'Apocalyptic' as a substantive (p. 27), 'schema' (p. 28).

On p. 47 is a very odd note, which runs thus: '*Epistle to the Hebrews*. This Epistle was probably written by Barnabas. As we have seen above (p. 38) this writer cites Enoch as Scripture in the Epistle which goes by his name.' It would be cruel to suppose that Mr. Charles thinks that one and the same man could possibly have written both the Epistles alluded to: but I really cannot make anything else of the note. Πολλὰ πταίομεν ἅπαντες 'we are all of us weak at times,' and if I cite some more slips it is because I hope that Mr. Charles will correct them in a future edition, which his book certainly deserves to reach. In dealing with the ancient

testimonies and fragments he has made some omissions. I cannot find anywhere in his book a full reprint of Jude 15, a passage to which, of course, he repeatedly alludes. It is unfortunate, also, that he did not know of the Latin version of the same passage which Zahn (*NTlichen Kanon*, ii. 2, 798) quotes from the *Anonymus contra Novatianum* 16.[1] The testimony of Priscillian (*De fide et apocryphis:* ed. Schepss, p. 44) should have been cited; and there is no allusion in the Introduction to a possible influence of Enoch upon Hermas.

The Greek fragment lxxxix. 42—49 is here simply said to have been 'published by Mai from a Vatican MS. and deciphered by Gildemeister.' We ought, I think, to have been told what the MS. was, what it contained, and why a Greek MS. required to be 'deciphered.' The fact is that the fragment is written in tachygraphic characters. In a note on p. 238 we hear of the 'glosser of the Greek fragment': but we are not told what his glosses consist of.

I have more serious complaints of the treatment of the Gizeh fragment: I cannot agree with Mr. Charles (Pref. p. viii.) that his edition of it is altogether 'free from the serious blemishes of M. Bouriant's edition.' No doubt the words and clauses omitted by the first editor appear here: but on the other hand it seems to me quite impracticable to gather from Mr. Charles's text and *apparatus criticus* exactly what the text of the MS. is. This is a grave fault. Moreover, in c. xx.—xxi. 9, we are suddenly confronted with a double Greek text, of the existence of which no explanation is to be found. Those who have examined the facsimile of the Gizeh MS. will have discovered (probably with considerable difficulty) that the MS. begins with the text of xx.—xxi. 9, and then, in the middle of a line, goes back to i. 1, and that the second text of xx.—xxi. 9, recurs in its proper place. But Mr. Charles ought to have stated this quite clearly in his book.

With reference to the Latin fragment which I was so fortunate as to find in a British Museum MS., I have two corrections to make: first, the press mark of the volume is 5. E. xiii. not S. E. xiii.; for this my own handwriting may probably be to blame; next, I hope and believe that I did not say that the fragment 'follows a penitential edict of S. Boniface and is preceded by' another document.

I have now to note some omissions in the survey of the more modern literature about the *Book of Enoch*, which seem to me unfortunate. Grabe's edition of the Syncellus-fragments (*Spicil. Sacr.* i. 344 *sqq.*), Fabricius's reprint and additional remarks (*Cod. Pseud. V. T.* i. 160), De Sacy's translation of a few chapters of the Ethiopic, Gfrörer's Latin version of Laurence's translation in the *Prophetae Pseudepigraphi*, and the curious *Enoch restitutus* of Murray, should, I think, all have been mentioned, but in particular the first three: De Sacy's extracts I believe preceded Laurence's translation. Probably the first appearance of the Syncellus-fragments in English was in an appendix to a translation of the Letter of Aristeas. I will transcribe the title-page. 'The History of the Angels and their Gallantry with the Daughters of Men. Written by Enoch the Patriarch. Publish'd in Greek by Dr. Grabe. Made English by Mr. Lewis of Corpus Christi College in Oxford. London: printed for J. Hooke and T. Caldecott, against St Dunstan's Church in Fleetstreet. MDCCXV.'

The references to Enoch in Rabbinic Literature (mentioned on p. 38) ought also to have been quoted: English readers would have been grateful for a full treatment of them.

I have some fault to find with the arrangement of the book. The critical and the exegetical notes are separated: but it seems to me that not unfrequently matter appears in the former which is more appropriate to the latter. The relegation of the Gizeh text to an appendix has been already explained: there can be no doubt that it is productive of considerable inconvenience to the reader. The system of special introductions to the various sections of the book is theoretically good, but here again I find in practice that it is difficult to tell whether particular points will be found treated in the general or in the special introductions.

With Mr. Charles's views of the relation of *Enoch* to other canonical or apocryphal books one must agree to a large extent, though many of the individual passages which he adduces I for one should strike out. That is natural. But with his 'Essay on the Meaning of the Term "the Son of Man"' (appendix B, p. 312) I have this quarrel, that I cannot understand it. After having read it I must confess that I doubted, and still doubt, whether the writer

[1] I should here like to note that both in this fragment and in the longer Latin fragment recently found by me in the British Museum *nuntius* is used as an equivalent of ἄγγελος.

had an absolutely clear conception before him of what he wished to say. The subject is of course a very difficult and thorny one: but it cannot be impossible to treat it simply and clearly. Such an expression as this, 'to subsume the complete connotation' of a name, is really not necessary: one would welcome even a dozen lines of English paraphrase as a substitute.

I have said frankly what I think of Mr. Charles's work. The faults are all of them such as can easily be eliminated in a future edition of the book. To that edition we shall look forward eagerly. In the meantime we can heartily thank Mr. Charles for what he has given us. The work has been extremely difficult, and in the main it has been very well done.

It is good news that Mr. Morfill's translation of the Slavonic *Enoch*, and Mr. Charles's introduction and notes thereto are likely to appear in a few months' time. The sooner the better. There is a very wide field of apocryphal and legendary literature now in process of being opened up in Slavonic: and it is very pleasant to see that English scholars are entering upon the exploration of it.

M. R. JAMES.

THIELE ON *HERMAGORAS.*

Hermagoras: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Rhetorik, von GEORG THIELE. Strassburg: K. J. Trübner. 1893. 8vo. pp. 202. Price 6 Mk.

THE brief and scanty notices of Hermagoras given by Cicero, Quintilian, and later writers on rhetoric suffice to show that he held a position of considerable importance in the development of the subject, but leave many points in need of further elucidation. One of the earliest efforts of a scholar who did much useful work in his time, Dr. K. W. Piderit, was a 'programm' *De Hermagora rhetore* (1839); and since that date more than one meritorious attempt has been made to discuss his system and the nature of his influence. But even Volkmann's valuable treatise left much to be desired, especially from the historical point of view; for he made no serious endeavour to place him in his true relation to his predecessors and his successors. Dr. Thiele has therefore done good service to a study, which, whatever we may think of its intrinsic value, has an important place in the history of human thought, by taking up the question afresh, and submitting it to a very careful re-examination. He has done so in one of the daintiest little volumes which have ever come from the press, an almost startling contrast in its thick smooth paper and exquisite type, Greek Roman and Italic alike, to the eye-ruining abominations which used to be considered good enough for German disquisitions on the classics. Neither the Clarendon nor the Pitt Press has ever turned out more artistic work than that which the University Press at Bonn has done for Mr. Trübner. It is something of a shock to find this 'lepidus novus libellus' not containing a translation of Catullus, or a revised text of Horace, but an elaborate discussion of the precise significance of some of the technicalities of an obsolete and artificial system of rhetoric. But the work was worth doing, and it has been done very well.

Dr Thiele begins by collecting the *testimonia* and fragments of Hermagoras, from which it comes out clearly that his influence, great as it was for a time, by degrees waned and became finally extinct. In Cicero's time the system of Hermagoras was still an object of lively discussion: but Quintilian has very vague notions about it; and the Byzantine scholiasts give only a few traditional catch-words, though Augustine gives some valuable information as to his system. The necessity of a careful determination of his date is evident from the very unsatisfactory and largely erroneous article upon him in Sir W. Smith's *Dictionary of Biography*. It seems to be clearly made out that Hermagoras of Temnos flourished not less than 150 years B.C., and it is probable that he was to some extent indebted to the school of Stoic rhetoricians at Pergamum, on whose activity so much light has been thrown by recent researches. But Dr. Thiele argues with considerable force that the extent of this debt has been exaggerated, and that it was only some portions of the Stoic terminology which had become current coin, and

not the essential structure of his system which he owed to them. The repeated appearance of a four-fold division may also have been suggested by the division may also have been suggested by the four Stoic categories. But the corner-stone, the definition of the subject-matter of rhetoric as *ζητήματα πολιτικά*, *i.e.* questions concerning man as a citizen of the world, and the doctrine of *στάσεις* which is closely connected with it, were sharply attacked by Stoic philosophers like Poseidonios. And his whole system was in antagonism with the less artificial school of rhetoric, which found its leading representatives at Rhodes. This accounts for the contemptuous references to it in Cicero, who had not forgotten the lessons of Apollonius. Dr. Thiele does not go too far when he says that for Aristotle oratory is still a fine art, based upon a thorough philosophical training, while for Hermagoras it is a handicraft, working by patterns.

On some detailed points of exposition and of criticism Dr. Thiele's conclusions might be challenged: but the book contains much valuable matter, and is almost indispensable to the student of the treatise *ad Herennium* and of Cicero's *De Inventione.*

A. S. Wilkins.

KENYON ON GREEK PAPYRI IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

Greek Papyri in the British Museum, edited by F. G. Kenyon, M.A., Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. London. 1893. £7 15*s.*

The collection of papyri in the British Museum represents a series of acquisitions which must extend over a great number of years, from at least the beginning of the present century; and it bears such marks of gradual and imperfect arrangement as might naturally be expected in a mass of documents accumulated over long periods of time and reduced to order by persons of very unequal administrative capacity. The first attempt at classification seems, as far as we can judge from the catalogues which have come down to us, to have consisted in the division of the papyri into two classes, one of which contained the Egyptian and Demotic papyri, while the second contained the Greek, Latin and Coptic scripts, which were numbered successively, apparently in the order of their acquisition. It was not until 1863 that the Coptic papyri were removed to the custody of the Oriental department and assigned to a separate classification. The Latin papyri remain in the same tabular arrangement with the Greek, and, as we observe that the latest Latin acquisitions, both those which are announced in the volumes that are before us and those which have been acquired since the publication of these volumes, are placed in series with the rest of the Greek and Latin texts, I suppose we may conclude that, unless some monumental find of Latin documents should take place, the Latin texts are to continue with the mass of Greek documents under the heading 'Greek and Latin papyri' and that, as far as is practicable, they will be treated as one collection. We have then a dual arrangement of papyri, the Egyptian and the non-Egyptian. It is an unfortunate one in this respect, that many of the demotic papyri have Greek registers, and so are of importance to the student of Greek papyri; and further, if it should happen, as is extremely likely, that a find should be made of bilingual documents in Greek and Coptic, the two departments of the Museum will find a difficulty in disposing of the compound texts.

Another curious thing with regard to the Museum arrangement is that while relegating the Coptic papyri to a separate class, the catalogue has preserved, even in its latest form, amongst the papyri, a number of fragments of vellum. It is reasonable to suppose that it is the intention of the authorities to leave these fragments in the series where we find them, for they are apparently a modern acquisition; probably the explanation of the anomaly lies in the fact that Egyptian excavations, especially those in the Fayûm, often bring to light fragments of vellum as well as fragments of papyrus, and there is some reason in keeping together things which are found in the same place and are recovered at the same time. But it must be admitted that if this reasoning is good for scraps of vellum in a papyrus collection, it is equally good for papyri in Coptic and Arabic which may be

found associated with Greek or Latin remains. The fact is that every arrangement is a compromise between different principles of classification. If we propose to classify by putting the actual finds together, we must register ostraka and wooden tablets as well as papyrus and vellum, as has been done in the great collection at Vienna; if we propose to classify the materials we lose sight of the unity of the discoveries, which is often a matter of great importance; and if we simply divide the texts according to the tongues represented, we are in difficulties the moment we come across a bilingual text. It seems clear, therefore, that some compromise is necessary in the arrangement; we cannot afford to lose sight of the material, nor can we altogether desert the linguistic arrangement. Hence the classification of the present catalogue. We think, however, that it would have been better if the vellum scraps had been removed from the table of papyri, where we should not naturally have looked for them, and classified with the ordinary vellum codices.

When we examine more closely the magnificent volumes before us, an atlas of reproductions far in advance of anything that has yet been accomplished in the scientific representation of documents, and a volume of letter-press containing the transcribed texts and prolegomena, we are astonished at the amount of work that has been done in this department, and more astonished still to see how much of it has been done in recent times, and by a single pair of eyes. For it is due to Mr. Kenyon's skill and industry that the publication of the classical and other papyri of the National Collection has been brought up to date, so that it is now comparatively easy for the Museum to keep level with its acquisitions by a periodical publication. The table of papyri shows that Mr. Kenyon has edited the *Politeia* of Aristotle (in itself a piece of work worthy of a single life), he has edited the *Mimiambi* of Herodas, has published fragments of Homer, Isocrates, Hyperides, Demosthenes, Tryphon the grammarian (all of which with the exception of the Aristotle are to be found in the volume of *Classical Texts in the British Museum*); and he has now brought out a complete collection of all the lesser and non-literary papyri in the Museum, including leases and petitions, books of magic and horoscopes, wills and accounts, a mass of material ranging from the third century before Christ down to the seventh century of the era. No one can appreciate the skill and labour involved in these transcriptions unless he has been actually engaged in them or has, like ourselves, followed Mr. Kenyon's lead through the perplexity of the various hands, signs and abbreviations of the documents.

As we have said above, it will be comparatively easy now to keep the publication of new documents level with their acquisition. And the British Museum is constantly acquiring fresh material. This material will be advertised in the successive Catalogues of Additions to the MSS., of which a new number (for the years 1888–1893) is in the press. How extensive it is may be imagined from the observation that the latest number entered in the publication before us is cxxxviii., but the actual catalogue now runs up to cclv., amongst which fresh numbers we had recently the pleasure of examining a third century fragment of a Greek Psalter, which was interesting not only as being an early text, but as containing the same colometric arrangement which is found in the Vatican and Sinaitic codices. There are also some fragments from a mummy-case of the second century before Christ and other interesting material.

And now let us turn to the actual documents contained in the two volumes. We have premised that the student must not look in this collection for the most famous papyri of the Museum. The great classical texts must be sought for in the separate publications of Babington, Goodwin, Wessely, Kenyon, &c. It is unfortunate that no attempt is made to give a complete list of the various books and articles that deal with the Museum papyri. The editor apologizes for his tabular references as being restricted to official publications, but if this be the case, why is Tischendorf's work referred to, or articles in the *Archeologia*?

The present volume, then, consists chiefly of non-literary papyri, and is arranged as far as possible by subjects and dates. But here again no single system of arrangement is possible. Roughly speaking, the paleographical classification of the texts would be under the heads of Ptolemaic, Roman and Byzantine papyri. The actual classification is made as follows: Serapeum documents, magic papyri, accounts, and Fayûm documents. The classification is invited by the fact that the British Museum contains a large share of the scattered papers from Memphis, relating to the misfortunes of the twin sisters in the Serapeum. These must be treated together, and the Ptolemaic papyri naturally are grouped with them.

The Roman period contains the major

part of the public and private accounts, the most important of all being a Farm-book of the time of Vespasian (on the back of which is the text of Aristotle's *Politeia*); to the same period belong the great magic papyri, and the principal Horoscopes. Last of all the British Museum share (a small one compared with those of Berlin and Vienna) of the great discoveries in the Fayûm constitutes a separate section, which would naturally be treated under a single heading, as they belong chiefly to the time of the Byzantine domination in Egypt. A few miscellaneous documents conclude the book. We will first speak of the paleographical value of these documents. No one will work through a collection like this without observing that paleography is a science with is undergoing constant revision and correction. It is not so many years since that it was commonly held that the majority of vellum MSS. were susceptible of a reasonably exact dating; in spite of the fact that there is hardly a dated document extant amongst early vellum codices, MSS. have been assigned to the different centuries with a confidence that savours more of intuition than of knowledge. It was assumed that vertical uncials were early, and sloping uncials late, nor was it common in the latter case to assign a document to an earlier period than the seventh or eighth century. When however we turn to the British Museum volumes we find that a famous magic papyrus written in neat sloping uncials is assigned (with some slight hesitation) to the fourth century. It is evident that the theory of dating of vellum MSS. will need a radical reform. When we turn from vellum MSS. to papyrus we find some surprising changes. The famous papyrus psalter of Tischendorf, to which he used to assign such a fabulous antiquity, has under the criticism of Gardthausen and others, as well as under the light from further study of papyri, dropped to the seventh century; and it is quite an open question whether it ought not to come lower. It is fortunate for Tischendorf that he is dead. If he were alive he would have had to confess that he knew very little indeed about the date of a papyrus.

If some documents have had to come down, poetical justice requires that others should go up. It is not so long since that the Paleographical Society published a plate of what they called a Money-bill from Thebes, a little scrap of writing on wood, relating to certain financial difficulties arising out of the burial of an Ibis and the cost of its funeral sermon. The dating of that fragment with its peculiar script, and of similar documents amongst the Petrie papyri, has carried with it a number of other documents which were formerly assigned to a later period. The handwriting is cursive to the last degree, but for all that it is a hand of the third century B.C. The reader will be careful to notice the change that has taken place in the dating of the papyri marked LIA., and CVI. The former is dated *in the text circa* 150 B.C.: but the preface to the work advises us to carry it back to the third century: the latter was placed either in 157 or 146 B.C.: but here again we are advised to correct the date to B.C. 261 or B.C. 223. It appears, therefore, that we have now a number of documents assigned to the third century before Christ, and these are our earliest monuments for the study of Greek paleography. They are a curiously bad script, but easily to be recognised. It will be seen that on every hand paleography is making the corrections proper to progressive science: nor need we despair of the ultimate dating of vellum MSS. with an accuracy that we cannot at present lay any claim to.

When we pass from the consideration of the writing to the contents of the papyri, we find fresh light on a mass of matters relating to public and private life. Probably those which have interested us as much as any are the magic papyri. To most people these are very void of attraction. The recipes for raising spirits or for seeing one's own double, side by side with plans for detecting thieves and for the expulsion of vermin, are in themselves stupid enough; but, inasmuch as these things are a part of the life of the people, and therefore react largely upon the literature of the people, we ought not to neglect them simply because we find them made up largely of Coptic, Hebrew and Syriac Abracadabra. Magic is too near a relative of religion to be left unstudied. We will give an instance of the reaction of magic upon religious literature, which we came across in our reading not long since.

The famous legends of the Finding of the Holy Cross by Helena have been published from a number of early texts (two Syriac forms by Nestle from those in the British Museum, and a sixth century Latin by Holder) and I have myself transcribed a seventh or eighth century Greek uncial text of the legend from a MS. in the library on Mt. Sinai. These curious legends have been written by a person who was skilled

in magic and acquainted with magic formulae. The story records that the Empress Helena, unable to force the Rabbis to disclose the place where the Cross of Christ was hidden, takes the youngest of the Rabbis, a youth named Judas, and puts him at the bottom of a dry well until he shall furnish the necessary information. After seven days of starvation, Judas surrenders and promises to find the Cross: he is brought up and recites the following Hebrew prayer:

ΑΚΡΑΑΚ · ΡΑΒΡΙΜΙ · ΛΑΜΜΕΛΔΩΧ · ΑΖΖΑΗΛ ·
ΖΩΦΘΕΝ · ΦΑΥΘΙΟΥ · ΒΑΡΟΥΚΚΑΘΑ · ΑΔΩΝΑΙΕ · ΕΛΩΙ
ΜΝΑΝΕ · ΑΔΕΦΙΔΩΝ · ΒΑΡΟΥΧΑΤΑ · ΣΙΑΜΩΡ ·
ΑΜΑΜΩΡ · ΙΛ̅ΗΜ · ΑΔΩΝΑΒΕΙΡ · ΑΔΩΝΑΙ ·
ΒΕΛΕΜΩΝ · ΚΑΘΑ · ΕΛΩΕΙΜ · ΑΧΗΛ · ΔΑΔΑΥΑ ·
ΛΑΜΕ ✱ Ω · ΕΛΧΜΑΡΩ · ΙΡΟΒΑ̅ · ΙΣΤΡΗΛ ·
ΑΖΑΖΙΡ · ΑΒΡΑΝΩΚΑΘΑ · ΑΜΗΝ

Of this prayer we have an absurd and impossible Greek translation to the following effect:

'Maker of Heaven and Earth, thou that sittest upon the Chariot of the Cherubim, which swim in aerial courses, in immeasurable light where mortal nature cannot pass, etc., etc.

It is evident that the writer had no knowledge whatever of the Hebrew which he professes to transcribe. And it is a waste of time (as we know by sad experience) to try and reconstruct the original Hebrew words of Judas' prayer from the jargon of the MSS. *It is the jargon, as it stands, that must be printed.* The fact is that the sentences are taken from a book of magical formulae, very similar to those which are found in the magic papyri of the Museum: and, as the editor of the Museum papyri remarks over the similar cases which occur in his texts, 'we cannot hope to extract a connected or coherent sense from most of these passages. Formulae of this description, handed down orally for some considerable period, and recited without much attention to their meaning, soon became distorted and corrupt.' The conclusion at which we have arrived with regard to the use of magic formulae in the famous legends to which we have referred will probably also lead us to see the influence of magical ideas in the main body of the legend. The search after lost property is one of the leading questions for which appeal is made to a magician: and it is very likely that this was the reason for the introduction of the formulae and for putting Judas at the bottom of a well, divination by means of a boy in a pit being one of the accepted methods. If this is right, Mr. Kenyon ought in his text of the Divination of Serapis to read

τ
μαν Σαραπιακον
. . παιδος επι λυχνου και φιαλης
και βοθρου.

and not βαθρου as printed by him, against Wessely and Goodwin.

But we must not spend more time over the magic spells, and will leave them with the remark that when in an early Christian document, or semi-Christian documents, we find strings of quasi-Hebrew or Syriac words, we may suspect the hand of the student of magic. The convent library on Mt. Sinai has further magical jargon in the account of the death of Judas who found the Holy Cross; and there are similar phenomena to be traced in other patristic texts.

Perhaps the most stupid of all the forms of divination in the Museum texts is the long papyrus which contains random verses of Homer: Homeric *sortes* would seem to have been highly developed, when we find that the author himself has been set on one side, and replaced by a selection of 216 verses. The only interesting thing about this papyrus is its numeration of the successive verses; they are not numbered successively but according to the following scheme

ααα	αβα
ααβ	αββ
,,	,,
ααϛ	αβϛ

and so on down to ϛϛϛ = 666.

The reason for this odd arrangement is that, by means of three throws with a die of

six faces, the person who is asking his fortune may be able to select a verse out of the 216 verses that have been transcribed, 216 being the cube of six, and the number of possible throws. The verses however, seem to be a singularly stupid collection, and the oracle must have often needed an interpretation.

We must bring our remarks to a conclusion. The whole volume is one of much interest, and its production is worthy of no ordinary thanks. The transcriptions, moreover, will be found peculiarly accurate, and a marvel of eye-sight as well as insight.

J. Rendel Harris.

FENNELL'S *PINDAR, THE OLYMPIAN AND PYTHIAN ODES.*

Pindar, the Olympian and Pythian Odes, edited with Notes, Introductions, and Essays, by C. A. M. Fennell, LL.D. Cambridge, at the University Press, 1893. 9*s*.

'This edition is virtually a new work,' Mr. Fennell tells us in his Preface. In the earlier edition, published a good many years ago, there was much that was incomplete and that would inevitably be modified by later studies. The present edition, though it has some flaws, is perhaps the safest and most pleasing commentary on Pindar extant in English.

The introduction is unequal. At page xiii. and onwards there is an admirable, and at the same time very simple, account of Pindar's poetic genius. At page xxii. again Mr. Fennell lays it down that Pindar 'mixes metaphors, not confusedly, but by rapid and daring leaps from one to another,' and in his commentary he defends *Ol.* vi. 82, δόξαν ἔχω τιν' ἐπὶ γλώσσᾳ ἀκόνας λιγυρᾶς κ.τ.λ., a passage which has been often denounced or emended. This swiftness of transition has not always been allowed for by editors, though they probably would not be at all offended by such a passage as this in English :—

Surely the *bitter* and the *rooted* love
That *burns* between us, going from me to thee,
Shall more endure than all things.

At page xix. Mr. Fennell has some very sensible remarks on the subject of 'signals' or verbal echoes. His conclusion is that 'Tautometric responsion of single words is as a rule without significance and may sometimes be due to chance.' The last paragraph on page xxxii. conveys no clear idea to the unmusical reader—it may even be doubted whether a musician would see his way through it. In the pages which follow there is some confusion of ideas, as in writing ⌊ ◡ | _ > ‖ and in making – > = ♩♩ (top of page xxxiv.). The symbol – > was devised to denote two long syllables which were *not* to be taken as ♩♩. 'The Aeolian odes read admirably as prose-poetry' (p. xxv.) justifies a rather objectionable proceeding—taking a work of art in some other way than that which its creator intended. The account of the MSS. on page xxxvi. is too slight to be worth printing at all—a summary of Mommsen and Lehrs, on texts and scholia, extending over two or three pages, would have been undoubtedly useful.

Mr. Fennell prefixes to each Ode a general introduction—sometimes headed by a very serviceable chronological table—an analysis of the metre, and an analysis of the contents. The last is rather unsatisfactory and misleading, for a mere enumeration of the topics of a Pindaric Ode necessarily gives the impression of disconnectedness. The general introductions are good and complete. In the metrical analyses, Mr. Fennell works upon a principle which is of more value than some of the theories expounded in the introduction to the book. The principle is to designate by letters the chief recurrent phrases of an ode and then write out its structure by their help. If he had carried this out in a lucid and consistent way, he might have rendered some service to the student of Pindar. But he sometimes recognizes phrases which, while they *may* have some musical justification, are far from convincing to the ordinary reader. Thus in *Ol.* ix. one of the constitutive phrases of the piece is set down as ⌊ | _ ⏑̄ ‖ or ⌊ | _ ∧, (B), and the last line is analyzed BBA, *i.e.* ⌊ | —◡ ◡ ‖ ⌊ | _ ◡ ‖ _ ⏑̄ | —◡ ◡ | _ ⏑̄. Making a κῶλον *begin* with a contracted foot is his favourite device.

Thus the first line of *Ol.* i. 1 is read: ⏑ ⁝ ⊢ | —⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ ‖ ⊢ | – ⏑ | —⏑ ⏑ | – >, and the second ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ ‖ ⊢ | —⏑ ⏑ | —⏑ ⏑ | —⏑ ⏑ ‖ – >]. Mr. Fennell here speaks of 'the inevitable symmetry which results from J. H. H. Schmidt's method as well as from mine': the symmetry found by the latter may be trustworthy—that is another enquiry—but his own period 3, 4, 2, 4, 1 does not on the face of it look 'inevitable.'

I append a few notes on particular passages.

Ol. ii. 78, Πηλεύς τε καὶ Κάδμος ἐν τοῖσιν ἀλέγονται. 'ἀλέγονται,' 'are numbered among them,' requires illustration. The best parallel is to be found in the παρθένιον of Alcman, οἷον οὐ Λύκαισον ἐν καμοῦσιν ἀλέγω, 'I count him not among the dead.'

Ol. v. 10, ἀείδει μὲν ἄλσος ἁγνόν is not so obviously intelligible as to require no note. Is it 'fills with song,' as we have in the passive αὐλεῖται δὲ πᾶν | μέλαθρον, or is it like ὃν πατέρ' Ἄκρων' ἐκάρυξε καὶ τὰν νέοικον ἕδραν, makes the theme of heralds or of singers, heralds or sings 'by an agent' as Mark Twain would say?

Ol. vii. 49, 'note that P.'s point is to show—.' This is the evil example of Gildersleeve! The cost of printing 'Pindar' in full is not so enormous as to justify an editor in causing irritation to a large class of sensitive readers.

Pyth. i. 76, ἀρέομαι | πὰρ μὲν Σαλαμῖνος Ἀθαναίων χάριν | μισθόν κ.τ.λ. 'I shall win from Salamis the gratitude of the Athenians as my reward.' Has it never been suggested that this is a simple case of Χιασμός? παρὰ μὲν Ἀθαναίων ἀρέομαι μισθὸν Σαλαμῖνος χάριν, ἐν Σπάρτᾳ δὲ κ.τ.λ. Is it more puzzling than Aristophanes' words in the *Peace*

ὁ Ζεὺς μὲν οὖν οἶδ' ὡς τὰ τούτων μῶρ' ἔμ' εἰ
πύθοιτ' ἂν ἐπιτρίψειε

or than a passage where Mr. Fennell himself recognizes 'interlacing' of words, *Pyth.* iv. 24, ἁνίκ' ἄγκυραν ποτὶ χαλκόγενυν ναὶ κρημνάντων ἐπέτοσσε (ἄγκ. χαλκ. ποτὶ ναὶ κρ.)? Another passage where 'interlacing' should be recognized is *Ol.* ii. 63, ὅτι θανόντων μὲν ἐνθάδ' αὐτίκ' ἀπάλαμνοι φρένες κ.τ.λ. Mr. Fennell rejects Rauchenstein's explanation on the ground of the position of 'ἐνθάδε'![1]

Pyth. iii. 34, ἐπεὶ παρὰ Βοιβιάδος κρημνοῖσιν ᾤκει παρθένος. An unpleasing and unnecessary note of Mr. Fennell's occupies space which would have been better filled by quoting the graceful opening of one of the Ἠοῖαι

ἢ οἵη Διδύμους ἱεροὺς ναίουσα κολωνοὺς
Δωτίῳ ἐν πεδίῳ πολυβότρυος ἄντ' Ἀμύροιο
νίψατο Βοιβιάδος λίμνης πόδα παρθένος ἀδμής.
(*fr.* 142, Kinkel.)

Very likely Pindar had this passage in mind.

Pyth. iv. 57. Mr. Fennell does not venture upon a theory about ἦ ρα. But surely it is a thing about which an editor must say *something*. Is it the Homeric 'spoke,' with the *schema Pindaricum?*

Ib. 105, οὔτ' ἔπος εὐτράπελον. He suggests οὔτε ϝέπος τραπελόν, 'shifty.' But is not εὐτράπελον the happiest possible expression—'frivolous,' a euphemism for 'disrespectful' or 'insulting'?

Ib. 189, ἐπαινήσαις 'gave praise to each.' Mr. Myers' 'thanked them' is more exact.

W. R. Hardie.

[1] Demos. *Ol.* ii. 30 is a prose passage where Chiasmus has sometimes been ignored, εἰ δὲ τοῖς μὲν ὥσπερ ἐκ τυραννίδος ὑμῶν ἐπιτάττειν ἀποδώσετε κ.τ.λ. The construction is τοῖς μὲν ὑμῶν, not τυραννίδος ὑμῶν.

RUSHFORTH'S *LATIN HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS.*

Latin Historical Inscriptions, by G. Mc N. Rushforth, M.A. Clarendon Press. 10*s*.

This book is very significant of the change which has come over the teaching of ancient—and especially perhaps of Roman—history in Oxford in the course of the last fifteen or twenty years. Those who can recollect the ordinary history lectures in—say the early seventies—will remember that they consisted very much of summaries, not so much of facts as of tendencies, and of generalisations, more or less wide, based on these as to the social or political characteristics of a particular period. The lectures were often highly suggestive, but they were suggestive of the ultimate results of historical investigation, not of the process of constructing history. The student learnt from them the faculty of writing extremely good essays on his-

torical results, but he was comparatively seldom allowed any insight into the processes by which the lecturers, or their German authorities, arrived at these results from the original data on which of course he had some vague idea that they depended. There was a tendency in those days rather to look down upon the man who had the reputation of 'knowing his books,' and a 'First' gained by such knowledge, as it was reported to be sometimes, was somewhat of a 'lusus naturae' and argued a certain amount of eccentricity on the part of examiners. A few years later one used to hear at a distance from Oxford that cases of this kind were becoming commoner, and without knowing exactly what the change really meant, one had perhaps an uneasy—perhaps a complacent—idea that a First in Greats was not what it had been. As a matter of fact the change was a wholly good one, at least as far as history was concerned, and it was due very largely to Prof. Pelham's teaching and influence. Even in the days I have alluded to, his lectures were beginning to be an exception to the general rule, and his hearers had many more references and citations given them than they perhaps quite knew what to do with. But Prof. Pelham was then only one among many; now he stands in a position by himself, and those who come nearest to him are his own pupils who carry out the method which they have learnt from him. And that method consists in going back to the sources of history, accepting no generalisation which is not based on and cannot be traced back to—evidence, the evidence of classical writers critically weighed, the evidence of inscriptions and coins, the evidence in fact of archaeological data of any sort. Treated in this way the teaching of history is a training in scientific method, a distinct preparation for original work. It is of course possible to carry this tendency too far. The collection of evidence, the multiplication of citations, the consideration of 'fontes' are in truth only means to an end—the historical reconstruction of the past, and possibly Oxford lectures sometimes a little lose sight of this, and tend to become a little scrappy, a little too crowded with evidence, brought together with a view more of showing how much evidence we have, than of developing the conclusions to be drawn from it. If the book before us in any way suggests this last remark, it is more because there is a certain want of proportion and perspective in Mr. Rushforth's work than from any failure to recognise the proper relation between evidence and conclusions. It is perhaps a little surprising that Mr. Hicks's volume of Historical Greek Inscriptions has not been followed before this by a corresponding book on Latin Inscriptions. As Mr. Rushforth says, 'the ordinary student is almost helpless in presence not merely of the Corpus but even of selections like those of Wilmanns' which do not supply or supply only imperfectly "the historical setting" on which the value of the inscriptions depends. Mr. Rushforth has to a certain extent filled this gap: if he has not filled it quite sufficiently, as sufficiently as his careful and accurate work and his familiarity with the literature of the subject would have enabled him to do, it is, in addition to some faults of arrangement, because he has been too anxious to make his book a small one, to limit the number of his inscriptions to one hundred, and above all to confine himself rigidly within the limits of the period usually taken up for the Oxford examination. The result is a piece of work which, as far as considerable portions of it are concerned, can only be described as sketchy, a characteristic which is certainly not due to any lack of qualifications on Mr. Rushforth's part to have made it complete, and probably not to any undue precipitancy in publishing work that is imperfect, but seems to be an instance, an unfortunate one in this case, of the self-repression which makes the work of some scholars so much less full than their readers would like to have it.

To a certain extent indeed Mr. Rushforth seems to have wavered between two methods of illustrating the historical value of inscriptions. One method would be to select a number of headings such as the Constitution of the Principate, the Administration or the Frontier policy of the Empire, or of particular provinces in it, the Organisation of the army or the fleet or the Imperial worship, and to show under each heading to what an extent epigraphical evidence contributes to our knowledge of it. A work of this kind would be more or less systematic; its value would depend on its completeness, and on the cumulative nature of the epigraphical evidence. Another method would be to show from a series of individual inscriptions the kind of information that we derive from this sort of evidence, and how inscriptions may supplement or correct our historical texts. In this case the value of the work will depend on the importance of the inscriptions selected: there will be less room for systematic arrangement, and

diversity of illustration will be aimed at rather than completeness of treatment. A third method, that of chronological arrangement, followed by Mr. Hicks, is precluded in this case by the smallness of the period touched upon. Now it seems to me that ostensibly, and as far as outword form goes, Mr. Rushforth has chosen the second method, while his real object has been the exposition of certain branches of organisation and administration. The result of this fusion of methods has been in some ways unfortunate. Anything like a sufficient treatment of the various headings would require the citation of a number of inscriptions to illustrate each; but the plan of Mr. Rushforth's book with its hundred inscriptions limits him to one or two or at most three (I shall mention one or two exceptions below) for any particular section, while his too scrupulous care not to admit inscriptions of a date later than 70 A.D. has been a still further limitation, and usually a quite unnecessary one, to his treatment. Except in connexion with matters in which a change is known to have taken place after Nero, inscriptions belonging to Vespasian's reign or Domitian's or even Trajan's would have been quite as admissible for Mr. Rushforth's purpose as those of the earlier principes. He gives one example of this himself when he takes two comparatively late inscriptions indicating the boundary between the two Germanies as the pegs on which to hang the few remarks he has to make on those provinces. Again Mr. Rushforth has often apparently found it impossible within the limits he has placed on himself to put really important and light-giving inscriptions at the head of his sections; and, as his plan precludes him from substituting for one or two important ones the cumulative evidence of numbers, and he has in his exposition somewhat strictly limited himself to the evidence of the inscriptions he has chosen—in these cases, and they are not infrequent, we really get the advantages of neither method, we neither have striking examples of epigraphical evidence, nor a sufficient exposition of the heading under which the inscription is placed. Thus under the heading of the organisation of Spain we have two milestones and an inscription relating to the pacification of Baetica. Mr. Rushforth's commentary consists of a very brief reference to roads in Spain, and to the number of legions placed in Tarraconensis. Under the heading—organisation of Pannonia, we have the funeral inscription of a centurion of legio viii. Aug. found near Poetovio, and the commentary confines itself to the question whether the military boundary of the province extended or did not extend to the Danube at the time. The commentary on the organisation of Syria, based on an inscription interesting mainly as an example of an equestrian cursus honorum, does nothing more than fix the date of the governorship of Quirinius, and inform us that the provincial census was usually taken by an official of equestrian rank. The section on the colonies of Augustus in Pisidia, based on a milestone found at Comana, touches the fringes only of the Augustan organisation of the southern portion of Asia Minor. That on the military frontier of Africa does no more than fix on Theveste as the legionary camp before Hadrian. The section in Moesia is perhaps especially disappointing. Mr. Rushforth chooses the well-known inscription which mentions a praefectus civitatium Moesiae et Treballiae, and another mentioning the two Moesian legions in 33 A.D. With regard to the latter we are merely told that their head-quarters are unknown; from the former it is inferred that the organisation of the province was still under Tiberius in a rudimentary stage, and that it was necessary for a special reason to place these native communities within the province under a praefectus. But does the former statement follow from the latter? Mr. Rushforth says that the first mention of a legatus is in 6 A.D.: he omits to mention Mommsen's almost certain supposition that the Calpurnius Piso described by Dio Cassius (54, 34) as governor of Pamphylia in 11 B.C. was really legatus of Moesia, in which case the province would have been organised for twenty-five years at the beginning of Tiberius' reign. But surely the existence of a praefectus for some outlying parts of the province no more proves Moesia to have been in a rudimentary state of organisation than the existence of a 'praefectus orae maritimae conventus Tarraconensis' proves the Spanish province to have been, or than the existence of a praefectus orae Ponticae proves Pontus to have been under Trajan. But Mr. Rushforth has missed a good opportunity in Moesia of showing how epigraphical evidence may throw light on the organisation of a province. The relations between Poppaeus Sabinus, who was apparently legate of Moesia all through the reign of Tiberius, and other people who are also spoken of as its legates during the same period are not cleared up

by the account of Tacitus, but Domaszewski has shown by means of an inscription (*C.I.L.* xi. 1885 = Wilm. 1138) which falls within Mr. Rushforth's rather narrow limits that, owing to the temporary incorporation of Macedonia and Achaia with Moesia, the consular legate of Moesia had the general administration of all these provinces while a praetorian legate also described as pro praetore Moesiae had a special command of the two Moesian legions and the Moesian frontier (*Rhein. Mus.* vol. xlv. pp. 1—5).

But if these are instances of somewhat incomplete treatment, in other cases Mr. Rushforth's work has been much more thorough. His account of the organisation of the Tres Galliae and Gallia Narbonensis is extremely clear and good; but then under these two headings he has used no fewer than eight out of his hundred inscriptions. Would not a similar method in other cases have produced a similar result? Again his account of the Imperial worship in the Provinces and Italy, on which he has expended fourteen of his inscriptions, is altogether admirable and could hardly have been made more clear and intelligible; and, generally speaking, his treatment of Rome and Italy is fuller and better done than his account of provincial matters. To a certain extent no doubt this is due to the existence of such a book as Hirschfeld's *Verwaltungsgeschichte*, but still a better use has been made of the epigraphical material, and above all the arrangement is better. It is really the arrangement which is the weakest point in the book. In the first place its division into two parts, one relating to Augustus and the other to the succeeding emperors, is awkward and, as it is worked out, quite unnecessary. If the first part had contained the original Augustan arrangements, and the second developments from them, the division might have been made instructive; but this is not the case or in very few instances, and the results are rather such awkward separations as that of the two accounts of Armenia on pp. 21—22 and p. 126; that of Pannonia which comes in Part I. from the other Danube provinces which all come in Part II.: that of the annexation of Egypt in Part I., from its army in Part II., and the double treatment of the water supply on p. 29 and 87—89. Again under the heading—Organisation of the Provinces—we find very little indeed that justifies the title. There is nothing about the organisation of the Spanish provinces, nothing about the organisation of Syria. What is said about the Eastern policy of Augustus does not properly belong to this head, while of Pannonia only the frontier line is discussed. In Part II. everything provincial is included under the wide heading Frontiers and Provinces, and accordingly we find such heterogeneous subsections as Roads in Dalmatia, the Cities of Asia, the occupation of Frisia, and the development of the Canabae. Similarly another heading—the emperors and persons connected with them—has very miscellaneous contents, personal matters such as the position of Julia Augusta or of Sejanus or the epitaphs of Agrippina and her son Nero, all of which with the exception of Sejanus would surely have come more appropriately under the Imperial family. Then we have isolated references to the invasion of Italy in 69, to Civilis and the Imperium Galliarum and to the attempted revolution in Africa by Clodius Macer, and finally an inscription of primary importance, the lex de imperio Vespasiani, comes in under this personal section; though it would much more naturally have been taken in connexion with the constitution of the Principate for which by the by Mr. Rushforth can apparently find no inscriptions more appropriate than entries from the Fasti Praenestini and the Fasti Feriarum Latinarum. Mr. Rushforth's book would, it seems to me, be much improved by a radical rearrangement of his material, by abolishing the distinction, not worked out in a way to make it a real one, between Augustus and the succeeding principes, by collecting the materials for the provinces under two heads Organisation and Frontier Policy, by adding sections on the army (many of the inscriptions would come more appropriately under this head than any other), the system of roads, and the cursus honorum both senatorial and equestrian. A rearrangement of this kind with the addition of another fifty inscriptions, as the material for a somewhat fuller exposition in certain parts of the book, would, I cannot help thinking, make the work far more useful than it is to the young students for whom it is intended. On the other hand, taking the book as it is, it deserves a very cordial reception, as a piece of exceptionally accurate work. When Mr. Rushforth really gets hold of an important inscription, such as the edict of Claudius on the civitas of the Anauni or the epitaph of Plautius Silvanus, his treatment of it is admirable. It has already been noted how thoroughly he has illustrated the Imperial worship, and his sections on the Canabae, the Praetorian

Guards and the Augustan administration of Rome are all as excellent as they could be. There can be no doubt that the book will in a great measure answer all the purposes for with it was intended: it will serve better than any other book as an elementary handbook to Epigraphy: it will supply a good deal of historical information and, perhaps better still, it will throw a good deal of light on the data from which much of the Imperial history has to be constructed.

E. G. HARDY.

THUMSER'S POLITICAL ANTIQUITIES OF ATHENS.

K. F. HERMANN'S *Lehrbuch der griechischen Antiquitäten.* I. Band, *Staatsaltertümer*, 6te Auflage herausgegeben von Viktor Thumser. 2te Abteilung: *Der athenische Staat und seine Geschichte.* Freiburg-i.-B. 1892. 8vo. pp. vii. + 529 [273-801]. Mk. 12.

IT was in 1875 that the fifth edition of this well-known handbook was issued. The interval of seventeen years between that date and the date of Thumser's revision has been one of extraordinary activity in the field of political and legal antiquities, as in other fields of scientific study. Inscriptions from all quarters of the Greek world have supplemented the previously available sources of information, the recovery of Aristotle's *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* has set in motion a train of readjustments of ideas that is still in full course, and this great and still growing fund of fresh material has attracted an increasing number of zealous investigators. As was to be expected, therefore, many changes were called for, and have been made by Thumser, in the earlier edition by Bähr and Stark.

The increase in size is considerable. The account of the Athenian state in the fifth edition contained 372 pages; this corresponding *Abteilung* of the sixth edition contains 506 of materially larger size. The reviser's preface calls attention to the small number of sections that appear in the sixth edition unaltered or but slightly altered. Examination shows that the book has in fact been so worked over as nearly to constitute, as regards contents, a new work; and this in spite of the fact that Hermann's general plan, and for the most part the details of the old arrangement, have been preserved. Most of the headings of sections are retained, sometimes with a slight variation in wording; they mostly follow the same order, a few new headings being inserted. Transpositions in the other *Abteilungen* have caused a complete renumbering of the sections; under these circumstances one does not see the necessity or the advantage of marking the divided or newly inserted sections with *a* and *b*. It would have been simpler and equally convenient to number consecutively, especially as the old number is placed in brackets beside the new. *E.g.* 57 a *Der theseische Synoikismos* is a new heading; this section and 57 b *Der attische Gesamtstaat und seine Gliederung* together correspond to section 97 in the earlier edition. To subdivide by letters in this way preserves the difference of precisely forty between the old and the new numbering, it is true; but the comparison of the two editions is but very slightly facilitated thereby, while as a matter of book-making the disturbance of sequence in the numbering is annoying. Still of course this is but a trifle. And on the other hand it is a great improvement in form that the notes, as in the recent editions of other portions of the *Lehrbuch*, are placed at the foot of the page instead of being grouped at the end of the respective sections.

Along with Hermann's general plan and arrangement of matter the general method of treatment has remained essentially the same. The political and legal antiquities of Athens are described from the historical point of view; the leading aims appear to be the utmost completeness, the utmost brevity, the utmost precision of statement. Completeness involves no little polemic; this combination tends to obscure the larger outlines; and when the constant endeavour after brevity is added, elegance of style is put out of the question and occasional obscurity is inevitable. Gilbert's *Handbuch der griechischen Staatsaltertümer*, the first volume of which has also recently appeared in a new edition, is far more readable, because it neither aims at the same completeness in details nor turns aside so often to notice discrepant views. Gilbert's is therefore the better work for the beginner; though on many controverted points Gilbert

gives no hint that another opinion has been held or is possible. For a full introduction to the literature of the subject, and of every branch of the subject, no other work can compare with Thumser's. Indeed the very fulness of the bibliography is perhaps open to criticism. Space might have been saved and clearness gained, with little loss in other directions, by such grouping as would have lessened the amount of repetition; an occasional omission would have done no harm. Yet on the whole, in an encyclopedic work like this, an error on the side of fulness is more pardonable than error on the other side. The literature of the subject is so widely scattered that only a few specialists can hope to keep track of it all; those who consult such a work are entitled to all the assistance in that way which the author can give. The addition of a few more brief remarks in the way of criticism and discrimination would have been welcome, and would sometimes indicate whether a particular work not readily accessible could be safely ignored or must be procured at any cost. On some pages a simple abbreviation of the often repeated reference to Meier-Schoemann-Lipsius would have gained sufficient space for such a note. The remarks of this sort which are given will prove very valuable to many readers. The polemic, so far as we have observed, maintains always the best of tone; and although no one who has given attention to this phase of Greek life can expect to find himself in perfect agreement with the author at every point, on the other hand no one can fail to recognize and admire the learning and good judgment with which controversies are approached and the author's own opinion stated and defended. A most difficult and delicate task has here been performed with great skill, and the result is a work for which all students of antiquity should be grateful.

As was said above, entire agreement on every point is not to be expected; it is therefore no disparagement of the work if we devote the remainder of the space at command to a brief discussion of a few of the topics on which Thumser's view appears to us doubtful or mistaken or especially interesting.

On p. 344 we find: 'Was nun den *Amtstitel* der genannten Behörde betrifft, so steht derselbe allerdings für die älteste Zeit nicht fest. Möglich ist es, dass die Bezeichnung *βασιλεύς* ursprünglich auf den ersten des Kollegiums übergieng und die Zuerkennung dieses Titels an den 2. Archon sowie die Zuweisung der religiösen Funktionen des Königs an denselben in jene Zeit fällt, da dem Demos wenigstens gesetzlich das Recht zuerkannt wurde, auch die erste Archontenstelle aus seiner Mitte zu besetzen.' This seems to imply that there was somehow a transfer of title and of duties from the first to the second Archon. But this is a mistaken conception of events and their relations. The natural supposition is rather that there was no transfer either of title or of the religious functions. The *βασιλεύς* was gradually denuded of all functions except the religious, and such judicial functions as went with the former. When the powers of the third member of the college, the *ἄρχων*, had been so enlarged as to make him in fact the most influential of the board, he was naturally regarded and treated as the head of the state. This is no *Zuerkennung des Titels an den 2. Archon*, but merely a change in the relative importance of the two offices of *ἄρχων* and *βασιλεύς*.

On p. 351 it is assumed that Drakon gave the citizenship to *οἱ ὅπλα παρεχόμενοι* and was the creator of the property classes. This leaves out of view the tense of *ἀπεδέδοτο ἡ πολιτεία* (*Ἀθ. πολ.* 4, 2), and the fact that before Drakon, according to *Ἀθ. πολ.* 3, 1, *τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς καθίστασαν ἀριστίνδην καὶ πλουτίνδην*. The last word certainly implies some recognition of property distinctions, that is to say of some kind of property classes, though probably not so clearly defined as later. Instead of expressly attributing the creation of these classes to Drakon, Aristotle simply assumes their existence under his constitution. 'Dass Drakon sie erst eingerichtet hat, ist wenig wahrscheinlich' is the sound conclusion of Gilbert (*Handbuch*, i.[2] p. 127, note 1).

On p. 375, in connection with Solon's abolition of debts, the statement is made: 'Dass nämlich die Schuldverträge begüterter Schuldner keineswegs von dieser Bestimmung [the abolition of debts] betroffen wurden, ist selbstverständlich, da es sich nicht im allgemeinen um die Besserung der Verhältnisse aller Schuldner zu deren Gläubigern, sondern lediglich um die Beseitigung der Auswüchse handeln konnte.' If this were the case, how could Solon's false friends have been made rich by purchasing land with borrowed money just before the abolition of debts was proclaimed, as narrated in *Ἀθ. πολ.* 6, 2? They possessed the means of repaying what they had borrowed, but were able to escape repayment by virtue of Solon's measure. Had that measure been like a modern bankrupt law, whereby only insolvent debtors

obtained relief, these tricky borrowers would have made nothing by their scheme. It seems clear that Aristotle had in mind no exception whatever when he wrote χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς ἐποίησε καὶ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ τῶν δημοσίων.

P. 407. 'Seit der Tyrannis wurden die Archonten durch Wahl besetzt, bis man nach 487 das durch Solon eingeführte Verfahren wieder aufnahm, indem man auch hierbei den Demen Einfluss dadurch verschaffte, dass bei der Vorwahl in den einzelnen Phylen 500 Demoten ihre Stimme auf eine Person vereinigen mussten, damit sie als Kandidat gelten konnte.' The latter part of this sentence rests upon a very doubtful interpretation of an obscure and perhaps corrupt passage in Ἀθ. πολ. 22, 5. The words in question are ἐκυάμευσαν τοὺς ἐννέα ἄρχοντας κατὰ φυλάς, ἐκ τῶν προκριθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτῶν πεντακοσίων κ.τ.λ. Now, apart from the proposed change of πεντακοσίων to ἑκατόν (*i.e.* of φ΄ to ρ΄: see Kenyon and Sandys *ad loc.*), it is quite possible that the numeral goes with τῶν προκριθέντων instead of δημοτῶν. It is unsafe to assume, on such uncertain support, a regulation so peculiar and referred to nowhere else.

Thumser's conclusion with regard to the question of the προχειροτονία is given substantially as follows (p. 512 f.). In each assembly before throwing open to debate the subjects mentioned in the program of the Council, the question was regularly put to the assembly whether ἱερά and ὅσια or foreign affairs, even if not mentioned in the probouleuma, might immediately be brought before the sovereign people. This view of the προχειροτονία is based mainly on Aischin. 1, 23 ἐπειδὰν τὸ καθάρσιον περιενεχθῇ καὶ ὁ κῆρυξ τὰς πατρίους εὐχὰς εὔξηται, προχειροτονεῖν κελεύει τοὺς προέδρους περὶ ἱερῶν καὶ ὁσίων καὶ κήρυξι καὶ πρεσβείαις, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπερωτᾷ ὁ κῆρυξ, τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται κ.τ.λ. It is far more probable than Hartel's untenable idea that it was a sort of first reading of the measure; it is on the whole as probable as Harpokration's explanation, given as that is with a distinct note of uncertainty. His words are ἔοικεν Ἀθήνησιν τοιοῦτόν τι γίγνεσθαι ὁπόταν τῆς βουλῆς προβουλευσάσης εἰσφέρηται εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἡ γνώμη· πρότερον γίγνεται χειροτονία ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πότερον δοκεῖ περὶ τῶν προβουλευθέντων σκέψασθαι τὸν δῆμον ἢ ἀρκεῖ τὸ προβούλευμα, and Gilbert and Busolt still adhere to this, the more commonly accepted explanation. Thumser supports his opinion with great clearness and force, and we incline to adopt it.

On p. 652 the ten λογισταί of Ἀθ. πολ. 48, 3, selected by lot from their own number by the members of the Council, are identified with the λογισταί of Ἀθ. πολ. 54, 2, which are enumerated, among the officials chosen by lot, as those πρὸς οὓς ἅπαντας ἀνάγκη τοὺς τὰς ἀρχὰς ἄρ[ξαντ]ας λόγον ἀπενεγκεῖν. The distinction between the two boards is pretty clearly made out by Lipsius (*Berichte der sachs. Gesellschaft* 1891, p. 65 f.) and by Sandys (on 48, 3); the distinction is accepted also by Gilbert and Busolt. The reading of Bekker's best MS. for Pollux viii. 99, λογισταὶ δύο ἦσαν ὁ μὲν τῆς βουλῆς ὁ δὲ τῆς διοικήσεως, taken in connection with the other considerations adduced by Lipsius and Sandys, gives the preponderance to that view.

On p. 470 the age of the διαιτηταί is given as 'das 60. Jahr'; p. 592 f. they are said to have been 'diejenigen, welche das 60. Lebensjahr vollendet hatten.' Among the *Nachträge* etc. p. 800 is the note: 'Die in Class. Review vi. 182 geäusserte Meinung, dass die Diäteten im 60. Lebensjahre *stünden und nicht* dasselbe bereits zurückgelegt hätten, geht auf die irrige Interpretation der Aristoteles-Stelle zürück, als ob die Athener im *Anfange* ihres 42. kriegsdienetpflichtigen Alters zu Diäteten bestimmt worden wären.' Since scholars are curiously divided on this point of the age of the διαιτηταί, perhaps the subject is worth renewed examination. Kenyon puts them in their sixty-first year, assuming the sixtieth year to be completed. Gilbert also (*Handbuch* i.[2] p. 435) is for the same age; while Lipsius (*Berichte der sächs. Gesellschaft* 1891, p. 58), Sandys (on Ἀθ. πολ. 53, 4) and Busolt (Müller's *Handbuch* iv. 1[2] p. 270 f.), with E. S. T. in this *Review* (vi. p. 182), decide for the sixtieth year. Now the whole question rests upon the meaning of one passage in Aristotle, namely Ἀθ. πολ. 53, 4-5, διαιτηταὶ δ' εἰσὶν οἷς ἂν ἑξηκοστὸν ἔτος ᾖ. τοῦτο δὲ δῆλον ἐκ τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ τῶν ἐπωνύμων. εἰσὶ γὰρ ἐπώνυμοι δέκα μὲν οἱ τῶν φυλῶν, δύο δὲ καὶ τετταράκοντα οἱ τῶν ἡλικιῶν· οἱ δὲ ἔφηβοι ἐγγραφόμενοι πρότερον μὲν εἰς λελευκωμένα γραμματεῖα ἐνεγράφοντο, καὶ ἐπεγράφοντο αὐτοῖς ὅ τ' ἄρχων ἐφ' οὗ ἐνεγράφησαν, καὶ ὁ ἐπώνυμος ὁ τῷ πρότερον ἔ[τει] δεδιαιτηκώς. τὸν δὲ τελευταῖον τῶν ἐπωνύμων λαβόντες οἱ τετταράκοντα διανέμουσιν αὐτοῖς τὰς διαίτας. The phrase ἑξηκοστὸν ἔτος in itself is perhaps ambiguous. But the following propositions are clearly contained in the passage. 1. The citizens of military age were, at any given moment, arranged in forty-two lists, each list containing all who had been enrolled as ἔφηβοι in the same

year, each list marked by the name of the Archon of the year in which they were enrolled and with the name of an ἐπώνυμος τῆς ἡλικίας. 2. The forty take, as the list of the διαιτηταί of the year, τὸν τελευταῖον τῶν ἐπωνύμων, the last of the forty lists; in other words those who are now in the last year of the cycle of ages, that is (if at the beginning of the year) are between fifty-nine and sixty years old. To make the words mean the list of those who were in the last year of the cycle *the year before*, as Thumser and Gilbert do, is to do violence to Aristotle's language. 3. The list of ἔφηβοι enrolled in the year assumed is marked by the ἄρχων of the year and by the ἐπώνυμος ὁ τῷ πρότερον ἔ[τει] δεδιαιτηκώς. The only meaning that can be given to those words is, the ἐπώνυμος that marked also the list of those who the year before had served as διαιτηταί.[1] Those, therefore, who had served as Arbitrators the previous year were during that year in the last of their forty-two years of liability to military service; for they were still in a list marked by an ἐπώνυμος, and there were but forty-two ἐπώνυμοι; and a youth was enrolled as ἔφηβος in his nineteenth year, ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτη γεγονότες (Ἀθ. πολ. 42, 1). The arithmetical problem involved in the passage may be a little confusing at first sight, but the above solution is surely the only possible one, and the phrase ἑξηκοστὸν ἔτος is to be understood in its most obvious modern sense.

[1] Gilbert (*Handbuch* i.[2] p. 353) strangely interprets the phrase as meaning the Archon of the previous year. His words are: 'Die einzelnen dieser 42 Jahrgänge der Hopliten waren in den Katalogen durch den vorgesetzten Namen des Archon, unter welchem sie eingezeichnet waren, und seines Amtsvorgängers rubriciert. Diese 42 Archonten wurden als die ἐπώνυμοι der 42 Jahrgänge bezeichnet.'

As regards errors of the press, it should be said that for a work of this character the book contains remarkably few. It would be too much to expect to find all of the hundreds of references quite correct; but in looking up a considerable number no mistake was found. On p. 346, note 2, however, in the quotation from Ἀθ. πολ. for νόμους read θεσμούς.

But enough of criticism upon details. Until some scholar endowed with equal learning and calmness of judgment and possessing also a high degree, but not too high a degree, of the reconstructive imagination, shall write a genuine constitutional history of Athens, instead of a handbook of Athenian political antiquities from the historical standpoint, we can scarcely expect a better work of its class than this of Thumser's. It will probably be long before that still more difficult task will be performed; meantime we wish for the present volume the widest possible circulation and use. With the additions to our sources of information which may be expected, it will naturally require supplementing and correcting here and there, but will not soon be superseded.

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ILBERG ON THE TEXTS OF HIPPOCRATES.

Das Hippocrates-Glossar des Erotianos und seine ursprüngliche Gestalt: von JOHANNES ILBERG (Abhandl. d. phil.-hist. Classe d. königl. Sachs. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften, band xiv. 1893). 2 Mk.

Prolegomena Critica in Hippocratis operum quae feruntur recensionem novam; scripsit JOHANNES ILBERG (Teubner, Leipzig, 1894).

THESE two works by Dr. Ilberg deserve notice as a most praiseworthy attempt to reduce to order the critical material available for the text of Hippocrates. The *Prolegomena* falls into two divisions, the first containing a description of the MSS. and an attempt to constitute their *stemma*, the second an examination of the secondary evidence contained in the glosses and in the commentaries of Galen. The second chapter is of especial interest, and not to students of Hippocrates only, from its bearing on the general question of the transmission of ancient texts. We are in the unusual position of being able to tap the stream of the Hippocrates-tradition at two points before reaching the extant MSS., by means of the glosses of Erotianus (*circ.* A.D. 60) and the commentaries of Galen (*circ.* A.D. 175); and the conclusions of Dr. Ilberg are briefly as follows. The text of Hippocrates used by Erotianus differed to a considerable extent

from that which is represented by our MSS., sometimes for the better, sometimes for the worse. On the other hand the tradition which Galen selected as best among the numerous authorities known to him (which must be sought in the commentaries themselves, not in the lemmata prefixed to them, which have been gradually corrupted) is substantially the same as that of the best MSS. of Hippocrates now extant. The bearing of this evidence on the general history of textual tradition cannot be examined in detail here, but it deserves notice; and much gratitude is due to Dr. Ilberg for his illuminating labours in the tangled wilderness of the criticism of Hippocrates, and incidentally of Galen.

The examination of the glossary of Erotianus is subsidiary to the *Prolegomena;* and it has the valuable result of recovering the original order of the glossary (which has come down to us mainly in an alphabetically-arranged epitome), while at the same time Dr. Ilberg has been able to make the study of the text used by the glossographer, the result of which has been mentioned above.

It should be added that the *Prolegomena* contains a photographic facsimile of a page from one of the principal manuscripts of Hippocrates, the Cod. Parisinus gr. 2253 (A), of the eleventh century.

F. G. Kenyon.

REICHARDT ON THE SATURNIAN.

Der Saturnische Vers in der römischen Kunstdichtung, von Alexander Reichardt. Nineteenth *Supplementband* of the *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, pp. 207—253.

This methodical and lucidly written essay is in two parts,—first a collection and review of material, and secondly a systematic discussion of metrical phenomena on the basis of this material. The first part anticipates the second a good deal, as the question of the integrity of the examples necessarily turns in large part on their conformity to standards, and Reichardt finds it necessary to postulate at the outset the rules which he expects to demonstrate afterwards more fully. 'Kunstdichtung' with him includes not merely the Saturnians of Andronicus and Naevius, but those of the Scipio epitaphs and some other inscriptions, which he considers to have been composed under the influence of the literary Saturnian. So his treatise covers pretty much the old ground, and deals with the old problems. Nor does it contain much that is new in opinions or results. What novelty of method there is, lies in the rigid exclusion of alien or doubtful material. Popular verses—the 'rude Saturnians' or 'quasi-Saturnians'—are of course barred out altogether; even the Arval song and Mummius's dedication (*ductu auspicioque*, etc.) do not figure in these pages. This is justifiable: the literary Saturnian was a thing by itself. He also excludes from consideration, as a disturbing element, all verses which bear signs of serious corruption or incompleteness, and in this he is extremely conscientious, throwing out, for instance, the last two verses of the oldest Scipio inscription—*hec cepit Corsica Aleriaque urbe* and *dedet Tempestatebus aide mereto*—on the ground that they are incomplete at the end.

Reichardt arrays himself with decision on the side of a quantitizing Saturnian, and dismisses the word-accent theory of Keller, Thurneysen and Westphal with brief comments that will seem wholly inadequate to the adherents of that doctrine. Proceeding on the assumption that the Saturnian is a quantity-verse, he finds that of his stock of verses and parts of verses, ninety-one conform to a certain scheme, defined by eleven rules, and that fifteen more are brought into conformity by easy and certain emendations, not made wholly for metrical reasons. To these he adds later on two more, making seventeen. This total of 106 (or 108) verses represent, in his view, the usual or normal form of Saturnian. In substance, it is the Saturnian of many previous theorists, as Spengel, L. Müller, Havet. Nineteen remaining verses, which differ from this norm, yet appear to be sound, Reichardt believes to exemplify rarer but admissible forms of the Saturnian. Here, of course, he is on slippery ground. and will not expect to convince everybody. These rarer forms arise:

1. By catalexis of the first half, *without*

anacrusis of the second : *aetáte quóm parvá* || *pósidét hoc sáxsum.*

2. By catalexis of the second half : *sin íllos déseránt,* || *fortíssimós virós.*

3. By anacrusis of the second half, after trochaic ending of the first : *igitúr demúm Ulíxi* || *cor fríxit praé pavóre.*

The strongest case is made out for the third of these forms. Here Reichardt puts eight verses. Unfortunately only two of these are inscriptional ; *quoiús formá virtútei* || *parísumá fúit,* and *quibus si ín longá licuíset* || *tibe útiér víta,* and just these are open to doubt. The first can weigh little in view of *símĭllumáe,* Plaut. *Asin.* 241, and as to the second, the reviewer believes that Bücheler's transposition *útiér tibe víta* reproduces what was intended, though he concedes that Reichardt's scansion is the best that can be made of the verse as it stands. For the second freedom, the docking of the second half, Reichardt adduces six verses. Two of these, from Naevius, will bear no stress by reason of their textual uncertainty ; the other four end with the words *viro, virum, viros, viri.* Here some have measured *vīro* etc. (Umbrian *veiro*). 'It would be a strange freak of chance,' says Reichardt, 'if the long *i* of *vir* had been preserved only at the end of four Saturnians, in each case with suppression of the preceding thesis.' But to others it may seem strange that so many of the docked Saturnians should happen to end with this particular word. The first of the three exceptional verse-forms the author exemplifies by seven instances, but to make out this number he has to read :

magnám sapiéntiám || *múltasqué virtútes,*
aetáte quóm parvá || *pósidét hoc sáxsum,*
donú danúnt Herc(o)leí || *máxsumé méreto,*

verses which certainly can be differently understood. In two verses he finds a combination of the first and second peculiarities : *duonóro óptumó* || *fúisé viró,* and *populí primáriúm* || *fúissé virúm,* and it is certainly an advantage to have these puzzling verses somehow brought into line. We cannot help wondering why Reichardt does not scan, with Korsch, *hec cépit Corsicá Aleriáque úrbe,* and so dispose of one more estray.

Noteworthy is Reichardt's frank acceptance of Havet's doctrine that any short final syllable may count as long under the ictus. He even undertakes to show that this is no irregularity, but quite the normal usage, and that short final syllables are quite as often used long (sixty-six times) as short (sixty-three times). It is certainly a growing opinion that without some such doctrine as this the Saturnian cannot be explained as a quantity-verse. But just the difficulty of believing this is driving many to take refuge in accentuating theories. The choice is certainly a hard one. On the one hand *Runcūs atquē Purpúreus ;* on the other *fácile fácteis superáses !* And yet, until some one shall discover a *tertium quid,* it appears that we must stomach the one or the other.

Syncopation ('Thesenunterdrückung') Reichardt restricts to the penultimate 'thesis' of the second half. To avoid it in the first half he reads *aetáte quóm parvá,* and *donú danúnt Herc(o)leí* (see above). We greatly prefer *párva* and even *Hérc(o)lei* (Müller, Havet etc.). Still it is by no means self-evident that *Herclei* is to be read where *Hercolei* is written. Here comes in the question of tetrapodic phrases. Reichardt will none of them ; he reads (p. 241) *dedět Témpestátebús ;* the cases in the Mummius dedication do not, for him, come into consideration.

Correspondence of ictus and word-accent, Reichardt thinks, is unsought. Where it occurs it is fortuitous. In the first two feet it is even avoided. Reichardt has trained his ear so that a succession of correspondences seems 'feeble and unpoetic' (p. 229). On the other hand he finds nothing disagreeable in *magnúm stuprúm populó* or in *donú danúnt Hercleí.* To us, we confess, the reverse is the case.

Considerable respect for manuscript tradition, and resistance to the temptation of tinkering it in the interest of uniformity, are pleasing characteristics of this latest contribution to the Saturnian controversy, as against—let us say—Lucian Müller's work. It is also useful, as we have already said, to have those verses which we are reasonably sure *are* Saturnians considered by themselves. Most recent writers have stirred too many things into one pot. It is odd that in the voluminous literature of this subject nobody has seriously considered the question of the proper range of application of the term Saturnian. It is often taken for granted that all early Italic verses were Saturnians, in one sense or another. But there is not the slightest evidence for this. We are entitled to call Saturnian, first those verses which the ancient writers tell us are Saturnians, and secondly those which exactly (not remotely) resemble them. Now what are these attested Saturnians ? First and foremost Naevius's *Bellum Punicum* (Fest. p. 325 ; two verses of it are expressly quoted as Saturnians by the grammarians),

secondly the verse *malum dabunt*, etc., and four verses from ancient triumphal inscriptions. Absolutely nothing else. We are not told that Andronicus's *Odyssey* was in Saturnians; we only infer it. We have no reason for calling the verses of the Scipio inscriptions or any other inscriptions Saturnians, save their similarity to the attested samples. And nobody can assure us that the metre of these inscriptions is homogeneous, and that they do not contain verses which no Roman would have called Saturnian. Might, for instance, the curious line *duonoro optumo fuise viro*, be not a Saturnian after all, but some other kind of verse?

The meaning of the name Saturnian obviously comes in question here. The common impression is that the *Saturnius versus* is an 'old-time verse,' one belonging to the *Saturnia regna*, a Κρόνιος στίχος, so to speak. If this is so, it could only have been a fanciful name, given by some poet, after the verse had gone out of vogue. But I may take this opportunity of pointing out another possible origin. Among the *axamenta* of the Salii, there were (Fest. p. 3) *versus Ianuli*, *Iunonii*, *Minervii*, etc., in honour of different gods. There may well have been *versus Saturnii*, especially as we know that Saturn was mentioned in the Salian songs. What if the rhythm of this 'hymn to Saturn' served as a pattern for Livius Andronicus or whoever set the literary Saturnian a-going? It would follow that the Saturnian was only one of many early verses, and that we should be chary of applying the name to proverbs, Marcian vaticinations, Umbrian prayers, and to any verse that differed from the recognized norm. It does not make against this hypothesis that Varro (*L. L.* vii. 36, the earliest mention of the name *Saturnius*) and the grammarians know nothing of it.

There is a possibility that *versus Faunius* (Marius Victorin. p. 139 K) was in use as another designation of Naevius's metre. It was a fixed idea in Varro's time that the Saturnian had been used in the oracles of Faunus (Varro *loc. cit.*, Fest. p. 325). This is no doubt based on Ennius's well-known words about Naevius's epic poem, *versibus quos olim Fauni vatesque canebant*. Had Ennius the name *versus Faunius* in mind? This too might have been a Salian rhythm. Ennius's interpretation would then be a mistake, and the right view would lurk in Placidus's gloss *Fauniorum modorum* (p. 44 Deuerling). But of course it is possible that the name *versus Faunius* is an invention of the grammarians. Ennius would then have meant only 'rude verses, such as were used in popular oracles.'

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JAHNKE'S HORATIAN COMEDIES AND BOLTE'S ACOLASTUS AND PAMMACHIUS.

Bibliotheca Scriptorum medii aevi Teubneriana. Comoediae Horatianae tres. Edidit R. Jahnke. (Lips.: Teubner).

Lateinische Literaturdenkmäler des xv. *und* xvi. *Jahrhunderts* G. Gnaphaeus: Acolastus. Herausg. v. J. Bolte. T. Naogeorgus: Pammachius. Herausg. v. J. Bolte u. Erich Schmidt. (Berlin: Speyer and Peters.) Mk. 1.80.

Under the odd title of 'Horatian Comedies' Jahnke has edited three of those descriptive monologues, of the early middle ages, which are interesting partly as late reflexes of the departed poetry of Rome, partly as incidents in the growth of the infantine modern drama. They are comedies only in so far as that term is applicable to narrative which frequently takes the form of reported dialogue; and 'Horatian' only by virtue of their resemblance in this point to some of Horace's *Satires*, in particular to i. 9. The MSS. are innocent of either term, though they concur in describing two of the three pieces as the work 'Ovidii nasonis Sulmonensis poete.' The date is determined within tolerable limits, on the one hand by the character of the leonine hexameter, which contains abundant examples of the double rhyme that became frequent in the eleventh century, and on the other hand by an undoubted allusion in the middle of the twelfth century. The frequent occurrence of *stare* in the sense of *esse* seems to assign them to France. The three 'comoediae' themselves are of the slightest value. In the first, 'de nuntio sagaci' (297 verses), a lover describes the cunning arts of a messenger sent with presents to woo a maiden in his name; the second, 'de tribus puellis,'

is an account of a love-adventure, related by the writer; the third, 'de tribus sociis,' is a mere anecdote, in 20 elegiac verses. These trifles have been edited with the elaborate care characteristic of the 'Mediaeval Library,' of which the volume forms a part, the variants of several different MSS. being minutely recorded. The student of Mediaeval Latinity will appreciate the chapter on grammatical anomalies (p. 38 ff.).

The *Acolastus* and *Pammachius* bring us into the comparatively broad daylight of the age of Humanism and of the Reformation. It would not indeed be easy to find two Latin plays of the time which better typify those two movements, where they accorded and where they conflicted, than do these. The *Acolastus*—early known in England by Palsgrave's 'Ecphrasis' of it (1540)—is one of the first and best dramatizations of the favourite story of the Prodigal Son,—the work of a talented schoolmaster, who, like our own Udall, knew how to apply the art of Terence and Plautus to modern issues, and to convey wholesome examples in elegant verse. The 'Pammachius,' on the other hand, is the work of a militant and fanatical Protestant, a furious assault upon the Roman church, which has left its traces in the work of a kindred spirit among the English reformers, Bishop John Bale. Bale translated it, and his *Kyng Johan* is a palpable adaptation of its motives to the career of that heroic precursor (as Bale regarded him) of the Protestant Henry. Both plays are edited with his usually minute care by Dr. Bolte, one of the first living authorities on the Latin drama of the sixteenth century.

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ASHMORE'S *ADELPHOE OF TERENCE.*

The Adelphoe of Terence. With Introduction, Notes and Critical Appendix by SIDNEY G. ASHMORE L.H.D. Macmillan & Co. 1893. 3*s.* 6*d.*

IT is a pleasure to take up an edition of one of the plays of Terence with the feeling that the average school or college student may use it without running the risk of loading his mind with a mass of misinformation in regard to the Terentian metres and language. This edition would seem to be especially suitable for those who are beginning their study of Latin comedy, as the author has presented in his introduction a brief survey of the development of Greek and of Latin comedy, with biographical sketches of Terence and of his predecessors in the drama, together with chapters upon the division of a play into acts and scenes, the actors, the theatre, the MSS., the text of Terence, and the Terentian metres. The facts are well chosen and stated clearly and accurately in the main.

This is especially noticeable in the chapter on metres, for some of our English editions of Terence and Plautus either present incorrect views on the subject of the metres in comedy, or else present correct views in such a blind fashion that the results are very misleading to the student. It may be noted in passing that to the rather full list of reference books upon metre and prosody on p. lvi. Klotz's *Altrömische Metrik* should be added, and that on p. lxiii. the editor rather unfortunately confuses 'the length of a vowel' with 'the length of the syllable' in which it stands, and uses 'arsis' (cp. note to v. 142) of the accented part of the foot. Both better usage and the practice adopted by many of the school grammars apply this term to the unaccented part of the foot. In view of the fact that the introduction is made so full, the reviewer would have liked to see Suetonius's 'Life of Terence' included. Suetonius's sketch is admirably adapted to serve as a preface, or perhaps better as a conclusion, to the study of Terence. Personal experience has shown that it is always read with eagerness by students, and that it gives them an inclination to get at original sources, and unless it is printed in a college edition of Terence it is quite inaccessible for class-room use. The text of the *Adelphoe* followed by Professor Ashmore is that of Dziatzko. The edition has a critical appendix, which, as the editor says, is in the main a defence of the adopted text. The main excellence of the book, in the reviewer's opinion, consists in the good judgment which the editor has shown in his choice of material for his commentary, and in the concise and clear form in which

it is put, while many notes like those to *enim* v. 168 and *vide utrum vis* v. 195 give ambitious students an opportunity to carry their investigations further than the limits of a school or college textbook allow. The principal general defect in the notes lies in a confusion of colloquialism and archaism. The occurrence of a form, a word or a form of expression in Plautus and Terence and its failure to appear in later Latin do not furnish a sufficient proof, as the editor seems to assume, that it belongs to the *sermo cotidianus.* Such a word or expression may have belonged to the literary speech of the third or second century B.C. and may have disappeared from use altogether, and in fact its failure to appear in colloquial Latin of a later date makes that hypothesis probable—a theory which is made still more probable if the word or expression occurs in other literature of the period of Plautus or Terence. On the other hand certain expressions which are so highly colloquial as perhaps to be barred out of formal Latin altogether are passed over by our editor without mention of the fact: *e.g.* compounds of dis—like *disperii* and *discupio* (v. 355), the omission of *se* in such a phrase as *quo pacto haberet, enarramus* (v. 365), or *prae manu* (v. 980)—one of the forms which the many proverbial expressions with *manus* took. One or two minor points in the commentary may be noticed: *ipsus* (v. 78) is not the 'older form of the pronoun,' while the statement (v. 209) that there is no well-authenticated instance of the fut. ind. with *faxo* in Plautus is surprising, cf. *Pseud.* 49 *faxo scies,* 393 *faxo aderit,* 1039 *faxo scibis* and many others. The use of the ablative after *usus sit* (v. 429) is not very clearly stated. *Usus est* is followed by the ablative because of the verbal force in the substantive *usus* and cannot be explained by a comparison with *opus est,* for the use of the abl. with *opus est* (v. 335) is merely by analogy from its use with *usus est* (cp. *Schöll Archiv.* ii. p. 209). On p. lvi. one should read *quantitative* for *quantitive* and in the note to v. 37 *the arm or the leg* for *the arm of the leg.* These are minor defects which detract but little from the excellent edition of the *Adelphoe* which Mr. Ashmore has given us.

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LEVISON'S *FASTI PRAETORII.*

Fasti Praetorii inde ab Octaviani imperii initio usque ad Hadriani exitum by Hans Levison, Dr. Phil. 5 mks.

This is a complete list of all those who are known to have held the praetorship, either from the express statement of authors or inscriptions, or from their having held praetorian appointments or the consulship. The collection is the result of considerable labour, and is, so far as I have tested it, extremely accurate. The praetors are arranged according to the emperors under whom they held the office, but in several lists. Under A are those, the date of whose praetorship is either known for certain or can be assigned with great probability; under B those who are known to have held some praetorian appointment at a particular date; under C those who are known from the Fasti to have been consuls, but whose cursus honorum is not otherwise known; under D and E those who are either known or supposed to have held office under a certain emperor. The names are all arranged in chronological order in A, B, and C, as far as this is possible; in D and E they seem to be placed indiscriminately. Thus it will be seen that the usefulness of the collection for purposes of reference depends almost entirely upon the Index, which occupies thirteen pages and professes to be complete. The only criticism that I shall make on the book is that it seems to be compiled on no particular principle. In certain cases we have a fairly full cursus honorum given, *e.g.* of T. Flavius Sabinus (by the by why should this personage stand almost alone in being distinguished by his tribe?), but in a number of other cases, where just as much is known of the cursus honorum, we have only the date or office bearing on the praetorship. Thus no hint is given that Verginius Rufus was ever legatus of Germany; it is not stated that L. Junius Blaesus was ever proconsul of Africa (where he is described as proconsul Ciliciae, it should of course be altered to proconsul Siciliae), and so with many more names which might be mentioned. In a few

other cases, as *e.g.* in that of Domitius Corbulo and Suetonius Paulinus, a number of references are given by which no doubt the student could supply for himself the cursus honorum, but surely it would have been as well to summarize it for him as Liebenam does. As it stands the book is more than it professes to be—Fasti Praetorii—and yet much less than what it might have been, if the labour had been more evenly distributed over the whole.

E. G. HARDY.

HARNACK'S HISTORY OF EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius, von ADOLF HARNACK. 1ster Theil. Die Ueberlieferung und der Bestand. Leipzig: Hinrichs. 1893. 2 Bde. 35 M.

PROF. HARNACK'S *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur* covers nearly the same ground as Mr. Cruttwell's *Literary History of early Christianity;* but there the likeness ends. Instead of a simple description of the literature for the student and general reader, we have in two massive volumes an exhaustive account of the literary material for the scholar. Not a document is omitted, down to scraps like the Fayoum fragment and the letters of Cyprian's minor correspondents. In each case a list is given of the MSS., with a note of their exact contents and present localities and, where possible, a further critical account of their relations to each other. Then come the accounts of authors and works given by later writers, with lists of their quotations. Completeness is everywhere aimed at, so far as regards the purposes of future editors. It would of course have been endless to count up *e.g.* the late MSS. of Lactantius, or to give all the references of later writers to Origen and Eusebius. Afterwards come the uncertain works, and forgeries like the *Irrisio* of Hermias and the letter of Theonas to Lucian. Next are the *Acts* of the martyrs, the genuine described in chronological order, the spurious merely referred to their place in the *Acta Sanctorum.* The work concludes with an account of the Jewish works adapted to Christian use, and a full collection of references to Christianity in heathen writers. An appendix is devoted to lists of Latin and Syriac translations, and catalogues of old Slavonic and Coptic MSS. contributed by Prof. Bonwetsch and Dr. Carl Schmidt. The Armenian and other MSS. are not collected into separate lists. The indexes are very complete, for writers and their works, for MSS., and for the first lines of documents. These, together with the general plan of the work and perhaps the larger part of its execution, are due to Prof. Harnack's own industry, while the remainder is mostly collected under his general guidance by Lic. Erwin Preuschen.

There is little room for criticism of a plan so well worked out. If these volumes contain little that is strictly new, they form an invaluable collection of material for the history of patristic texts, and a trustworthy guide for future editors. The history itself is to follow, but for the present we may rest and be thankful to Prof. Harnack for the enormous mass of work already accomplished.

H. M. GWATKIN.

ZAHN'S HISTORY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT CANON.

ZAHN. *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Canons u.s.w.: v. Teil.* Erlangen und Leipzig, 1893. 437 ss.: Mk. 13. 50.

THE fifth part of Zahn's invaluable *Forschungen* is full of interest to Cambridge men. It is made up of Paralipomena of the editor, accompanied by a full discussion of the text of the *Apology of Aristides* and of questions connected with the same by R. Seeberg. Amongst the matters discussed by Zahn will be found a tract on the chronology of Montanism, a sketch of the history of Abercius Marcellus of Hieropolis (which will be sure to attract the attention of the pupils and followers of Lightfoot), a study of the Armenian catalogues of canoni-

cal and uncanonical books, a note on the existence of a Latin translation of the book of Enoch, in which Zahn verifies a former speculation of his own on the subject (*Geschichte des Kanons*, ii. 797-801) by comparing an apparent quotation from the epistle of Jude in the pseudo-Cyprianic tract against Novatian with the Greek text of the recovered portion of the book of Enoch, and shows that this apparent quotation is not taken from Jude but from a Latin Enoch. This confirmation of Zahn's former speculation is especially interesting in view of Mr. James' recent publication of a fragment of the lost Latin Enoch from a MS. in the British Museum (see *Texts and Studies*, vol. ii. No. 3, p. 146). Before passing to the *Apology of Aristides*, there is one point in which a word of personal explanation is necessary. In his discussion of the story of Abercius (p. 57) Zahn quotes Lightfoot to the following effect: 'I have heard recently from Prof. Rendel Harris, that a MS. of an earlier form of the Acts of Abercius, before it was manipulated by the metaphrast, has been discovered in the East, and that it will shortly be published in Greece'; and adds as follows: 'Meine Bemühungen, Näheres und Neueres zu erfahren, sind bis heute (20 October, 1892) vergeblich geblieben. Eine Anfrage blieb unbeantwortet.' I am sorry that Prof. Zahn should have had to charge me with inattention to his requests in a matter in which all my informations would be gladly placed at his disposal, but the honest truth is that up to the present time (bis heute, 21 Oct. 1893) no such request has reached me. It must, I suspect, have been lost in the post, or transmitted through a third person, who has not yet forwarded it to me. However, as the question has been asked, I will state briefly what I know on the matter. The sentence quoted from Lightfoot is evidently based on a letter from myself, though I had no idea my communication was going to be printed. It is correct that there is a new MS. of Abercius accessible; I saw it in the Patriarchal Library at Jerusalem, but, as it had been copied by my learned friend Papodopoulos Kerameus, with a view to publication, I naturally avoided the book, being content with Kerameus' statement that it was earlier than the text of the metaphrast. The MS. is, I think, described in Kerameus' Catalogue of the Jerusalem MSS. I hope Prof. Zahn will accept this explanation of the mysterious sentence in Lightfoot.

And now let us turn to the discussion of the *Apology of Aristides*, by Reinhold Seeberg. It will be safe to say that this is by far the most searching investigation that has yet been made of the subject, comprising more than 250 closely printed pages, and this without including any printed Syriac text, or any Greek text except such sentences as Seeberg regards as a relic of the original Greek Aristides. It will be seen that the German thoroughness is present in an unusual degree. It will be remembered that the *editio princeps* of the *Apology* presented the spectacle of a joint editorship, each editor being the happy discoverer of a text of the lost Aristides, and each profoundly conscious that the text which he had discovered was that which represented the mind of the author. I think, however, that it is not unfair to state that my pages were written from the knowledge of the Syriac text only, while Prof. Robinson had the advantage afforded by a comparative study of both the Greek and the Syriac texts. It was easy for him, under such circumstances, to present attractively his theory of the superiority of the Greek text as preserved in the 'Barlaam and Josaphat' romance over the Syriac tradition as contained in the Sinai MS. I was content to leave the matter in this divergent presentation, without seeking to improve on my first statement, or to controvert Mr. Robinson's acute defence of the Greek text. And so we succeeded in provoking a combat of giants. Robinson's championship of the Greek text drew to his side Harnack and Raabe, while the superiority of the Syriac text was upheld by Zahn, Hilgenfeld, and Egli, and now, at the last, by Seeberg.

It is impossible, in the course of a brief review, to follow the course of the arguments by which Seeberg defends the Syriac text against the Greek; we can only mention a few points. He shows that the relative brevity of the Greek text as against the Syriac cannot be due to expansions on the part of a Syriac translator, for the added matter in the Syriac shows Greek forms in the proper names. It is demonstrable that G (the Greek text) corrects the crudeness of the Syriac text (S) and improves on its mythology. In the case of the Isis legend G has abbreviated the account so as to leave no reason for the flight of Isis to Byblos. The great section on Christian ethics is too full of archaic traits to be the work of a Syriac scribe, while these very traits are a sufficient reason for the omission of the section by a late Greek writer, composing

a romance in which the archaisms would not be intelligible. Again it is very improbable that S should have reduced the Greek account of the Jews from the full statement which we find in G, and at the same time have added so many new points to his account. But if G has altered the section on the Jews, it is not unreasonable to suppose that he has also misplaced it. Consequently Seeberg justifies the order in the Syriac text. The existence of the section on the genealogical derivation of the Greeks in the original document is shown by the allusion to it by the Syriac text at a later point of the *Apology* in the words 'and now let us return to the Greeks &c.'

These and very many other arguments are brought forward by Seeberg in defence of his thesis that the Syriac Aristides is a true translation (with a few errors and slight modifications), while the Greek text is a series of (often untrustworthy) extracts. It will be interesting to see how Prof. Robinson will deal with the arguments brought forward by Seeberg.

One way in which it occurs to me that a crucial experiment might be made on the two texts, would be by finding quotations of Aristides by some early father, before the time of the composition of the 'Barlaam' story, in which we could compare the quotation with the two rival authorities. Let us try whether this can be done for Irenaeus. I have a strong belief that Irenaeus was very well acquainted with the text of the *Apology* and that it has coloured his style. The difficulty of finding a passage where direct use is made of Aristides lies in the fact that all second century writers show, of necessity, common matter in biblical and philosophical ideas. For example, the following sentences in Irenaeus (ed. Mass. 183) are very like the opening chapter of Aristides :—

'Ipse enim infectus et sine initio et sine fine et nullius indigens, ipse sibi sufficiens, et adhuc reliquis omnibus, ut sint, hoc ipsum praestans; quae vero ab eo sunt facta, initium sumserunt. Quaecumque autem initium sumserunt, et dissolutionem possunt percipere, et subiecta sunt et indigent eius qui se fecit etc.'

Compare this with the corresponding sentences in Aristides: 'God is not begotten, *not made*, a constant nature, *without beginning* and *without end*, immortal, complete and incomprehensible; and in saying that He is complete, I mean this, that there is *no deficiency in Him* and *He stands in need of nought*, but everything stands in need of Him: and in saying that He is without beginning, I mean this: that *everything which has a beginning, has also an end, and that which has an end is dissoluble.*' The agreement both in the ideas and in the order of their arrangement in Irenaeus and Aristides is remarkable. And it is between the *Syriac* text of Aristides and the text of Irenaeus that the agreement is most marked. The parallelisms are much slighter in the Greek. This is certainly curious, on the hypothesis that we are dealing merely with Stoical commonplaces of the second century. However, supposing we set down the coincidences as due to popular theology of the second century (reproduced perhaps in more extended form by a Syriac translator in the fifth century), what are we to say to the following coincidence in language? We find Irenaeus (p. 192) concluding a discourse on the Gospels with the words 'Veniamus et ad reliquos Apostolos et perquiramus sententiam eorum de Deo.' Here we have one of the characteristic sentences of Aristides: cf. c. 3, 'Let us then begin with the Barbarians and by degrees *we will proceed to the rest* of the peoples, in order that we may understand which of them hold the truth concerning God, and which of them error'; c. 8, '*Let us return* now to the Greeks, in order *that we may know what opinion they have concerning* the true *God*'; c. 14, '*Let us come now*, O King, also to the affairs of the Jews *and let us see what opinion they have concerning God.*'

Surely one of the recurrent notes in Aristides' speech has been working in Irenaeus' brain. We can restore the Greek of Irenaeus from the translation, and it is in remarkable agreement with the style of Aristides. The three sentences which we have quoted are extant in the Greek fragments of Aristides, but the language of Irenaeus contains words which are not found in the Greek, but are found in the Syriac: for he has imitated the words 'the rest of the peoples' in 'the rest of the Apostles,' but here the Greek merely says, '*Ἴδωμεν οὖν τίνες τούτων μετέχουσι τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τίνες τῆς πλάνης.*' Taking this coincidence along with the coincidence previously noted, it certainly looks as if Irenaeus had been acquainted with the *Apology of Aristides* in a form which is better represented by the Syriac version than by the Greek text in the 'Barlaam' romance. And this means that, in the main, Seeberg and Zahn are right in their defence of the priority of the Syriac tradition. Now we will let the giants continue the battle.

J. Rendel Harris.

MUELLER'S *SATIRES* AND *EPISTLES* OF HORACE.

Satiren und Episteln des Horaz, mit Anmerkungen von LUCIAN MUELLER. II. Theil: Episteln. Wien. F. Tempsky. 8vo. pp. 346. Price 8*s*.

THE appearance of an elaborate commentary on the *Satires* and *Epistles* of Horace by the veteran scholar, Prof. Lucian Mueller, is a matter of no little interest. It is the outcome, as he says, of forty years of constant familiarity with a favourite author, to whom he has been attracted, not by accidental circumstances, or in the service of science, but by special sympathy, and by a certain natural affinity of tastes. We have then the matured and well-considered judgments of a scholar, whose life-work has been to a large extent a preparation for such an undertaking. But this has not led him, as has sometimes been the case with English scholars, to an unreasoning conservatism. He claims indeed to have arrived at certain points of view which enable him to remove many difficulties of interpretation, and to adopt a cautious and respectful attitude to the tradition of the MSS. But this caution is relative; and in England at all events his edition will not be considered to have erred in that direction. Professor Mueller pronounces many lines interpolated, many others seriously corrupt, and frequently adopts conjectures which, though for the most part familiar to more conservative critics, have usually been rejected by them. Of the rejected lines, which are summarily set down to 'monks,' we may notice *Ep.* I. i. 60, 61, 103-105, ii. 55, 61, vi. 8, vii. 24, 38, 79, xi. 18-19 (in part), xiv. 12-13, xviii. 85, xix. 48-49, II. i. 63, 141, 155, ii. 155-157, iii. 337, 360, 449, 467. Not one of these lines is suspected by so sound a critic as Dr. Gow. They are almost exactly parallel to the cases of suspected interpolation in Juvenal, on which Bücheler and Mayor have expressed themselves emphatically. In a few cases there is some difficulty prevented by the line; in the great majority there is none, either in construction or in connexion with the context: the ground for rejection is simply that they are weak and otiose. The question is really whether we are to take as our canon the belief that Horace never wrote a line which might have been better away, and that if we can find such it must be due to interpolators. In *Ep.* I. i. 59-61

At pueri ludentes 'rex eris' aiunt
'Si recte facies.' Hic murus aheneus esto:
Nil conscire sibi, nulla pallescere culpa.

V. 60 might well have run as Mueller suggests:

'Si recte facies, si non recte facies, non.'

But if it had so stood, what is the probability that it would have been mutilated, and v. 61 foisted in to fill out the sense of the supplement which so clumsily filled up the gap? The insertion of 103-105 is supposed to have been due to the blunder of some one who mistakenly supposed the person addressed—who is only the general reader—to be Maecenas, and desiderated some direct reference to him. It is not possible to examine all the instances in detail: but it may be said that in no case does the suspicion of spuriousness amount to anything like demonstration; and if we allow to Horace a little looseness in the structure of these *Sermones*, it falls away almost entirely. It is worth noting that not one of these lines is bracketed in Mueller's earlier text-edition; the excisions are mostly due to the suggestion of Nauck, though some had been suspected by Meineke.

Professor Mueller also makes free use of the supposition of *lacunae*. Somewhat curiously he suggests only one in the *Epistula ad Pisones* (between 309 and 310), and that one which Ribbeck, who uses this epistle so roughly, never suspects; but we have one in *Ep.* I. i. after v. 105, another in *Ep.* I. x. after v. 4, another in *Ep.* I. xii. after v. 24, others again in *Ep.* I. xiii. after v. 7, in xvi. after v. 54, v. 59 and v. 68, in xviii. after v. 93, in xix after v. 39, in xx. after v. 18. In the Second Book (excluding the *Ars Poetica*) there is not a single such lacuna indicated. The first is made almost necessary by the rejection of vv. 103-105: for the sense is certainly abrupt, if these be omitted. In *Ep.* x. 4, the slight awkwardness of the construction certainly does not call for so strong a remedy. Nor does the transitional *tamen* of xii. v. 25 require us to suppose that some bad news of a private

nature had preceded, to which Horace proceeds to give a cheering postscript as to the prosperity of the state at home and abroad.

On *Ep.* I. xiii. 7-8

Abicito potius, quam quo perferre iuberis
Clitellas ferus impingas etc.

Mueller's note is: 'Here too there must be a lacuna. For it is only in v. 11 that the arrival at the court of Augustus is mentioned. Besides the following *clitellas* (also *Sat.* I. v. 47) *ferus impingas* cannot possibly be explained, or brought into connexion with the preceding words. The passage is probably to be restored: *quam quo perferre iuberis invitus rapias et ad impositas male gratum clitellas ferus impingas.* The burden is too troublesome for Vinnius. So in a rage and not very tenderly he fastens the packet which he had hitherto carried himself (as is shown by v. 6), like any ordinary piece of baggage, on his travelling saddle.' Now possibly 'fasten on' is a more natural meaning for *impingas* than 'dash down,' which the ordinary text requires, or rather (as Kiessling suggests) 'knock up' against a tree or doorpost, in the endeavour to get rid of the burden. But the very point of the whole lies in supposing that Vinnius is carrying the packet himself, and to interpret *clitellas* of the saddle of the animal that he was riding ruins the humour of the thing, such as it is. Horace says 'If the packet galls you, throw it away, and don't behave, when you reach Augustus, like a donkey that is wildly eager to get rid of its load, or men will think that your inherited surname was very appropriate.' And this is advice *for the journey*, like v. 10. Why a man should be in danger of being thought to have been fitly called 'a donkey,' because he puts a heavy package on a donkey's back, I cannot possibly imagine. In I. xiv. v. 31 which, following Ribbeck, Mueller transposes to before v. 14, seems to me much better where it is. Vv. 21-30 describe the tastes of the *vilicus*: then comes '*Nunc age, quid nostrum concentum dividat, audi*' = 'Now see how widely different we are in our tastes'; and thereupon follows an account of what Horace likes. In xvi. 55 'nam' may very well refer to the suppressed thought: 'it is useless so to avoid more heinous offences, for detected or not, greater or less, the sin is the same.' After 59 there is no need for the prayer, which might have followed the invocation of Apollo, to be recorded as uttered aloud. After 68, there is still less need for the occasion of the capture of the runaway soldier to be described: there is great force in the abrupt scorn of v. 69 as it stands. To maintain that a line or two must have been lost after xviii. 93, in which counsel was given how to behave towards the *tristes* and *remissi*, is to tie down Horace far too strictly: besides it is easy to answer that Lollius, as we see from the first few lines of the epistle, was in danger of falling into one extreme, but not into the other. In xix. 39-40 the difficulty which Prof. Mueller finds is simply due to a failure to catch the humorous tone, which Bentley pointed out long ago. After xx. 18 Meineke thought it was necessary that the jesting prophecies of the earlier portion of the epistle should be followed by some more serious expressions of pride in it and of good advice; to which one can only reply that the necessity is not obvious. There is even something attractive in the sudden change from jest to earnest. Unless I am much mistaken there is even less cogency in the arguments for all these *lacunae* than for the rejection of the bracketed lines.

With regard to the new readings introduced, the following deserve to be noticed (I mark with an asterisk those which are Mueller's own; the others have been previously suggested, but not generally adopted). I. i. 19 **et non res mihi* for *et mihi res, non*, i. 91 **recte* for *ride*, ii. 34 **cures* for *curres*, ii. 52 *tormenta* for *fomenta*, which admits of a perfectly satisfactory interpretation, ib. 68 *vera* for *verba*, vii. 80 *tum* for *dum*, xvi. 50 **notae* for *in te*, xvii. 2 *tenuem* for *tandem*, xx. 19 *sol* **trepidus* for *sol tepidus* (with some inclination to *sal lepidus!*), II. i. 140 **iuvantes* for *levantes* (rejecting v. 141), ii. 87 *auctor* for *frater* (without mentioning that he has been anticipated in this by Prof. Palmer), ii. 199 **tamen procul* for *domus procul*, iii. 120 *Homeriacum* for *honoratum*, 328 **properas* for *poteras*, 358 *ut idem* for *et idem*, 430 **Salius* for *saliet*.

Of the passages marked as seriously corrupt we may refer to I. xii. 1, 9, xvi. 35, 56, xvii. 55, xviii. 74, xix. 13, 28, xx. 24, II. i. 67, 116, II. ii. 188, 199-200, iii. 45, 128, 153, 172, 359, 407, 437; and of course *Pyrrhia* in I. xiii. 14. With the exception of the last, it is hard to see that in any of the other passages there is sufficient reason to find incurable corruption, though some of them undoubtedly present difficulties. It is characteristic of two different ways of editing that in only six of these passages is any difficulty at all recognized by Mr.

Wickham, and in almost all of these it is disposed of in a word or two.

Limits of space do not make it possible to enter very fully into the explanatory portion of Professor Mueller's lengthy commentary. Everywhere it is marked by learning, and by a strenuous desire to keep clear the sequence of the thought; but in the latter respect he is often much less successful than Mr. Wickham, and the abundant ingenuity seems at times strangely perverted. Probably the very worst instance —one which we would fain believe impossible to an English editor—is the offensive supplement suggested to I. xvii. 55. In I. i. 44 is it possible to take *capitis labore* 'risk of civil existence'? It is tolerably evident that the note on I. ii. 34 'si nolis sanus, curres (for which he reads 'cures') hydropicus' was not penned at Oxford or Cambridge: 'besides, one cannot see why a man in health should run, instead of simply walking.' In I. xviii. 22 it is hardly possible to take *unguit* as 'fattens' instead of 'perfumes.' On the whole it can hardly be said that any valuable contribution is made in this edition towards the satisfactory explanation of the well-known difficulties of the *Epistles*.

In the introductions many points of interest are raised, which it would take too long to discuss. Prof. Mueller claims it as a very important fact, not previously recognized, that Horace never addresses in Book I. any but people of middle rank, and humble position, especially of the *ordo equestris*, the assumed reason being that more important persons had no time to listen to moralizings on philosophy. This requires to be interpreted very widely, if it is not to mislead. It is true that we have no epistle addressed to any of the leading men of the time, like Agrippa, or Pollio, or Messalla. But Lollius and Florus, Torquatus and Albinovanus, and Quinctius are in no fair sense middle-class persons; and Kiessling even holds that Vinius belonged to the higher court-circles. The unknown Bullatius and Scaeva furnish a very slender basis for a sweeping hypothesis. Yet this hypothesis forms one of the most prominent reasons for the editor's rejection of the view, which has lately found such weighty support, that the *Ars Poetica* was not much later than Book I. of the *Epistles*. A view which Professor Sellar after due consideration deliberately rejected can certainly not be regarded as established: but it needs more respectful treatment than Professor Lucian Mueller has given it.

On the whole, unless I am biassed by extreme conservatism, I cannot think that this edition answers to the expectations which were formed of it; or that it is either as suggestive or as trustworthy a guide as that of the lamented Professor Kiessling.

A. S. Wilkins.

DR. MUSTARD ON HOR. SAT. I. 10.

Dr. W. P. Mustard has reprinted from the *Colorado College Studies* vol. iv. (1893) a dissertation of fourteen pages on the eight lines usually prefixed to Horat. *Serm.* i. 10. It makes no claim to originality, but is a careful collection of the various opinions that have been expressed with regard to them, with a statement and an occasional criticism of the arguments by which they have been supported. It is unfortunate that for a paper read on March 24, 1893 he did not use the edition of the *Satires* by Lucian Mueller, published early in 1891; for this contains by far the most satisfactory defence of the Horatian authorship of these lines. Professor Mueller accepts one or two proposed emendations, especially that by Heindorf of *puerum est* for *puer et* in v. 5; and takes the whole passage to have been the original introduction to the satire, afterwards cancelled by Horace himself, and therefore not found in the better MSS., but introduced into the inferior class, undoubtedly from a lost commentary on the poet's writings. The lines are given in the following form:—

Lucili, quam sis mendosus, teste Catone
Defensore tuo pervincam, qui male factos
Emendare parat versus (hoc lenius ille,
Quo melior vir et est longe subtilior isto,
Qui multum puerumst loris et funibus udis
Exhortatus), ut esset opem qui ferre poetis
Antiquis posset contra fastidia nostra,
Grammaticorum equitum doctissimus. Ut redeam illuc:

Parat he takes to be used for *paravit*, as *donat* in i. 2, 56, and *fugit* in i. 6, 12, whence the sequence *ut esset—ut posset*.

The position is that Valerius Cato the grammarian, who may well have lived on to B.C. 20, undertook to adapt Lucilius to the taste of the time, as various writers have done for Chaucer, and as he possibly did also for Ennius, and thereby showed his consciousness of the roughness of his verse. Horace was at first glad to shelter himself under his authority; but at a later date, when he had won the support of the distinguished men mentioned in vv. 81—91, he did not care to do so any longer, and rejected the lines. The parenthesis contains a scoff at Horace's old master Orbilius, who had tried to flog him into an admiration of the archaic writers. The situation is at least possible, and is worth consideration in view of the extreme difficulty of finding any other plausible date and origin for the lines. That Cato died in poor circumstances, having been obliged to give up his Tusculan villa to his creditors, is not sufficient to preclude the possibility of his having been an *eques*: perhaps the possession of such a villa rather indicates it. Dr. Mustard need not have been troubled about the phrase *loris ...udis*: any schoolboy would have told him that a strap stings more, if it is well wetted.

A. S. W.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

TWO ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES.

I. NOTE ON PLINY XXXIV. 58. Primus hic (Myron) multiplicasse veritatem videtur, numerosior in arte quam Polyclitus et in symmetria diligentior.

This sentence has perhaps given rise to more variety of interpretation than any other passage in an ancient author concerning artistic criticism. But I think it is possible by comparing one or two other passages of Pliny to ascertain what the expression actually meant to him, and perhaps also to the authority from which he derived it.

There are two main difficulties, one of reading the other of interpretation. (1) Are we to accept the statement of the text as it stands, that Myron was more studious of symmetry than Polyclitus? (2) What is the meaning of numerosior in arte? When these two questions are decided the interpretation of the rest follows as a matter of course.

(1) Some attempts have been made to defend the MSS. reading, by making a subtle distinction between ἔμμετρος and σύμμετρος, or otherwise justifying the astonishing statement that Myron surpassed Polyclitus in symmetry. But a glance at the passages about Polyclitus in Overbeck's *Schriftquellen*, especially those which concern the *canon*, in this direction his most characteristic work, will suffice to show that symmetry was the quality of all others for which Polyclitus was most admired, and this too by those who reckoned him first, or nearly first, among all sculptors. His studies in bodily proportion were the basis on which all later artists worked. To place above him in this particular matter Myron, of whose attainments in the study of symmetry and proportion we nowhere else hear anything, seems inconceivable, and so we must correct this passage so as to make it contrast the strongest points of the two artists, Myron 'numerosior in arte,' Polyclitus 'in symmetria diligentior.' The easiest way to do this is to omit *et* with Sillig; and then we have a remarkable analogy in expression to another passage of Pliny, xxxv. 130, where the painter Antidotus is called 'diligentior quam numerosior.'

(2) We now come to the meaning of 'numerosior in arte'; and it is a help to us to know that it is contrasted with in symmetria diligentior; and the contrast of the same two adjectives in the passage just quoted may give us a clue to the interpretation. There Antidotus, three of whose works are quoted as of exceptional reputation, is said to be 'more assiduous than prolific'; and in another passage, xxxv. 138, 'numerosa tabula,' as is shown by the list of people represented in it, evidently means a picture full of figures. The meaning then of 'numerosior in arte quam Polyclitus in symmetria diligentior' seems after all not so doubtful as it at first appears. Myron's variety and richness in new artistic types is contrasted with the accurate but monotonous symmetry of Polyclitus, whose athlete statues were 'paene ad exemplum'—a con-

trast fully borne out by what we know otherwise of the works and style of the two sculptors.

This interpretation is not, of course, a new one; but in view of the various and improbable translations that have been and still are given of this passage it seems worth while to point out what is proved by Pliny's usage elsewhere to be the correct one.

II. Was Phidias a pupil of Hegias?

The only authority for the statement that Phidias was a pupil of Hegias is an emendation by K. O. Müller on a passage in Dio Chrysostom, *Orat.* 55, 1, p. 282; but this emendation, ΗΓΙΟΥ for ΗΠΟΥ or ΙΠΠΟΥ, is palaeographically so excellent that there is no wonder it has met with universal acceptance. Nor is there any historical objection to the connexion, since Hegias was an Attic artist working at the close of the sixth century, and may well have survived until the period of the Persian wars, when Phidias was a young man. Yet it seems worth while to examine the evidence a little more closely.

In the first place, we find a fairly widespread and well-attested tradition that Phidias was the pupil of Ageladas (Hagelaïdas) of Argos. The existence of this tradition, whether based on fact or not, is not of course inconsistent with the existence of a rival tradition assigning him to an Attic master; and, indeed, he might very well have worked under both successively. But, on the other hand, it makes us examine rather more critically the solitary passage on which the rival tradition is supposed to rest. For we are concerned with traditions rather than with the historical facts; and it is clear that we have in these stories about early artists the expression of the theories of later schools of artistic criticism, rather than the results of accurate research.

If in this light we look again at the passage in Dio Chrysostom, I think we shall be less inclined to recognize in it any tradition varying from the accepted one about Ageladas. The rhetorician is merely quoting, as an illustration, well-known instances of the relation of master and pupil; and it would only confuse his readers and obscure his point if in such context he quoted an instance where the tradition was doubtful, or, indeed, if he quoted any other master for the great artist than the one known to common fame. We should therefore have expected him to write Ageladas in this passage; and if he wrote Ἀγελάδας, or perhaps the quasi-Attic form Ἡγελάδας (cf. Ἡγησίλαος &c.), it would not be difficult to account for the MSS. readings. The similar letters ΛΑΔ might easily lead to the contraction of the name. Thus when other evidence is taken into consideration, the correction Hegeladas seems preferable to the more obvious Hegias; and so the evidence for any artistic connexion between Hegias and Phidias entirely disappears. The Ageladas story is hardly affected by one more instance of its quotation. There was enough evidence before to prove the existence of the tradition; and, as to the fact, the doubts expressed by Professor Robert in his *Archaeologische Märchen* retain all their force. Professor Klein, in the *Archaeologisch-Epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*, vii. p. 64, rejects the Ageladas tradition altogether; but he at least agrees in the improbability of Dio Chrysostom quoting one of two rival traditions, and rejects the easy but unsatisfactory solution of sending Phidias to study under Hegias and Ageladas in succession.

Ernest Gardner.

A HOROSCOPE OF THE YEAR 316 A.D.

The papyrus containing this horoscope was with several other papyri brought to Oxford from the Fayum by the Rev. A. C. Headlam, by whose courtesy I am permitted to publish it. It measures 5 in. by 4½ in. On one side, in a semi-cursive hand of the fourth century, is part of a letter or petition, as is shown by the concluding formula, which is practically all that can be made out, [ερρω]σθαι υμας ε[ὐχομαι πολλοις χ]ρ[ο]νοις κυριε μο[υ. . . . : cf. Brit. Mus. pap. 231, 232, 234, 236, all fourth century letters ending in a similar formula. On the other side, in a larger and less cursive hand of the same period, is a horoscope. The writing on both sides runs parallel to the papyrus fibres, and the damaged condition of the papyrus, which in many parts is stained and rubbed, especially on the side containing the letter, renders it at first sight difficult to decide which side is the recto. But on the side which contains the letter, the texture of the papyrus seems slightly finer and smoother than on the other side, which points to the letter having been written on the recto (see Prof. Wilcken in *Hermes* vol. xxii. 'Recto oder Verso?'). Fortunately the question is set at rest by the fact that the letter is mutilated both at the top and at the end of each line which remains, while the horoscope appears to be complete,

so far as it goes, since a space is left all round the writing. Moreover at the end of the horoscope Τοξοτη is not written in the same line as ωροσκοπος, but below it, no doubt because there was hardly room; but, had the papyrus been perfect at the time when the horoscope was written, there would have been ample space for both words in the same line. All this tends to show not only that the horoscope was written after the letter, and therefore on the verso, but that it was written when the papyrus was almost, if not quite, as much mutilated as it is now. The horoscope contains, as usual, the exact date of the birth, and the signs of the zodiac occupied by the sun and moon, the five planets and the ὡροσκόπος, or point in the heavens which was rising at the time of the birth. But it does not give full details, such as the number of degrees in the signs, through which the planets had passed, or the exact position of the heavenly bodies with regard to each other, points which are not omitted in other horoscopes. For instance pap. Brit. Mus. cx. describes the position of Jupiter thus: Ζεὺς ἐν Κριῶι μοιρῶν ιβ λεπτῶν μδ ἐν τῶι β̄ στηριγμῶι οἴκωι Ἄρεως ὑψώματι Ἡλίου ταπεινώματι Κρόνου ὁρίοις Ἀφροδίτης. Nor again is there any mention of the δυσικόν, μεσουράνημα and ὑπὸ γῆν, which should complete the reference to the ὡροσκόπος; cf. pap. Brit. Mus. xcviii. and cx. Still from the appearance of the papyrus, as has been said, the horoscope does not seem to be incomplete.

The horoscope is calculated for a man called Heracleides, born on Sept. 25th, 316, but it may not have been written for some time after that date, provided that it was written during his lifetime.

The text of the horoscope is transcribed just as it is, except that the proper names have a capital letter. There are no stops, breathings or accents. Square brackets indicate a lacuna.

αγαθη τυχη γενεσις
Ηρακλειδου
λγ ∫ Διοκλητιανου
(sic) ~~Φαωφι~~ Θωθ κ̄η
ωρα ε ημε[ρας]
κ[αι]
Ηλιος Ερμης [Ζυ]γω
Σεληνη Καρκινω
Κρονος Υδρηχω
Ζευς Διδυμοις
Αρης Κριω
Αφροδιτη Παρθενω
ωροσκοπος
Τοξοτη

NOTES.

Line 3. ∫ = ετους. The Diocletian era began in 284, so that the 33rd year is 316—7. This is the earliest instance of a date on papyrus being calculated by this era. It was commonly used in Egypt for astronomical calculations, as *e.g.* by Theon and Heliodorus, and to this class the present papyrus of course belongs. But sometimes the Diocletian era was employed by the pagans even for ordinary purposes of dating (see the two inscriptions dated 165th and 169th year of Diocletian in Letronne's *Recueil des Inscriptions de l'Égypte* vol. ii. p. 217 *sqq.*). The Christians in Egypt however did not use it, except for calculating Easter, until after the Arab invasion, when the Diocletian era is often found both in inscriptions and papyri (see Letronne *l.c.* and M. E. Revillout in *Revue Égypt.* vol. iv. p. 17 note).

Line 6. κ[αι] was apparently inserted above Ερμης; only the top of the κ is visible.

[Ζυ]γω. The last two letters are only faintly discernible, but the reading is certain, as on Thoth 28th (=Sept. 25th) just after the autumnal equinox the sun was in Libra.

Line 12. ωροσκοπος is explained by Sextus Empiricus as ὅπερ ἔτυχεν ἀνίσχειν καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἡ γένεσις συνετελεῖτο (*adv. Mathem.* v. 13).

B. P. GRENFELL.

Dinair Célènes-Apamée-Cibotos, 46 pages with a Plan and two Maps: by G. WEBER. Besançon. 1892.

THIS work is slighter in character than M. Weber's description of Ephesus; and evidently does not rest on such intimate knowledge of the district. It is however useful as a supplement to Prof. G. Hirschfeld's interesting and in many respects excellent study of Apameia, published in the Berlin Academy's *Abhandlungen* 1875. It describes several interesting things which are not mentioned by Prof. Hirschfeld; and gives a much clearer and better idea of the remarkable surrounding of Apamea than he does. Prof. Hirschfeld's strength does not lie in geography, and we have therefore all the more reason to be grateful that he devotes himself so zealously to this subject, which exercises such fascination over all those who have ever looked into it. His study of Apamea contains a great deal which

the student of history will read with great profit; but it has merely confused the topography, and consecrated by a high authority errors on points which Arundel and Hamilton described correctly. On all these points M. Weber will be found more trustworthy; and his maps make Strabo's description of the Maeander and its tributaries quite clear. In fact Strabo's description is so accurate and so vivid in its few words, that, to any one that has seen the rivers, it is stampéd as the account of an eye-witness. Prof. Hirschfeld unfortunately, in surveying the site for his map, made the error of combining two separate rivers into a single river; and after this initial blunder he, of course, found it impossible to adapt the words of Strabo to the features of his map. He was further misled by accepting a traditional misreading on a coin of Apamea and a false 'correction' in a passage of Livy xxxviii. 15; and he thus found Pliny's Obrimas mentioned in these two weighty authorities as a river of Apamea. But the coin reads ΘΕΡμα, not ΟΒΡιμας; and Livy's MSS. read Rhotrinos (*i.e.* [au]rocrinos) Fontes, not Obrimae Fontes. In regard to the coin Prof. Hirschfeld says in the *Berl. Philol. Wochenschrift* that I have misread it, and refers me to Mr. Head's *Historia Numorum* (which has been my guide and companion and friend since its publication); but, if he consults Mr. Head by letter or personally, or if he gets some other good authority to examine the coin, he will find that I am right. Every one interested in the history and antiquity of the great Greek cities of Asia should consult this little paper of M. Weber's.

W. M. Ramsay.

Guide du Voyageur à Ephèse, par G. Weber. 80 pages, 8vo, with two Plans, two Maps, and two views of the Temple of Diana as restored by Adler. Smyrna. 1891. 5*s.* net.

This study of the topography of the Ephesian country, though it relates to a very small part of the Ionian coast, is really a work of great importance for students of Greek history. It has hitherto not been possible to acquire any clear idea of the surroundings of Ephesus as a whole, except by actually riding over the lower Cayster valley. Mr. Wood gives no map of the district that reaches down to the sea from the city, and his description is valueless; puerile stories of brigands who were frightened away by the waving of a lighted cigarette or by the sight of a revolver lying on Mr. Wood's table occupy more space than is given to the scenery of the valley. Ernst Curtius's outline of Ephesian history in the *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Topographie Kleinasiens* is a work of genius (which is not nearly so much read by students of Greek history as it deserves), and it is founded to a great extent on topographical study of the actual site of the city; but it needs to be supplemented by a work like this unpretending but excellent book by M. Weber. It is quite impossible to give any detailed account of it, for it is too full of details. Briefly I may say that it describes a number of interesting relics of antiquity in the Cayster valley, which are not alluded to in any other work known to me, and several of which were discovered by M. Weber himself; that it gives an explanation of these and a view of the ancient topography as a whole, which seems to me (after having ridden over most of the lower valley in 1880, 1881, and 1882) to be in general correct; that it contains the best archaeological map known to me of any district in Asia Minor (except perhaps the Troad); and that the price is four shillings.

W. M. Ramsay.

MONTHLY RECORD.

Greece.

Athens.—In the course of 1893 Mr. V. W. Yorke of the British School has found on the Acropolis three fragments of sculpture which appear to belong to the reliefs on the balustrade of the temple of Athena Nike. The first fragment corresponds with the measurements of the other slabs of the balustrade, and the style points to the same conclusion. It consists of the left shoulder and breast and part of the left arm and wing of a Nike. The second fragment forms part of a right wing seen from the inside, only the lower part being worked. The third fragment forms a left breast and shoulder (with drapery) of a Nike. Unfortunately none of these fragments can at present be actually fitted to any of the remains already in the Acropolis Museum. Other interesting suggestions and corrections, some by Mr. Yorke, have also been recently made with regard to the fragments of the balustrade reliefs which are in the Acropolis Museum.[1]

Recent acquisitions of the National Museum: (1) From Rhamnus: a votive relief representing a female figure with a key, and an archaistic bearded head, of the Hermè type; a tablet with inscription to Theodoros who built a temple of Amphiaraos, and a head from the base of the Nemesis statue. (2) From Thebes: three terracottas, representing Telesphoros, a woman, and a monkey. (3) From Eretria: a white lekythos (sepulchral); r. f. lekythos with female figure playing lyre, inscribed Δοῦρις (?); b. f. white-ground lekythos, with a man slaying a bull; r. f. pyxis with a toilet-scene on the top, and a marriage-

[1] *Journ. Hell. Stud.* xiii. pt. 2.

procession round the side with Herakles in a quadriga; r. f. pyxis, with Leto giving birth to Apollo and Artemis in the presence of other deities, on the top, a female figure receiving presents, and a smaller pyxis; terracotta figure of old woman with infant; bronze mirror with Leda feeding the swan; on the cover, a Nereid on a hippocamp; two-handled pyxis with cover, on which is a female figure fastening her sandal; r. f. aryballos representing two horsemen tilting (cf. Welcker, *Alte Denkm.* iii. pl. 35, 2, p. 513); terracotta figure of winged girl with fruits. (4) From other sources: a marble sarcophagus of Etruscan type and late Roman date, with a figure of the deceased on the top; two headless statuettes of Hygieia accompanied by a snake; fragment of a statue of the Ephesian Artemis with belt on which are reliefs of Erotes and nymphs on sea-monsters. (5) From outside the Kerameikos: two white sepulchral lekythi, and another representing two Satyrs; r. f. aryballos with bust of female figure in Phrygian cap; other small r. f. vases; b. f. pyxis, with seven female figures variously occupied, and five more on the top; r. f. pyxis representing the Judgment of Paris; tile (σωλήν) with hole in the middle, used for burying a small child; gold ring with engraved stone, representing Theseus; numerous inscriptions.

Basilis and Bathos, in Arcadia. Excavations were started here by the British School in the spring of 1893, on the river Alpheios near Kyparissia. Basilis is mentioned by Pausanias (viii. 29) as being in this locality; and it has been generally supposed that the site of Bathos was also here. The first finds consisted of about seventy terracottas, many of local fabric. The earlier types are very rude and archaic; the later, the usual type of a standing figure holding some object to the breast. Besides these some bronzes were found, consisting of a bull, pig, handle of a vessel with reliefs, and two engraved rings representing a youth and a female figure. None of these objects seem to be later than the fourth century B.C.; the site appears to have been that of a small shrine, probably at Bathos, where rites were held in honour of the Great Goddess. A second site brought to light some interesting stone-work, probably on the road leading to the acropolis of Basilis, consisting of bases of statues ornamented with an elaborate key-pattern; these remains appear to be not later than the sixth century B.C.[1]

Megalopolis. Since the publication of the special Supplement to the *Journ. of Hell. Stud.*, the Thersilion, or assembly hall adjoining the theatre, has been completely cleared by the British School. The chief point of interest that has resulted therefrom is the arrangement of the columns behind the centre, with regard to which the conjectural restoration was not borne out, the bases being now shown to be at different levels. Some light has also been thrown on the question of roofing and lighting, and it seems extremely probable that the clerestory system with a high roof in the centre and lighting from the sides was adopted. Mr. Bather has shown how the plan is a development from that of a theatre; the *parodoi*, orchestra, and *skene*-wall are still preserved, although the building is changed from circular to rectangular.[1]

[1] Δελτίον, Sept.–Dec. 1892.

Journal of Hellenic Studies, xiii. (1892-3), pt. 2.

1. The pre-Persian temple on the Acropolis.—J. G. Frazer.

The writer examines Dörpfeld's arguments for the continued existence of this temple after the Persian wars, and shows the balance of the evidence to be against Dörpfeld's views.

2. The Chariot-group of the Mausoleum.—P. Gardner.

An attempt to show that there is no evidence for the position of the statues of Mausolos and the female figure in the chariot on the top of the pyramid.

3. A Mycenaean treasure from Aegina.—A. J. Evans.

An account of a recent acquisition of the British Museum, which the writer considers to be of Aeginetan origin. The style points to a current of Asiatic influence, but has no connection with the Phoenicians; the treasure is probably of local fabric and Greek workmanship. In date it appears to belong to the latest age of Mycenaean art, about 800 B.C.

4. Excavations on the probable sites of Basilis and Bathos.—A. G. Bather and V. W. Yorke.

5. The bronze fragments of the Acropolis—II. (two plates).—A. G. Bather.

Publishes those with reliefs and figure-subjects, also ornamental bands and small objects. The most interesting relief gives a new subject, from the myth of Herakles and Auge.

6. Newly discovered fragments of the Balustrade of Athena Nike (plate).—V. W. Yorke.

7. Selected vase-fragments from the Acropolis of Athens—I. (two plates).—G. C. Richards.

An account of some black-figured fragments of the latter half of the sixth century, showing a considerable Corinthian influence. The most interesting subjects are Tydeus and Ismene, and a scene from the funeral games of Pelias.

8. On waxen tablets with Fables of Babrius (seven plates).—D. C. Hesseling.

Seven wood tablets covered with wax and written on both sides, which were found at Palmyra, and are now in the Leiden library. They date from the third century of our era, and were apparently used as a schoolboy's copy-book.

9. Terracotta antefix from Lanuvium.—A. S. Murray.

Represents a Satyr and Maenad waiting for Dionysos, the former in the ἀποσκοπεύων attitude, as in the picture by Antiphilus.

10. The Thersilion at Megalopolis (plate).—E. F. Benson.

11. The development of the plan of the Thersilion.—A. G. Bather.

Showing how the plan is derived from that of a theatre.

12. Aetolian inscriptions.—W. J. Woodhouse.

Publishes thirty-seven, mostly from Naupaktos.

13. The theatre at Megalopolis.—W. Loring.

H. B. Walters.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Jahresberichte des Philologischen Vereins zu Berlin. August—December, 1892.

TACITUS (except the Germania), 1890—1892, by G. Andresen.

I. Editions and translations. *Cornelius Tacitus Dialogus de oratoribus*, by G. Andresen. 3rd ed. Leipzig 1891. [Cl. Rev. vi. 365.] *Des Cornelius Tacitus Gespräch über die Redner*, translated and explained by Ed. Wolff. Progr. Frankfurt.-a.-M. 1891. An excellent piece of work. *Corn. Tac. de vita et moribus Julii Agricolae liber*, by K. Knaut. Gotha 1889. On the whole a sensible school edition. *Corn. Tac. de vita et moribus Cn. Julii Agricolae liber*, by K. Tücking. 3rd ed. Paderborn 1890. *Corn. Tac. Historiarum libri* i. *et* ii., rec. R. Novák. Pragae 1892. Most of the many conjectures fail to convince. *P. Corn. Tac. opera*, rec. J. C. Orellius. Vol. ii. 2nd ed. Fasc. vi. *Historiarum liber* iii., ed. C. Meiser. Berol. 1891. Differs from Halm's text in about fifty places. *The Histories of Tacitus, Books* iii., iv., v., by A. D. Godley. London 1890. Remarkable for sound judgment and neatness of expression. [Cl. Rev. iv. 423.] *Corn Tac. Historiarum libri qui supersunt*, by W. A. Spooner. London 1891. Its value consists chiefly in the comprehensive introduction and careful elucidation of the subject-matter. [Cl. Rev. vi. 35.] *Corn. Tac. ab excessu Divi Augusti libri* i.—iii., rec. R. Novák. Pragae 1890. The reader is overwhelmed with a heap of unnecessary or even questionable conjectures. *Corn. Tac. Annales*, by W. Pfitzner. Vol. i. Books i. and ii. 2nd ed. Gotha 1892. In spite of many improvements this edition remains as unstimulating as the former. *Tacitus, The Annals, Books* i.—vi., by (the late) W. F. Allen. Boston and London 1890. Highly to be commended on all grounds. [Cl. Rev. v. 58.] *Corn. Tac.*, by K. Nipperdey. Vol. i. *Ab excessu Divi Augusti* i.—vi., 9th ed., by G. Andresen. Berlin 1892. Especially improved in the account of the campaigns of Germanicus. *Corn. Tac. Annalium ab excessu Divi Augusti libri*, by H. Furneaux. Vol. ii. Books xi.-xvi. Oxford, 1891. Deserves high praise as a repertory of the best and newest that has been done for the interpretation of Tacitus. *P. Corn. Tac.*, by K. Nipperdey. Vol. ii. *Ab excessu Divi Augusti* xi.-xvi., 5th ed., by G. Andresen. Berlin, 1892. [Cl. Rev. vi. 461.]

II. Works on the life and writings of Tacitus. W. Rösch, *Der Geschichtschreiber Cornelius Tacitus.* Hamburg 1891. Gives a history of the first century A.D. and an estimate of the work of Tacitus. All well done. C. Thiancourt, *Ce que Tacite dit des juifs au commencement du livre* v. *des Histoires. Rev. des études juives* xix. (1889). Explains the antipathy of T. to the Jews. E. Klebs, *Entlehnungen aus Velleius.* Philol. 49 (1890). Finds eight certain places in the Histories in which T. borrows from Velleius. Plut. borrows from Tacitus. O. Hirschfeld, *Zur annalistischen Anlage des taciteischen Geschichtswerks.* Hermes 25 (1890). The birth of the twins mentioned in Ann. ii. 84 must be put at least a year later than the death of Germanicus. R. Schöll, *Maternus.* Comment. Woelfflin. 1891. Why Aper in dial. 3 refers to Medea and Thyestes instead of to Cato and Thyestes. P. R. Schmidtmayer, Zeitschr. f. d. öst. Gymn. 1890. On the speech of Claudius in Ann. xi. 24.

III. Historical investigations. R. Patsch, Westd. Zeitschr. ix. (1890). Seeks to show against Mommsen that legions xiii.-xx. existed already before 6 A.D. R. Tieffenbach, *Ueber die Oertlichkeit der Varusschlacht.* Berlin 1891. The problem is to reconcile the accounts of the original authorities, Velleius, Florus and Dio. K. Schrader, *Miscellen zur Varusschlacht.* Progr. Düren 1890. R. Much, *Die Sippe des Arminius.* Zeitschr. f. deutsches Alt. 1871. On some obscure German names. F. Wolf, *Die That des Arminius.* Berlin 1891. Shows how much military knowledge is at fault without philological training. A. Deppe, *Sommerlager des Varus in Deutschland 9 n. Chr.* Rheinl. Jahrb. 89 (1890). A. Riese, *Ueber die Schlacht im Teutoburger Walde.* A discourse delivered at Frankfurt-a.-M. Considers the narrative of Dio the most trustworthy. W. Ihne, *Zur Ehrenrettung des Kaisers Tiberius.* From the English with additions by W. Schott. Strassburg 1892. Ihne's writing appeared under the title 'A plea for the Emperor Tiberius,' 1856 and 1857, in the Proceedings of the Lit. and Phil. Soc. of Liverpool. Ihne has revised the translations and given some additional notes. Curtius Ferber, *Utrum metuerit Tiberius Germanicum necne quaeritur.* Diss. Kiel 1890. T. wrote of Tib. *sine ira et studio.* His information about Germanicus and Piso goes back to eyewitnesses. W. Liebenam, *Bemerkungen zur Tradition über Germanicus.* N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1891. T. founds his account of G. upon the traditional enmity between him and Tib. and Tib.'s fear of his adopted son. A. Dumeril, *Aperçus sur l'histoire de l'empire Romain depuis la mort de Tibère jusqu'à l'avènement de Vespasien.* Ann. de Bordeaux 1891. J. Kreutzer, *Die Thronfolgeordnung im Principat.* Progr. Köln 1891. Directed against Mommsen's opinion that the wish of the dead emperor in naming a successor had no binding force. Ad. Schmidt, *Abhandlungen zur alten Geschichte*, collected and edited by Fr. Rühl. Leipzig 1888. Here we find an account, first published in 1856, on the projected reforms of Galba. E. Hübner, *Römische Herrschaft in Westeuropa.* Berlin 1890. Deals with England, Germany, and Spain.

IV. Inscriptions. The year 1890 has brought us important discoveries from inscriptions on the person and life of Tacitus.

V. Language. *Lexicon Taciteum*, ed. A. Gerber and A. Greef. Fasc. ix. ed. A. Greef. Lips. 1891. Extends from *nemus* to *orior.* The longest article is *non*, then *neque* and *nomen.* Guil. Heraeus, *Vindiciae Livianae* ii. Progr. Offenbach 1892. Many instructive parallels from Tac. given. J. Weisweiler, *Der finale genitivus gerundii.* Progr. Köln 1890. Most important for Tacitus. [A.J.P. ix. 464.] A. Ludewig, *Quomodo Plinius major, Seneca philosophus, Curtius Rufus, Quintilianus, Cornelius Tacitus, Plinius minor particula* quidem *usi sint.* Prag 1891. An excellent dissertation. H. Nettleship, *Cognomen, cognomentum.* Comment. Woelfflin. 1891. As regards Tac. this only confirms the views of Nipperdey, which are attacked.

VI. On the Manuscripts. F. Scheuer, *De Tacitei de oratoribus Dialogi codicum nexu et fide*, with a collation of Vind. DCCXI. Breslau 1891. All our MSS. go back to the apographum Henochianum. They fall into two groups X and Y. [Cl. Rev. vi. 316.] G. Andresen, *De codicibus Mediceis Annalium Taciti.* Progr. Berlin 1892. The results of a new collation of both of the Flor. MSS. Baiter's colla-

tion of the 2nd is more trustworthy than Ritter's, though R.'s is later.

VII. Criticism and interpretation. H. Buchholz, *Verbesserungsvorschläge zum Dialogus de oratoribus des Tacitus.* Progr. Hof 1891. None of the eighteen conjectures are convincing. A. Gudeman, *Critical Notes on the Dialogus of Tacitus.* Amer. J. P. xii. 3 and 4 (1891). Few of these are acceptable, none is convincing. Next come scattered contributions by L. Dewan (Rev. de Phil. xiii. 142), W. R. Inge (Cl. Rev. iv. 381), H. Nettleship (Journ. Phil. xix. 110), Machly (Philol. 48, 643), A. E. Schöne (Philol. 49, 312), G. F. Unger (N. Jahrb. 1890, 507), H. Probst (N. Jahr. 1891, 139), A. Michl (Zeitschr. f. d. öst G. 1890, 197), Meiser (Bl. f. d. bayer. G.S.W. 1891, 176), F. Schröder (N. Jahrb. 1891, 138), J. S. Speijer (Observatt. et emendd. 1891) on Ann. iii. 35 reads *antelatus est* for Med. *haut iustus est*, C. L. Smith (Harvard Studies 1890, 107), A. Kiessling (Hermes 26, 634) on Ann. iv. 43 *Vulcatius Moschus*, G. Birch (Journ. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc. 44, 193) on Ann. xii. 31 *Antonam.*

HERODOTUS, by H. Kallenberg.

I. Editions. *Herodotus, Book* iii., by G. C. Macaulay. London 1890. A very slight book. [Cl. Rev. vi. 64.] *Herodotus, Book* vi., by J. Strachan. London 1891. Shows thorough acquaintance with the literature and deserves all recognition. *Herodotus, Book* vii., by A. F. Butler. London 1891. Shows diligence and is generally correct. *Hérodote, Morceaux choisis*, by Ed. Tournier, 4th ed. with the collaboration of A. M. Desrousseaux Paris 1891. Carefully brought up to date since 1887.

II. Dissertations. N. Papageorgiu. *Περὶ τῆς ἐπὶ προθέσεως παρ' Ἡροδότῳ.* Diss. von Erlangen und Athen 1889. Diligent but imperfect. R. Heiligenstädt, *De finalium enuntiatorum usu Herodoteo cum Homerico comparato.* Part 2. Progr. Rossleben 1892. The first part appeared in 1883. This treats of (1) the union of two or more final sentences, (2) the future indicative in a final sense, (3) ways of expressing a purpose other than by a final sentence. K. Sogawe, *Ueber den Gebrauch des Pronomens ἕκαστος bei Herodot.* Progr. Breslau 1891. Important for text criticism. M. Wehmann, *De ὥστε particulae usu Herodoteo, Thucydideo, Xenophonteo.* Strassburg 1891. The final use of ὥστε is not sufficiently recognized by grammarians. [A.J.P. xiv. 240.] A. Lincke, *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte.* Part I. On the Cambyses question. Leipzig 1891. Does not add to our knowledge of a riddle in history. K. Krauth, *Babylonien nach der Schilderung Herodots.* Progr. Schleusingen 1892. Well worth reading. U. Köhler, *Die Zeiten der Herrschaft des Pisistratus in der πολιτεία Ἀθηναίων.* Berlin 1892. Ar. follows H. in his account of the Pisistratidae. H. Welzhofer, *Zur Geschichte der Perserkriege.* N. Jahrb. 1891. I. *Der Kriegszug des Mardonius in* 492 *v. Chr.* R. Adam, *De Herodoti ratione historica quaest. selectae sive de pugna Salaminia atque Plataeensi.* Diss. Berlin 1890. Even in the account of the Persian wars it was the object of H. to narrate what was worth narrating though it might not be true. E. Schwartz, *Quaestiones Ionicae.* Ind. lect. Rostock, 1891. In the 2nd part S. finds traces in H. of Sophistic sources. On the other hand A. Nieschke, *De figurarum quae vocantur σχήματα Γοργίεια apud Herodotum usu*, Progr. Münden 1891, thinks the rhetorical figures are due to the poets, especially Homer. H. Blümner, *Die Metaphor bei Herodot.* N. Jahrb. 1891. A contribution towards a history of metaphor in the Greek language. O. Rentzsch, *Herodot's Stellung zum alten Mythus.* Progr. Dresden 1892.

Scattered contributions. G. F. Unger, *Frühling's Anfang* (N. Jahrb. 1890, 174), Liebhold (N. Jahrb. 1891) in iii. 19 *Πέρσησι <συν> εστρατεύοντο*, H. Richards (Cl. Rev. v. 434) in viii. 111 *μεγάλας* for *μεγάλους*, M. L. Earle (Cl. Rev. vi. 73) on ii. 39, H. Kynaston (Cl. Rev. vi. 180) on viii. 111 and ix. 11, Keelhoff (Rev. de Phil. xv.) in i. 94 *ἔπιπλα* for *ἐπίπλοα*, so v. Herwerden. H. Kallenberg, *Der Artikel bei Namen von Ländern, Städten und Meeren in der griechischen Prosa* (Philol. N. F. iii. 516) and H. Kallenberg, *Studien über den griechischen Artikel* ii. Progr. Berlin 1891. In both these treatises several places in H. are handled. C. Radinger (Philol. N. F. iv. 468) defends the text of H. in several places by a comparison with Ar.'s *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία.*

THUCYDIDES, by B. Kübler, 1888–1892.

I. Editions. *Thucydide, Histoire de la guerre du Peloponnèse*, by A. Croiset. Books i., ii. Paris 1886. A noteworthy edition, which should have been taken account of by Classen and Stahl. *Thukydides*, by J. Classen. Vol. ii. Book ii. 4th edit. by J. Steup. Berlin 1889. Contains valuable contributions by Steup to Classen's monumental work on Th. [Cl. Rev. iv. 203.] *Thucydidis de bello Peloponnesiaco libri octo* E. F. Poppo. 3rd edit. by J. M. Stahl. Vol. i. Sect. ii. Lipsiae 1889. Contains book ii. The text and notes thoroughly revised, but too little attention is paid to form. [Cl. Rev. iv. 249.] ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΟΥ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΗ. A revision of the text by W. G. Rutherford. London 1889. An instance of what v. Wilamowitz calls delirium delens. [Cl. Rev. iv. 110.] *Thuc. Historiarum libri* vi.–viii. rec. C. Hude. Hauniae 1890. A collation of ABCEFG. Hude considers CG the best. [Cl. Rev. v. 22.] ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΟΥ ΞΥΓΓΡΑΦΗΣ Ε, by C. E. Graves. London 1891. Gives in a few words all that is necessary for a superficial understanding of the text. [Cl. Rev. vi. 389.] *Thukydides*, by J. Sitzler. Gotha. Bk. vi. 1888, Bk. vii. 1889, Bk. i. 1891, Bk. ii. 1892. Well answers to its title of a school-book. *Thuk.'s siebentes Buch*, by F. Müller. Paderborn, 1889. Falls between two stools, as the same edition cannot be useful both to schoolboys and students. [Cl. Rev. iv. 207.] *Thukydides*, by G. Boehme. Vol. ii. Part ii. Books vii. and viii. 4th ed. by S. Widmann. Leipzig 1891. If critical notes are given at all in a school edition, they should be given more fully. *Thucydides, Book* i., by C. D. Morris. Boston 1887. [Cl. Rev. iv. 405.] *Thucydides, Book* vii., by C. F. Smith. Boston 1888. Both these are based on Classen, and are highly to be commended.

II. Contributions to criticism. L. Herbst, *Zur Urkunde in Thukydides* v. 47. Hermes xxv. F. Schroeder, *Thucydidis historiarum memoria, quae prostat apud Aristidem, Aristidis scholiastas, Hermogenem, Hermogenis scholiastas, Aristophanis scholiastas.* Diss. Göttingen 1887. Contains some interesting emendations. For *Herbst's eightieth birthday celebration*—(a) Schrader, *De archaeologiae Thucydideae apud veteres auctoritate.* (b) H. Bubendey, *De loco Thucydideo* (vii. 28) *restituendo.* (c) M. Klussmann, *Die Kämpfe am Eurymedon.* Hamburg 1891. (a) gives quotations from many Greek and Latin writers from Aristotle to Constantinus Porphyrogenitus. (b) In vii. 28. 3 B. writes with Stahl *τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς*, with Classen *ὅμως δέ* for *ὥστε*, and omits *οἱ δέ* before *τριῶν γε ἐτῶν.* (c) K. compares the accounts of Diodorus and Plutarch with Thuc. i. 100. 1. L. Herbst, *Zu Thucydides' Erklärungen und Wiederherstellungen*, Books i.–iv., 1st Series. Leipzig 1892. Should be studied by every reader of Thuc. [Cl. Rev. vi. 439.] C. F. Müller, *Zu Thukydides.* N. Jahrb. 1890. Treats of various passages. S. Widmann, *Zu*

Thukydides iv. 80. 3. WS. f. kl. Phil. 1890. Proposes βιαιότητα for σκαιότητα. [Cl. Rev. iv. 112.] Sakorraphos, Διορθώσεις εἰς Θουκυδίδην. N. Jahrb. 1890. U. P. Boissevain, *Epistola critica ad Naberum.* Mnemos. N.S. 1888. On v. 11. 2 and vi. 18. 7. C. Hude, *Adnotationes Thucydideae.* Nord. Tidskr. f. Phil. ix. Emendations to the 5th book. Roscher, *Der Thesauros der Egestaier auf dem Eryx und der Bericht des Thucydides.* N. Jahrb. 1889. In vi. 46. 3 Meineke has suggested ἐπάργυρα for ἀργυρᾶ. R. conjectures ὑπάργυρα. Hude in the following No. of the N. Jahrb. defends ἀργυρᾶ. Kothe, *Zu Thukydides*, N. Jahrb. 1889. On vii. 75. 4.

III. Grammatical contributions. K. T. Rodemeyer, *Das praesens historicum bei Herodot und Thukydides.* Diss. Cassel 1889. Considers the present as timeless [sup. 233]. O. Diener, *De sermone Thucydideo quatenus cum Herodoto congruens differat a scriptoribus Atticis.* Diss. Leipzig 1889. A noteworthy treatise. The collections from Hippocrates especially welcome [sup. 233]. E. Hasse, *Ueber den Dual bei Xenophon und Thukydides.* Progr. Bartenstein 1889. K. Reisert, *Zur Attraction der Relativsätze in der griechischen Prosa.* Progr. Neustadt. Part I. Herodotus 1889. Part II. Thucydides 1890. In Th. more sentences are attracted than not: out of 69 adjective rel. clauses 20, and out of 49 substantive clauses all are attracted [sup. 233].

IV. Contributions to the interpretation. W. Dittenberger, *Commentatio de Thucydidis loco ad antiquitates sacras spectante.* Halle 1889–90. On i. 25. 4 προκαταρχόμενοι τῶν ἱερῶν. A. Weiske, *Zu Thukydides.* N. Jahrb. 1888. On i. 13. 6 and iii. 104. 2 ἀνατιθέναι. Nissen, *Der Ausbruch des peloponnesischen Krieges.* Sybel's Hist. Zeitschr. 1889. Fills up the gaps in Th.'s history previous to the war. Th.'s object was to justify the statesmanship of Pericles. R. Wöhler, *Zu Thukydides.* N. Jahrb. 1887. Against the assertion of E. Engel that already in the 5th century B.C. λιμός and λοιμός (ii. 54) were pronounced alike. H. Wagner, *Die Belagerung von Plataeae.* Progr. Doberau 1892. Chiefly topographical and chronological. A. Bauer, *Ansichten des Thukydides über Kriegführung.* Philol. 1891. Th. writes with the knowledge of a military man but avoids a learned tone. E. Thommen, *Studien zu Thukydides.* Diss. Basel 1889. In two parts (i.) Brasidas, (ii.) Nikias. W. Schmidt, *Zu Thukydides.* Rhein. Mus. 1888. On ii. 2, the date of the beginning of the war. L. Herbst, *Thukydides, Vierter Artikel.* Philol. 1887. On the date of the beginning of the war. G. F. Unger, *Frühlingsanfang.* N. Jahrb. 1890. In Th. this means when the day and night are of equal length. C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen im Altertum.* Vol. 2. Part I. Liepzig 1890, and E. Curtius, *Die Stadtgeschichte von Athen.* Berlin 1891. Both works contribute much to the elucidation of Thucydides. B. Lupus, *Die Stadt Syrakus im Altertum.* Strassburg 1887. Indispensable for the topographical parts of Thuc. vi. and vii.

V. Life and writings. L. Herbst, *Thukydides Jahresbericht v. Leben und Schriftstellerei.* Philol. 1890. A judicious summary of our information and of the writings of others. J. Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie.* Berlin 1889. Contains a special investigation into the family of Thucydides. M. Stahl, *De Cratippo historico.* Ind. lect. Münster 1887–88. Seeks to show that Cratippus, who, according to Dionysius, completed what Th. left unfinished, was not a contemporary of the historian, but of Cicero. Gu. Böhme, *Quaestionum Thucydidearum capita selecta.* Progr. Schleiz 1888. Attempts to trace out the travels of T. from his own statements. G. Meyer, *Der gegenwärtige Stand der Thukydideischen Frage.* Progr. Ilfeld 1889. An account of the recent literature (1) on the 'editor' theory, (2) on the time of composition. H. Müller, *Quaestiones de locis Thucydideis ad comprobandam sententiam Ullrichianam allatis.* Diss. Giessen 1887. Comes to no certain conclusion, but a second part is promised. E. Lange, *Zur Frage über die Glaubwürdigkeit des Thukydides.* N. Jahrb. 1887. C. Boltz, *Quaestiones de consilio, quo Thucydides historiam suam conscripserit.* Diss. Halle a. S. 1887. Goes further than Ullrich and Chwicklinski in ascribing an original separate existence to various other parts of the Pel. war, as well as to the Archidamian and Sicilian wars. A. Bauer, *Der Herausgeber des Thukydides.* Philol. 1887. E. A. Junghahn, *Zu Thukydides.* N. Jahrb. 1887. On ii. 2–5. New material for his hypothesis that our Thuc. is only put together from materials left by the original Thuc. E. A. Junghahn, *Agos-Sühne als politische Forderung bei Thukydides* i. 126–139. Progr. Berlin 1890. W. Schmid, *Zur Entstehung und Herausgabe des Thukydideischen Geschichtswerkes.* Philol. 1890. Seeks to show that the editor of Thuc. was Cratippus. J. M. Stahl, *Kratippos und Thukydides.* Philol. 1891. Replies to Schmid, and maintains his own conjecture about the date of C. against Schmid and Herbst. M. Büdinger, *Poesie und Urkunde bei Thukydides.* Prag. 1890. No. iii. and v. Two important dissertations on the character, the political views and the historical method of Thuc. as well as his sources, but obscurely written.

Hermes, Vol. xxviii. Part I. contains :—

1. F. Studniczka. Cyrene und Kallimachos. Illustration of the way in which the *Hymns* of Kallimachus are explained by the legends and myths of his native country Cyrene. The article falls under the following sections: 1. Entstehungszeit und Character der jüngeren Form des Cyrenenmythos. 2. Die Sacrale Bestimmung der Kallimacheischen Hymnos auf Apollon. 3. Die Entstehungszeit der Kallimacheischen Hymnos auf Apollon und ihre Bedeutung für die Kyrenensage.

2. P. Schulze. Varia: notes on *Il.* 10, 227 foll., *Anthol. Pal. Epigr.* vii. 425, Aeschyl. *Eumen.* 352 foll., Athen. xv. 698 C, Theocr. xvi. 96 foll.

3. Th. Mommsen. Grabschrift des Kaisers Constantius Chlorus. A metrical epitaph to some one described as 'Constantius heros' is found in two MSS.—one from Limoges (now Paris. 528f., 122) of the 9th century, and the other from St. Gall 899, p. 57 and 58, of the 10th century, both MSS. containing pieces mostly belonging to the Carolingian age. The epitaph however has clearly come down from the Roman period. Rossi refers it to Constans consul in 414 A.D. Mommsen shows that all the statements that can be extracted from the epitaph are suitable to Constantius Chlorus: that the monument and epitaph were probably prepared for Constantius by his wife Theodora during his lifetime, and indeed before he became Caesar in 305 A.D. The inscription may have belonged to Trier and been copied by one of the contemporaries of Alcuin, and so have found a place among Carolingian poems.

4. G. Kaibel. Sententiarum liber sextus, continued from vol. xxv.

5. H. von Arnim. Ein Bruchstuch des Alexinos. An edition of the rhetorical works of Philodemus from the Herculanean rolls has lately been published by Sudhaus. In Book ii. περὶ ῥητορικῆς (col. xliii. 26) a polemic of Hermarchus is cited against some adversary whose name is illegible, but apparently commences with 'Αλεξ (col. xliv. 23). This was almost certainly Alexinus of Megara, a fragment of whose treatise περὶ ἀγωγῆς is quoted and criticized

by Hermarchus. We not only get the name of this treatise, unknown before, but a more definite date for the literary activity of Alexinus, as 282/281, the date of the letter of Hermarchus, is a *terminus ante quem* for the περὶ ἀγωγῆς, as well as a certain amount of fresh insight into the character of his writings.

6. A. Reuter. Untersuchungen zu den römischen Technographen, Fortunatian, Julius Victor, Capella und Sulpitius Victor. Our knowledge, such as it is, of the development of the Art of Rhetoric is gained from several hand-books of the 4th and 5th centuries, *e.g.* the *Artes* of Fortunatianus, Julius Victor, Augustin, the *Institutiones* of Sulpitius Victor and the fifth book of the *Nuptiae* of Martianus Capella. Their contents are devoid of all individuality, and may be used without any reference to the names of their authors. The definition and exposition of rhetorical terms are given under the headings; Inventio, Partes Orationis, Dispositio, Elocutio, Memoria, Pronuntiatio. A very thorough analysis of the hand-books, but interesting only to specialists.

7. A. Gercke. Varros Satire Andabatae. This Satire derives its name from the gladiator who fights with closed vizor, and is a type of human blindness and error, but further light on the object of the satire is gained from *Frag.* 26, Büch.; candidum lact e papilla cum fluit, signum putant Partuis, quod hic sequitur mulierem e partu liquor.

8. J. E. Kirchner. Zwei Athenische Familien aus der drei letzten vorchristlichen Jahrhunderten. 1. The family of Eurykleides and Mikion of the deme Kephesia, illustrated by inscriptions published in Δελτίον ἀρχαιολ. 1891, 46, *Bullet. di corresp. Hell.* xv. 353. 2. The family of Mnesitheus, son of Echidemus, of the deme Cydathaenaion.

Miscellen. P. Noach. Zu den Oinotropus bei Kallimachos. H. v. Arnim. Conjectanea in Philodemi rhetorica. U. Wilcken. Kandake. H. Dessau, zu Kaibel Epigr. er. ex lap. col. 553. A. Funck, Pontarius. R. Reitzenstein, Der Fulgentius Schrift über die Musik.

Part II. contains:—

1. U. Wilcken. Ein neuer griechischer Roman. About 2000 papyri have lately found their way from Egypt to Berlin. Of these the greater part belong to the Roman period before Diocletian, so that there are great hopes that we may have as accurate a knowledge of the Roman administration as older papyri have given us of the Ptolemaic. The papyrus which contains the romance has on its reverse side some accounts referring to Trajan's reign, and was itself probably written as early as the middle of the 1st century. The scene of the romance is probably Nineveh, the hero is Ninos. The other characters are ἡ κόρη, whose name is not given and two sisters Thambe and Derkeia, the mothers respectively of Ninos and his lover, who are therefore cousins. An outline of the story is given, as far as the imperfect fragments allow, which are also printed in full. The author probably took a later form of the Ninos and Semiramis legend as the basis of his romance, but worked with considerable freedom according to the requirements of the story. The article concludes with a consideration of the questions (1) when the romance was written, (2) what was its relation to the other romances of the same sort known to us. As to (1) Wilcken's conclusion is that it is probably the oldest of extant romances. As to (2) the romance, like Greek romances generally, is a mixture of two elements, one ethnographical, based on fabulous travellers' tales, and the other erotic.

2. B. Niese. Zur Chronologie des Josephus. The investigation is limited to the period in which the *bellum Jud.* and the *Antiquitates* coincide. 1. Ueber den von Josephus im bell. Jud. benutzten Kalenden. The dates are given according to the Macedonian months in use in Syria, the calendar used by Josephus being equivalent to the Tyrian. 2. Die römischen Kaiserjahre. The years by which Josephus dates are not the years according to which the trib. pot. was counted, but the civic years beginning in each case with the first of the month Xanthikos or Nisan, the first month of the Jewish year. 3. Die Jahre der hasmonäischen Fürsten Judäas und die Chronographischen Zeitbestimmungen.

3. U. Wilcken. ἀπογραφαί. A correction and revision of the author's earlier work, 'Arsinoitischen Steuerprofessionen.' What were there called generally Steuerprofessionen should be divided into Steuerprofessionen ἀπογραφαί and κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφαί. To the first class belong those ἀπογραφαί whose object is to serve the officials as a direct index for the assessment of taxes. Instances are found (1) in the London papyrus L., published by G. Revillont, Revue Egyptol. iii. 186 foll. (2) in Griechischen Urkunde v. No. 112. (3) in G. U. v. No. 139. (4) in G. U. iii. No. 52. The κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφαί are periodische Volkszahlungs- oder Censusangaben. Examples are G. U. ii. No. 26, iii. Nos. 53—55, 57—60, iv. Nos. 90, 95, 97, v. Nos. 115—120, etc. The following questions are then discussed (1) how often were such declarations demanded from the house-owners in Egypt, (2) what was the exact object of these ἀπογραφαί. The conclusion arrived at is that from the 1st to the 3rd century every fourteen years new assessments of all the inhabitants of Egypt were made, which may be compared with the provincial census.

4. A. Busse. Die Neuplatonische Lebensbeschreibung des Aristoteles. 1. Die vita pseudo-Ammoniana. In almost all the MSS. of the commentaries of Ammonius and Philoporus to the *Categories* is prefixed a short life of Aristotle, without any author's name attached. In the editio princeps (1497) the life is ascribed to Philoporus, in the succeeding editions to Ammonius. 2. Die Vita Marciana. This is preserved only in one MS. Marc. 257 and consists of a number of detached excerpts from an older life, in which statements from other sources are interspersed without regard to the context. The method of the compiler can easily be discovered and the authorities which he used pointed out with more or less certainty.

5. A. Thomas. Miscellae quaestiones in L. Annaeum Senecam, philosophum.

6. G. Busolt. Die Korinthischen Prytanen. There are two different traditions about the government of Corinth up to the time of Cypselus. The view usually accepted, *e.g.* by Grote, Duncker, Curtius, Gilbert, etc., is that from 745—657 B.C., *i.e.* during the ninety years preceding the accession of Cypselus, yearly πρυτάνεις were chosen from the house of the Bacchiadae. Another tradition however makes the line of βασιλεῖς continuous up to Cypselus. Busolt thinks this tradition is probably correct, and that the ninety years of annual πρυτάνεις were an invention for the purpose of filling up a chronological gap, since the ten γενεαί of kings belonging to the houses of the Herakleidae and the Bacchiadae (Paus. ii. 4, 4), were not sufficient to fill up the period from the migration of the Herakleidae to Cypselus.

Part III. contains:—

1. O. Gradenwitz. Ein Protokoll von Memphis aus Hadrianischen Zeit. Pap. No. 136 in the

Königlich. Museum at Berlin contains the copy (ἀντίγραφον) of a protocol dated March 24, 135 A.D. taken from the acta of Claudius Philoxenus. The protocol is considered under the following heads: 1. Gang des Verfahrens. 9. Die Parteien und ihre Familienbeziehungen. 3. Der Richter und sein Spruch.

2. E. Wendling. Zu Posidonius und Varro. In Hermes, 1892, p. 118 foll. H. v. Arnim communicated a Greek anecdote from a Vatican MS. containing a collection of short stories from Roman history. The article is an attempt to determine the 'fontes' of a speech attributed in the anecdote to Kaeso.

3. J. Vahlen. Varia.

4. E. Norden. Vergilienstudien. 1. Die Nekyia: ihre Composition und Quellen.

5. H. Diels. Ueber die Excerpte von Menon's Iatrika in den Londoner papyrus 137.

6. L. Holzapfel. Doppelte Relationen in 8 Buch des Thukydides.

Miscellen. R. Pischel zu Soph. *Antig.* 909—912. F. Dümmler ad Athenae. lib. x. p. 453B. F. Hiller von Gaertringen Ἀνταγόρου Ῥοδίου. W. Dittenberger. Inschrift von Mantinea. E. Beethe. Nachträge zu der Araten. A. Erman ὄνος ἀπὸ οἴνου.

Part IV. contains:

1. J. Beloch. Zur Geschichte Siciliens von pyrrhischen bis zum ersten punischen Kriege. A criticism of Polybius' statements as to the date of Hiero's reign. He died in 214. Polybius says he reigned fifty-four years, which would put his accession in 268. But his accession was immediately after the battle on the Langanos, and this, Busolt thinks, could not have been so early as 268. He concludes that Hiero was de facto βασιλεύς from 268, but did not formally receive the title till 265. The authority of Polybius was probably Timaeus whom Justin also used. Conf. Justin, 23, 4, 1, and Polyb. 1, 8, 4.

2. P. Stengel. Buphonia. An attempt to establish the religious meaning and origin of the ceremony, preceded by an analysis and reconstruction of the traditional legends. The article should be compared with J. Töpffer, *Attischen Genealogie*, p. 149 foll.

3. E. Norden. Vergilienstudien, continued from Part III. 2. Einiges über die Aencisausgabe des Varius. 3. Zur Aeneis vi. 621—624.

4. E. Bethe. Zur Ueberlieferung der Homerischen Hymner. Gives the variants of the Madrid codex Matritensis H compared with the text of Gemoll (Leipzig 1886), and discusses its relationship to the lost Venetian MS. A.

5. H. Swoboda. Ueber den Process des Perikles. An attempt not to solve the problem, for, with our present sources of information, that is impossible, but to work out and put together the few established points afforded by our authorities, and to define the limits of our present knowledge. The most important point now established is that there was only one impeachment of Pericles, viz. at the close of his life, and not two, as most authorities following Plutarch, whose authority was Ephorus, have affirmed. The ordinary view is that Pericles owing to the annoyance of the Athenians at the war was not elected στρατηγός for the year 430—429, and was accused on the occasion of his rendering his εὔθυναι for the previous year. This is discussed in relation to the important statement about the ἀρχαιρεσίαι στρατηγῶν in Ἀθηναι. πολ. c. 44, 4, the result making it probable that Pericles was elected στρατηγός again in the spring of 430. A discussion follows on the meaning of the ψήφισμα of Drakontides in Plut. *Per.* 32, and the conclusion is drawn that the action against Pericles was a case not of ἐπιχειροτονία but of εἰσαγγελία, on which the ψήφισμα so regarded throws important light.

6. Th. Mommsen. Zur Geschichte der Cäsarischen Zeit. 1. Die Zahl der römischen Provinzen in Cäsars Zeit. In the year 711 the number of provincial governorships was eighteen, Crete and Cyrene being separate provinces, Illyricum separate from Gallia Cisalpina and Numidia from Africa. 2. Cicero's erster Brief an Trebonius. The date of the letter was probably 708. The candidate mentioned in the letter, who for election purposes laid down his plebeian cognomen and took that of Sabinus, was probably P. Ventidius Bassus, consul in 711. 3. Zum bellum Hispaniense. A number of critical notes on the text. 4. Die römische Consulares des Jahres 710 der Stadt.

7. A. Nikitsky. Eine Urkunde zur attischen Genealogie. On an inscription copied from the museum at Kastri (Delphi).

8. J. Beloch. Sicilisches zu Diodor.

ERRATA IN THE DECEMBER NUMBER.

P. 464, col. 1, l. 14, *read* 'unaccented' *for* 'accented.'

P. 464, footnote 2, *read* '(*qll* : *qel?*)' and 'in some Oscan dialect before *l*.'

P. 468, col. 1, ll. 17–18, *read* 'to the Indo-European aspirated mediae.'

R. S. C.

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

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The Classical Review

MARCH 1894.

A NEW FOUNT OF GREEK TYPE.

Any one who has had the good fortune to examine some of the more ancient papyri recently discovered can scarcely fail to have been struck with the methods, whether unconsciously followed or no, by which the better scribes manage to produce the effect of evenness and regularity without sacrificing grace of form in the single letters or even giving rise to an appearance of monotony in their combinations. The papyri are carefully ruled, but the ruling is a guide and not a master. The relation of each letter to the line is not altogether constant; it varies in some degree according to the outline of the letters which happen to be in collocation. Each group of letters has more or less the effectiveness of a picture, while the complete continuous line may best be compared to a strip of embroidery. The tips of such letters as have a tilt upwards, and the feet of the descending letters are both kept so closely in line that the former make a well-defined upper edge to the broidery, and the latter an under edge.

I can believe that a similar principle underlies all good handwriting, whatever the alphabet employed. In one alphabet it may be more easy to write with grace than in another, but the man who writes well in one will write well in all; and good writing will be more or less common at any time, according as artistic feeling is more or less widely imparted.

If we jump a thousand years and more and turn from a Flinders Petrie papyrus to the Ravennas parchment of Aristophanes, or rather to the writing of the better of its two principal scribes, whether cursive or semi-uncial, we find something of the same characteristic. There are now accents and breathings to marshal, and in the case of the marginal semi-uncials, abbreviations too; yet, if we drew a line bisecting the letters horizontally, we should find parallel with it on either side the two edges of the embroidered strip almost as even and as clearly marked as in the writing on the papyrus.

It seems to me, who am no expert, that, disregarding the common scribbling hand used for ordinary purposes alike by scholar and man of business, we can see something of the effect of a strip of rich embroidery in the best handwriting of all but the most rude and inartistic periods. And if this is the case, then the founts of Greek type commonly used in printing Greek books at the present day certainly fall very far short of excellence. For nothing could well be imagined less likely to call up ideas of art or beauty than a modern page of printed Greek.

It is unfortunate that at the time when Greek began to be printed the art of Greek writing was not at all so well understood as had been the case a few centuries earlier. In cutting the types the Greek handwriting of the time was taken for model, and the handwriting was not very good. Yet how immeasurably superior are these early types to the type now in use! No test is needed other than laying open side by side on the same table a book printed this year and an

Aldine, a Juntine, or even a Basel copy. The one page is a work of art, the other is a thing manufactured. Never had Greek letters such an outline, never in combination did they produce such an impression upon the eye and the sense, monotonous in the line and the page, hard and ugly in the word, and yet ragged and uneven in the alinement both under and above their centre.

Early printed Greek has a grace and beauty of its kind. It does not represent Greek writing at its best, but that which it does represent is what Greek writing had become by spontaneous changes in natural transmission. It has parentage; and with parentage has character and style and grace of movement—all of them marks of breeding totally wanting in any Greek type of the day except perhaps the fount in most common use in Holland, which, for all I know, may or may not have a pedigree, but which certainly looks as if it had.

I do not understand Mr. Arthur Pollard's point of view in regard to the Aldine Greek in his most valuable and, as it has proved, his most fertile article in the *Century Guild Hobby Horse* for October 1891. He speaks of it as 'a wretched cursive hand' and regards it 'as difficult to read.' It appears to me to be beautifully flexible, distinct, and legible, and, if compared with our modern types, a triumph of art, every double-page or opening being a sort of picture that might be framed and hung in a library. If the influence of the Aldine type had indeed lasted, as Mr. Pollard seems to imagine, down to the present time, undisturbed by scholars like Porson and Wolf, or by type-cutters who never set eyes on a brown Greek manuscript, we should at any rate have had a Greek type with a pedigree, and consequently a certain inheritance of dignity and flexibility. Mr. Pollard cannot, as a child, have taken his first lessons in Greek from an old text and a Schrevelius, or he would be less hard upon the Aldine contractions. At the same time his reasons are surely sound for thinking that we must not simply go back to early printed Greek, if we would reform Greek type. So many things would have to be altered or dropped—the syllable sigla, the symbols representing letter-groups, the punctuating marks, the forms of some of the letters—that its whole character would change. We find what is much nearer to our requirements, if we take for model the best handwriting of some centuries before the discovery of printing; and it is that model, the 'calligraphy' I believe of the tenth century, which Mr. Selwyn Image has followed in the main in designing for Messrs. Macmillan the beautiful new 'Greeks' of which a specimen is here given.

I shall not attempt to describe minutely the genesis of this new type—that will be done, I understand, with better skill and fuller knowledge by Mr. Louis Dyer in an early number of the *Hobby Horse*,—nor will it be expected of me to give in detail my reasons for believing that the new Greeks are likely to be welcomed and widely adopted; but I may be permitted to say something of the way in which they have impressed one whose 'copy' was the first to be set up in them.

For some time I did not like them so well as I do now. The eye had to become familiar with their appearance of squareness and solidity, but with each week and month their fascination has grown, and I am convinced that they need only to be well known for a universal verdict to be given in their favour. At first they disconcert the eye a little, just as a manuscript in an unfamiliar handwriting disconcerts it; but this does not last long. My own experience is that they do not worry and weary the eye so much as the ordinary types, and that in this respect the even black letter upon the white ground is a change to be thankful for.

If the comparison of a line of good handwriting to an embroidered ribbon has anything in it, this type certainly excels every other. It has evenness without monotony, and seen in the mass has a singularly rich and decorative effect. All the letters, it will be seen, are based on a square, being actually designed within a square or some proportion of it. Such squareness is a characteristic of the best tenth century Greek writing. The letters are of an even thickness. There are no hair-strokes; but in order to produce the look of finish which in writing is produced by a slight tilt or change of direction, the designer has made the extremities of the letters just a trifle wider. Further, by a discreet selection, Mr. Image has avoided all risk of the letters departing too far from well-known forms. Even tiros in Greek have no right to be puzzled by them, as indeed I have proved by more than one experiment. A large proportion of them are merely the papyrus letters with a squared outline, as may be seen by anybody who will take the trouble of looking through the Flinders Petrie papyri, or even does no more than compare

ΠΡΕϹΒΥΣ· ΔΙΚΑΙΟΠΟΛΙΣ· ΚΗΡΥΞ·

Καὶ νῦν ἄγοντες ἥκομεν Ψευδαρτάβαν
τὸν βασιλέως ὀφθαλμόν: ἐκκόψειέ γε
κόραξ πατάξας τόν γε σὸν τοῦ πρέσβεως·
: ὁ βασιλέως ὀφθαλμός : ὦναξ ἡράκλεις·
πρὸς τῶν θεῶν ὤνθρωπε ναύφαρκτον βλέπεις
ἢ περὶ ἄκραν νεὼς κάμπτων οἶκον σκοπεῖς
ἄσκωμ' ἔχεις που περὶ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν κάτω·
: ἄγε δὴ σύ, βασιλεὺς ἄττα σ' ἀπέπεμψεν φράσον
λέξοντ' ἀθηναίοισιν ὦ Ψευδαρτάβα.

ΝΑΥΦΡΑΚΤΟΝ· ναύσταθμον ὡς περιβλέποντος ἐν κύκλῳ τοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ καὶ ἀξιωματικῶς εἰσιόντος. τινες δὲ ναυφρακτον τὴν ἐν ναυσὶ στρατιαν· οἷον οὖν στρατιὰν βλέπεις ὅλην· ἢ ναῦν ἀκρωτήριον κάμπτουσαν· ἐπειδὴ δεδοικότες οἱ ἔμπλεοντες ὅταν ὦσι πλησιον τῆς γης ἠρέμα καὶ επιστημόνως ἰθύνουσι μη προσπταισωσι τῆι γῆι ἕξεισι τερατώδης τις γελοιω ἐσκευασμένος καὶ ὀφθαλμον εχων ἕνα ἐπὶ παντὸς τοῦ προσώπου.

ΑΣΚΩΜΑΤΑ· ὡς δέρματα ἐξηρτημενα του μύσταχος αυτου καὶ της ρινος. καὶ ουτω εσκευασμενου γέλωτος χάριν· ἄσκωμα δὲ ὁ ἵμας ὁ συνέχων τὴν κωπην προς τῷ σκαλμῷι· κωπης δὲ ὀφθαλμος τὸ τρίμα ἐστιν.

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ· ἐξεπίτηδες μέγαν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐσκεύασται ἔχων ὁ πρεσβευτής· ναύφρακτον δὲ, ἤτοι ναύσταθμον· ὥσπερ περιβλέποντος ἐν κύκλῳ τοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ· καὶ ἀξιωματικῶς εἰσιόντος· τινὲς δὲ ναύφρακτον, τὴν ἐν ναυσὶ στρατιάν· οἷον οὖν στρατιὰν βλέπεις ὅλην· ἐπειδὴ μεγάλοι ταῖς τριήρεσιν ὀφθαλμοὶ γίνονται, δι' ὧν τὰς κώπας ἐμβάλλοντες, ἐκωπηλάτουν· ἐφράττοντο δὲ καὶ δερματίνοις τρόποις πρὸς τὸ μὴ τρίβεσθαι τὰ σανιδώματα.

ΕΚ ΦΩΤΙΟΥ

ΝΑΥΦΡΑΚΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΝΑΥΦΑΡΚΤΟΝ· τὴν ἀττικὴν δύναμιν καλοῦσιν.
ΝΑΥΦΑΡΚΤΟΝ ΒΛΕΠΕΙΝ· φησὶν ἐπὶ τοῦ περιαθροῦντος καὶ σεμνῶς ἰόντος· πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἄνθρωπε ναύφαρκτον βλέπεις.
ΦΑΡΚΤΕΣΘΑΙ· τὸ φράττεσθαι· καὶ ναύφαρκτον καὶ ναυτικὴν δύναμιν.

ΕΞ ΗΣΥΧΙΟΥ

ΝΑΥΦΡΑΚΤΟΣ· ναύσταθμος. λιμήν.
ΝΕΩΝΑΣ· νεῶν οἴκους. νεόλκια.
ΡΑΚΤΟΙ· φάραγγες· πέτραι· χαράδραι.
ΡΑΚΤΟΣ· λοφος.
ΝΑΥΡΑ Η ΝΑΥΡΟΝ· ὄγκος.

ΕΞ ΕΥΣΤΑΘΙΟΥ

λέγεται δὲ τὸ ἐπίστιον καὶ νεώριον. καὶ νεῶν περιεκτικῶς. καὶ νεῶν οἶκοι. καλοῦνται δὲ καὶ οἱ αἰγιαλοὶ, νεῶνες καὶ οἶκοι νεῶν. Αἴλιος δὲ Διονύσιος λέγει ὅτι Ἴωνες μὲν νεῶνας φασίν, Ἀττικοὶ δὲ νεωσοίκους καὶ νεώρια.

ΕΚ ΣΟΥΙΔΟΥ

ΝΑΥΦΡΑΚΤΟΝ ΒΛΕΠΕΙΣ: Ἀριστοφάνης· πρὸς τῶν θεῶν ἄνθρωπε ναύλην βλέπεις. ἐπειδὴ μεγάλοι ταῖς τριήρεσιν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ γίνονται δι' ὧν τὰς κώπας ἐμβάλλοντες ἐκωπηλάτουν.
ΝΑΥΣΤΑΘΜΟΝ: τὸν λιμένα· ἐφράττοντο δὲ καὶ δέρματι οἱ τόποι πρὸς τὸ μὴ βλάπτεσθαι τὰ σανιδώματα. ἢ ὅτι ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ναύσταθμος καλεῖται.

them with the Table of Alphabets printed at page 64 of Mahaffy's Introduction. Even the Chi and the Theta, which at first may be puzzling, have their analogues in the papyri.

It appears to me that the gratitude not merely of Greek scholars, but also of all lovers of things sumptuous and beautiful, is due to Messrs. Macmillan for their enterprise and public spirit in carrying through with complete success so costly a work as the production of an entirely new fount of type.

In the accompanying page specimens of the new Greeks are given in six sizes—first a line of small pica capitals, then nine lines (91-99) of the Acharnians in small pica, then in long primer, with the lemmata in long primer capitals, (1) the Ravennas Scholia on lines 94-97, and (2) part of the Aldine Scholia, lastly in brevier, with the lemmata in brevier capitals, certain extracts from ancient lexica of which some certainly, others possibly, bear upon the central critical difficulty of the passage—the past corruptions of line 95, and the consequent interpolation of line 96.

An analysis of the Greek marginal notes as compared with the glossemata preserved in the lexica reveals a great variety of reading in line 95, though I do not claim to say except in one or two cases what the reading was which gave use to the several annotations. In trying to discover the readings we must here surrender some of our best guides; for no absurdity of syntax or form, no eccentricity of scansion or entire disregard for metre would justify us in saying that such and such a reading cannot have existed. One thing we do learn from raking the *débris* of ancient scholarship piled in disorderly heaps in 'scholia' and lexica, namely, that the history of our texts is not yet understood even in its rudiments, and may perhaps be incapable of reconstruction; but still that any effort to reconstruct it by the scientific study of the few fragments still preserved out of ponderous ancient variorum editions is sure to produce results of great interest, and, it may be, of considerable value. Let us at least endeavour to discover new methods and at least peer after new light. We may not always find what we seek, but at any rate we shall discover new points of view, and perhaps do a little to sweep aside the enormous weight of comment with which the text of every classical author is burdened.

The Ravennas reading of line 96 shows the adscripts out of which it is made up in the last state before the process of tinkering them into metrical form was quite completed. One entry in Suidas indicates that in some texts *ναύσταθμον* had replaced *ναύφρακτον* or *ναύφαρκτον* in line 95, while the *ναύλην* of the quotation in the other entry in Suidas is apparently a contamination of the one reading or the other with the adscript *στρατιὰν ὅλην*, itself originating in the idea that *ναύφαρκτον* might stand for *ναύφαρκτον στρατόν*, a phrase occurring in the dative in the Equites. It may even be that the *πρὸς τὸν θεόν* of Photius is a contamination of the two readings *πρὸς τὸν νεῶν'* and *πρὸς τῶν θεῶν*. The *σκοπεῖς* of line 96 implies that some commentator took the *βλέπεις* of line 95 in its late sense of 'inspect,' seen, for example, in Babrius 56, 2, '*εὐτεκνίης ἔπαθλα πᾶσι τοῖς ζῴοις | ὁ Ζεὺς ἔθηκε, πάντα δ' ἔβλεπεν κρίνων*,' and in the scholia to Wasps 775 *ὅτι καὶ θεσμοθέτης παρετύγχανεν καὶ ἔβλεπεν τὰ δικαστήρια*. Cp. Bekk. Anecd. 282 *νεωρίων ἀρχήν: ἣν οὖν τις ἄρχων ὃς ἐπεμελεῖτο τῶν νεωρίων καὶ τῶν σκευοθηκῶν καὶ πάντων τῶν περὶ τὰς ναῦς σκευῶν*.

The scholia and the notices in the lexica may be thus analysed:—

94. *ἔξεισι τερατώδης τις γελοίως ἐσκευασμένος καὶ ὀφθαλμὸν ἔχων ἕνα ἐπὶ παντὸς τοῦ προσώπου*. Rav., Ald.

94. *ἐξεπίτηδες μέγαν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐσκεύασται ἔχων ὁ πρεσβευτής*. Ald.

95. . . . ? . . . : *ὡς περιβλέποντος ἐν κύκλῳ τοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ καὶ ἀξιωματικῶς ἰόντος*. Rav., Ald.

95. *πρὸς τὸν νεῶνα ? κ.τ.λ.: ἐπειδὴ δεδοικότες οἱ ἐμπλέοντες ὅταν ὦσι πλησίον τῆς γῆς ἠρέμα καὶ ἐπιστημόνως ἰθύνουσι μὴ προσπταίσωσι τῇ γῇ*. Rav., Ald. The *ἠρέμα* suggests a reading *νωθρῶς* in lieu of *ἄνθρω*, and the *ἐπιστημόνως* a reading *-φραστῶ-*.

95. *νεῶνα: ὃ καλοῦσιν ἀγκῶνα*. Ald. Cp. *νεὼς οἶκον* in the text of line 96, and Suidas *s.v. ἀγκῶνες*, and Hesychius.

95. *νεῶνας: νεῶν οἴκους*. Hesych.

95. *νεῶνας: νεώλκια*. Hesych.

95. *νεῶνας: ὑποκρύφους τόπους διὰ τὸν ἄνεμον ἔνθα ὑπὸ σκέπην εἰσίν*. Ald.

95. *πρὸς τὸν νεῶν' ? κ.τ.λ.: νεώριον οὖν φησὶ περιβλέπεις ἐν ᾧ νεωλκήσεις*. Ald.

95. . . . ? . . . : *ναῦν ἀκρωτήριον κάμπτουσαν*. Rav., Ald., cp. Hesych.

95. *ναύφαρκτον: ναύσταθμον*. Rav., Ald., Hesych., cp. Suid.

95. *ναύφαρκτον: τὴν ἐν ναυσὶ στρατιάν· οἷον οὖν στρατιὰν βλέπεις ὅλην*. Rav., Ald., cp. Suid.

95. *ναύφαρκτον: τὴν ναυτικὴν* (Naber) *δύναμιν καλοῦσιν*. Phot.

95. ναύφρακτον: ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ναύφρακτος καλεῖται. σκώπτων οὖν αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ σοβαρῶς καὶ μόλις προσιέναι ταῦτά φησι· 'πότερον ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τὸ ναυτικὸν ἔχων οὕτω βαδίζεις;' Ald. Did this annotator also read νωθρῶς?

95. ναύφρακτον: λιμένα. Hesych.

95. ναύφαρκτον βλέπεις: ἐπειδὴ μεγάλοι ταῖς τριήρεσιν ὀφθαλμοὶ γίνονται δι' ὧν τὰς κώπας ἐμβάλλοντες ἐκωπηλάτουν· ἐφράττοντο δὲ καὶ δερματίνοις τρόποις πρὸς τὸ μὴ τρίβεσθαι τὰ σανιδώματα. Ald., cp. Suidas.

95. ναύφαρκτον βλέπεις: φησὶν <'Αριστοφάνης> ἐπὶ τοῦ περιαθροῦντος καὶ σεμνῶς ἰόντος. Photius.

95. ναύσταθμον: τὸν λιμένα. Suidas.

96. ἢ περὶ ἄκραν κάμπτων: τηνικαῦτα γὰρ μάλιστα εἰώθασι προορᾶν καὶ φυλάττειν τὴν ναῦν ὁπόταν ἄκραν τινὰ κάμπτωσιν. Ald.

97. ἀσκώματα: ὡς δέρματα ἐξηρτημένα <ἔχοντος> τοῦ μύστακος καὶ τῆς ῥινὸς καὶ οὕτω ἐσκευασμένου γέλωτος χάριν. Rav.

97. ἄσκωμ' ἔχεις κ.τ.λ.: ὡς του δέρματος ἐξηρτημένου τοῦ μύστακος καὶ τῆς ῥινὸς καὶ οὕτως γελοίως ἐσκευασμένου. Ald.

97. ἄσκωμ' ἔχεις κ.τ.λ.: ἐσκευασμένος ἦν ὁ Πέρσης ἔχων καθειμένον εἰς τόπον (= in lieu) τοῦ τε πώγωνος καὶ τοῦ στόματος, ὡς ἂν προσωπεῖον. Ald.

97. ἄσκωμα: ἄσκωμα ὁ ἱμὰς ὁ συνέχων τὴν κώπην πρὸς τῷ σκαλμῷ. Rav., Ald.

97. ἄσκωμα: ὁ τῆς κώπης ὀφθαλμὸς ἔχει τὸ ἄσκωμα (Ald.). κώπης δὲ ὀφθαλμὸς τὸ τρῆμα. Ald., Rav.

It may be well to add here the remainder of the Aldine Scholia on lines 94–97, which, for want of space, have had to be omitted from the specimen page:—

ΑΛΛΩΣ· ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς, ναύφρακτος καλεῖται· σκώπτων οὖν αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ σοβαρῶς καὶ μόλις προσιέναι ταῦτά φησι. πότερον ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τὸ ναυτικὸν ἔχων οὕτω βαδίζεις, ἢ ναῦν ἀκρωτήριον κάμπτουσαν· ἐπειδὴ δεδοικότες οἱ ἐμπλέοντες, ὅταν ὦσι πλησίον τῆς γῆς, ἠρέμα καὶ ἐπιστημόνως ἰθύνουσι, μὴ προσπταίσωσι τῇ γῇ· ἐσκευασμένος δὲ ἦν ὁ Πέρσης, δέρμα ἔχων καθειμένον, εἰς τόπον τοῦ τε πώγωνος καὶ τοῦ στόματος, ὡς ἂν προσωπεῖον. ἄλλως· ἔξεισι τερατώδης τις γελοίως ἐσκευασμένος καὶ ὀφθαλμὸν ἔχων ἕνα ἐπὶ παντὸς τοῦ προσώπου. ἢ περὶ ἄκραν κάμπτων· τηνικαῦτα γὰρ μάλιστα εἰώθασι προορᾶν καὶ φυλάττειν τὴν ναῦν, ὁπόταν ἄκραν τινὰ κάμπτωσι· νεώριον οὖν φησι περιβλέπεις· ἐν ᾧ νεωλκήσεις· οἶκον δὲ νεὼς, ὃ καλοῦσιν ἀγκῶνα· ἢ μᾶλλον ὑποκρύφους τόπους διὰ τὸν ἄνεμον· ἔνθα ὑπὸ σκέπῃ εἰσίν· ἄσκωμ' ἔχεις· ὡς τοῦ δέρματος ἐξηρτημένου τοῦ μύστακος αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ῥινὸς, καὶ οὕτως γελοίως ἐσκευασμένου. ἄσκωμα δὲ, ὁ ἱμὰς ὁ συνέχων τὴν κώπην, πρὸς τῷ σκαλμῷ. ἄλλως· ὁ τῆς κώπης ὀφθαλμὸς, ἔχει τὸ ἄσκωμα· κώπης δὲ ὀφθαλμὸς τὸ τρῆμα.

W. G. Rutherford.

ON THE PROBLEM OF THE *BACCHAE*.

(*À propos of Recent Editions.*)

Beside the recent school-edition of the *Bacchae* by Professor Tyrrell,[1] which itself had rivals in the field, yet another has now been placed by Mr. Cruickshank of New College.[2] The new volume is entitled to that measure of praise at which it appears to aim, that is to say, the editor is a competent scholar, the notes are kept within a very moderate compass, and the student who holds by them will not be imperilled in his examination. It is not an interesting or a stimulating book, such as Professor Tyrrell's. It is composed on a principle common in books of this kind and, whether correct or not, defensible, that the business of an expounder for inexperienced students is not to provoke investigation, but to give always, if possible, a 'safe' explanation, an explanation which has sufficient authority to pass. The only question is, whether students so entirely dependent, that they must be treated in this way, are really ready for the *Bacchae*. To take one salient and characteristic example. In a well-known passage (*v.* 1066 foll.) the tree bent down to receive Pentheus is compared to some curve exhibited by the use of a *τόρνος*. Mr. Cruickshank explains the *τόρνος* to be a simple kind of compass, a peg and string. No hint is given that there is any other explanation, or that this one is open to any objection more serious than that 'the

[1] Macmillan's Classical Series, 1892.
[2] Clarendon Press, 1893.

simile is prosaic.' Now this view, that the comparison is between the bent tree and a circular curve, such as that of a wheel, has certainly the merit of having been many times repeated in respectable books, and being therefore technically 'safe': it has this merit and no other. If it were right, the only educational aid which a student could derive from the simile would be the perception of its infelicity and inadequacy; and the only useful note could be one which exposed this defect. The objection, which has been several times alleged and is well known, is not that the simile is, if it be, prosaic, but that it is no simile at all; that there is no resemblance worth notice between the illustration and the thing illustrated. The line produced by bending down a pine-tree or pine-bough would indeed be essentially like that of a bow, to which Euripides first likens it, but with a circle, or the outline of a wheel, it would have no affinity whatever, except that both are curved lines, not straight. The image therefore darkens, instead of enlightening, the intelligence of the auditor, and is an offence against the principles of poetry and sense. This is not the place to set out the wholly different explanation of the *τόρνος* offered by Mr. Robertson first in 1879 (*Hermathena* iii. 387) and reproduced with full detail in Professor Tyrrell's edition, which Mr. Cruickshank has consulted. Right or wrong, it really is an adequate explanation of the passage and really does offer an object by which Euripides, if he had it in mind, might naturally have thought it worth while to explain his picture of the bent pine. It may perhaps not yet be considered a 'safe' explanation, that is to say, it is not universally familiar, and a student reproducing it, in the imperfect style of an examination paper, might conceivably be punished as if for nonsense by an examiner not well prepared. But is this a sufficient reason, not merely for suppressing it, but for propounding the damaged alternative as if it were unimpeachable? What benefit is thus conferred, and on whom, which compensates for the retardation of the general intelligence, and how long must this conservative attitude be maintained?

To accumulate instances of this kind would scarcely be interesting to the readers of the *Review*, and here I should have ended, if it were not that there is one instance, which will take us right to the heart of Euripides' work, and will expose not merely the variations of individual editors but the whole present position of Euripidean criticism, and the direction in which it should move.

ἱκοίμαν ποτὶ Κύπρον,
νᾶσον τᾶς Ἀφροδίτας,
ἐν ᾇ θελξίφρονες νέμονται θνατοῖσιν Ἔρωτες,
Πάφον θ', ἂν ἑκατόστομοι
βαρβάρου ποταμοῦ ῥοαὶ
καρπίζουσιν ἄνομβροι.
ὅπου δ' ἁ καλλιστευομένα
Πιερία μούσειος ἕδρα,
σεμνὰ κλιτὺς Ὀλύμπου,
ἐκεῖσ' ἄγε με, Βρόμιε, <Βρόμιε>,
προβακχήιε δαῖμον.
ἐκεῖ Χάριτες, ἐκεῖ δὲ Πόθος·
ἐκεῖ δε βάκχαισι θέμις ὀργιάζειν.
(*Bacch.* 402.)

Such in all points of substance is the MS. reading of this passage except that in the third line for *ἐν ᾇ* (Nauck) both MSS. have *ἵνα*, and some after Heath print *ἵν' οἱ*: this question for the present purpose may be ignored. The monstrous difficulty, which immediately confronts us, is that Paphos is said to be fertilized by the Nile, an assertion as absurd—rather more—as if Dover were said to be fertilized by the Scheldt. It is true that no alternative reading or explanation has been as yet established, and it is apparently on this ground that Mr. Cruickshank, faithful to the conservative method, does his best to tide the ignorant or the careless over the objection by such curiously mild phrases as that 'the poet's geography was not accurate,' or that 'many editors' have thought the language 'more appropriate' to Egypt. Did any ever think otherwise, or what, if they did, is the value of their opinion? But here at all events the method seems to be exaggerated or misapplied. Dr. Sandys is content to mark the place as corrupt; Professor Tyrrell emends it; Elmsley was not afraid to say that he had no guess of the meaning. Safety now lies, if anywhere, in the simple statement that the text is nonsense.

Of the attempts to mend it by far the most skilful and the most plausible is that of Professor Tyrrell—*Πάφον θ', ἂν θ' κ.τ.λ.*: 'Oh that I might go to Cyprus...and Paphos, and to [the land] which the Nile makes fertile' that is, to Egypt. This would account completely for the text of the MSS. and if the supplement of 'the land' is somewhat hard, it may fairly be said that some such quality might be expected in the true original, since otherwise where was the temptation to so grotesque a blunder

as we actually find? But this reading, together with every reading and every exposition of the passage, is open to a far graver question, a question which could never have been passed over or dismissed, as it is, with perfunctory answers, if modern students could but be persuaded to take Euripides seriously. 'Why should the chorus wish to go to Egypt?' asks Mr. Cruickshank, by way of recommending our acceptance of the statement that Paphos was fertilized by the Nile. But why indeed should they wish to go there? And why should they wish themselves in Paphos? Or rather how dare these bacchants, situated as they are and assuming the style and claims which they do assume, how dare they for an instant to entertain such thoughts, and how can they have the consummate impudence to express them? It is no doubt true, as some of the commentaries tell us, that the worship of Dionysus was found both in Cyprus and in Egypt, as indeed some form of it was found in every part of the Hellenic and the Hellenistic world. It is also true that on one side the multiform worship of Dionysus had affinities with that of Aphrodite, and that therefore in such a country as Cyprus, where Aphrodite was dominant, the *orgia* were liable to a close association with *Aphrodisia*. But it is also true that if the bacchanals depicted by Euripides were prepared to admit and welcome such an association, much more if it were the aim of their favourite aspirations, then the whole tragedy is false, futile, and baseless, then it is impossible to credit the poet with any serious meaning or purpose; he was not thinking of his subject, but only playing with it, and the finer his sentiments, the more profane they are.

For what is the issue which the play puts before us? Simply this, whether the true worship of Dionysus, as preached by the god, is or is not a worship exciting to the sexual emotions; whether it is or is not allied in tendency and connected in fact with the worship of Aphrodite. This is the charge which Pentheus makes repeatedly and in express terms, and upon which he bases his proscription and persecution of the new rites; that the Bacchanal fervour, though in name religious, is merely a cover for unchastity: *πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς δὴ μαινάδας θυοσκόους, | τὴν δ' Ἀφροδίτην πρόσθ' ἄγειν τοῦ Βακχίου.* In every scene, between Pentheus and Teiresias, between Pentheus and Dionysus, between Pentheus and the messenger from Cithaeron, the dialogue turns upon this cardinal point. The name of Aphrodite or Cypris occurs repeatedly as the symbol of that imputation which the persecutor alleges and the sectaries deny (*vv.* 225, 236, 315, 459, 688). Not anywhere, unless it be in the passage which we are investigating, do the bacchanals, or any one for whose opinions they are responsible, acknowledge any connexion between their deity and the deities of sex. Even such a distant and secondary relation between them as is indicated by the herdsman in his *οἴνου δὲ μηκέτ' ὄντος οὐκ ἔστιν Κύπρις* (773) receives no justification either from the deity or his initiated worshippers; and moreover the herdsman is no authorized exponent of Bacchus. His conclusion, from which we have just cited, is not unreasonably treated by Pentheus as a fresh provocation, and it betrays, like much in the speeches of Cadmus and Teiresias, a very imperfect idea of the new religion as it appears in the language of its true adepts. According to them, the inspiration of Bacchus is a purely mystic religious enthusiasm, cherished partly for its own intense delight and partly for the sublime and rapturous meditations with which it is connected. Even wine, which is by no means universally prominent in their discourse, serves rather as a type than as a necessary instrument of that physical, mental, and moral elevation, which can sustain itself equally well upon honey, or milk, or water (*vv.* 704-711): and of sexual feeling or stimulus there is not, nor reasonably could there be, one single authoritative word.

Surely then it ought to stagger us, when we find the bacchanals, in the midst of their protest against the blindness and blasphemy of their opponents, in the midst of their appeals to the spirit of holiness and professions of trust in providence, break out on a sudden into the passionate cry, 'Oh that I could be in the island of Aphrodite, in the city inhabited by the heart-melting minions of Love!' If Pentheus had heard them, what could he say but that in their own despite, forced out of their hypocrisy by the pressure of their genuine feelings, they had confessed the very substance of his charge?

And this objection would hold, even if the language here used were susceptible of an innocent sense, and intended by the speakers, in some obscure and mystical way, to be innocently interpreted. The horrible punishment of Pentheus is inflicted upon him for spiritual blindness, for uncharitableness and tyrannical haste in persecuting upon the faith of a misconception. That

such offences do sometimes entail a fearful penalty, even upon men not ill-intentioned, is perfectly true, and is a legitimate foundation for tragedy. But in order that the tragedy so founded may be legitimate, and that our sympathies may be properly engaged, it is essential that there should be a fair human possibility of avoiding the mistake which is punished. Pentheus asserts the *thiasus* to be an instrument of sexual temptation and sexual corruption. That it was liable by aberration to become such, not the most sincere and devout Macedonian or Phrygian believer could have denied. It is only too certain that almost everywhere the Dionysiac religion, however pure and exalted in its proper intention, had a tendency to become, and did in the end become, just what Pentheus affirms it to be. Like all enthusiastic forms of religion, it was exposed to this abuse, and therefore in a manner justly exposed to the imputation. But the better class of its devotees of course contended, and the whole sense of the *Bacchae* depends on our accepting the view, that such practices were in fact an abuse only and not a true use of their religion. And what practical person could be expected to believe this for a moment, if to the sufficiently equivocal and perilous acts of the bacchic *propaganda* were added the familiar adoption of a style and language which to any common apprehension must appear to interpret *in malam partem* the ambiguous acts?

But it is needless to consider what would be the effect of taking these sentences in an innocent sense, for in fact they are incapable of any such sense. Aphrodite, though not much admired by sober people, either in Athens or generally in Hellas, had no doubt one respectable aspect and some decent cults. But the name of Paphos is clear of all ambiguity. The goddess of Paphos was the declared patroness of every sexual extravagance, and her Phoenician rites were a system of scientific debauchery. For an honest maid or matron, to wish herself in Paphos would be simply to give her character away. If Euripides could put such a sentiment into the mouths of his bacchanals at this moment, he was writing at random, without purpose and even without meaning; and really it does not matter what he said.

But to escape this difficulty, there is a way so perfectly simple that it would have been found directly, if it had ever been sought. The sentiments in question are not adopted by the bacchanals at all, but on the contrary are cited by them only to be emphatically damned and reprobated. The paragraph does not begin, as is supposed, at v. 402 ἱκοίμαν ποτὶ Κύπρον κ.τ.λ., but two lines before, at v. 400, the sense overlapping the strophae, as it not unfrequently does. The correct punctuation is this:

> μαινομένων οἵδε τρόποι
> καὶ κακοβούλων παρ' ἔμοιγε φωτῶν·
> 'ἱκοίμαν ποτὶ Κύπρον,
> νᾶσον τᾶς Ἀφροδίτας,
> ἐν ᾇ θελξίφρονες νέμον-
> ται θνατοῖσιν Ἔρωτες
> Πάφον θ' † ἂν ἑκατόστομοι
> βαρβάρου ποταμοῦ ῥοαὶ
> καρπίζουσιν ἄνομβροι.'
> ὅπου δ' ἁ καλλιστευομένα κ.τ.λ.

Mad fools, in my esteem, and mischievous are they, who wont to cry 'Oh that I were in Cyprus, the isle of Aphrodite, oh to be in Paphos, [or the land of the Nile]!' No! There, where in Pieria is the noblest seat of meditation, Olympus' solemn slope, thither lead me, Bromius, our divine forerunner. There is the 'charm' and the 'passion' for us; there the fit place for the women of Bacchus to do their rite.

The seat of Aphrodite-worship, and of such corrupted *bacchanalia* as might flourish beside it, is contrasted with the northern border of Greece, the seat, as the poet of the *Bacchae* repeatedly implies, of religion in a singularly pure, simple, and genuine form, of a religion for which, as he seems to imply, it was really possible to forecast and desire a great future. And a future it had indeed. But this is a subject far too large for this place.

That *v.* 400 begins a paragraph is properly indicated by the absence of any copula.[1] The quotation ἱκοίμαν...ἄνομβροι stands in loose, but perfectly intelligible, apposition to τρόποι. For a bolder application of the same principle see Aristoph. *Wasps* 666, τούτους τοὺς 'οὐχὶ προδώσω τὸν Ἀθηναίων κολοσυρτόν.' In *v.* 409 the δέ, which on the common hypothesis many would rightly change to τε, is now seen to be necessary. Whether ὅπου should be οὗ is a purely metrical question, and may be here passed over.

Now when we see the passage in its true bearing, we shall no longer seek, in *vv.* 406-408, for regions with which the religion professed by these bacchanals might best and most properly be associated, but merely for regions dominated by Aphrodite; and this has an important bearing on the interpretation of *v.* 406. The land of the

[1] Porson, rightly on the common hypothesis, wished to put one in.

Nile, as a whole, did not appertain especially to Aphrodite; the land which did so appertain was *the Delta*, with its Graeco-Phoenician population, and its sanctuary situated, just above the separation of the streams, at Memphis. And it is the Delta (note ἑκατόστομοι) to which the words refer. This being so, though I would willingly accept Prof. Tyrrell's reading and translation, in default of another, I think the principle of it may be modified so as to get rid of its only difficulty. I would read νᾶσον τᾶς Ἀφροδίτας ἐν ᾇ...νέμονται...Ἔρωτες Πάφον, ἄν θ' ἑκατόστομοι...ῥοαὶ καρπίζουσι: 'the isle of Aphrodite, wherein is the Paphian home of the heart-melting minions of Love, or that [other isle], which the strange stream's hundred mouths make rich without aid of rain.' Since the Delta is in fact an island, though not of the common type, it is not unnatural that, where it is to be linked with Cyprus, its sister in religious affinity, this point of resemblance should be utilized. With ἄν therefore we are to supply, not artificially γᾶν, but simply from the context νᾶσον. We may still do this no doubt with Prof. Tyrrell's Πάφον θ', ἄν θ', though the correlation of ἐν ᾇ...ἄν τε...is not then, I think, so manifest. In the antistrophic verse (421) we shall of course retain ἴσα with both MSS.

However it is far from my purpose to argue against Prof. Tyrrell, from whom comes the one gleam of light which has hitherto been thrown on the passage. Nor would I quarrel with Mr. Cruickshank, who here does at least ask, though not with the best intentions, the only question much worth asking: 'Why should the bacchanals wish to be in Egypt?' To this question no tolerable answer has been or will be given. It is not even true that the bacchanal religion was essentially or distinctively connected with Egypt, and still less true that it was so connected with Cyprus, although those countries, like almost every part of the ancient world, exhibited, in more or less purity, the effects of that extraordinary and profoundly important 'revival.' Nor would such a connexion, if it existed, explain at all why the chorus of Euripides' play should here choose out of all the world those very regions which, to judge by their professions, they must in a religious point of view regard as the most dangerous and least desirable.

Such and not less vital are the problems of which many lie everywhere still unsolved before the serious student of Euripides. One by one they will have to be solved before we shall comprehend his significance, or be truly entitled to judge him. But to pass them over is merely to put back the clock.

A. W. Verrall.

JOHN ii. 20. Τεσσεράκοντα καὶ ἓξ ἔτεσιν ᾠκοδομήθη ὁ ναὸς οὗτος.

The Rev. renders this, 'Forty and six years was this temple (marg. "sanctuary") in building'; Bishop Lightfoot (*Biblical Essays*, p. 30), 'has been forty-six years in building'; Westcott (*John*, ad loc.), '"In forty and six years was this temple built" as we now see it,' adding, 'the work was regarded as complete in its present state, though the reparation of the whole structure was not completed till thirty-six years afterwards'; Dr. Sanday (*Fourth Gospel*, p. 66), 'We might almost paraphrase it, "Forty-six years is it since the building of this Temple began, [and is not yet finished]".'

None of these critics refer to the theory (just touched on, but not discussed, by the *Horae Hebraicae*, ad loc.) that Ezra's temple is contemplated, and that the meaning may be paraphrased as follows, 'This temple, as we have heard from our forefathers, took forty-six years to build, or, was forty-six years in building.' This theory I shall try to prove to be at least more probable than the Herodian, on grounds (1) linguistic, (2) historical, (3) *a priori*.

(1) Although the dative is sometimes used (in late Greek) to denote *extension* of time 'during' (as distinct from *limitation* 'within'), yet this construction appears to be confined to instances where the context makes the meaning of extension clear, *e.g.* Euseb. *H.E.* v. 1 πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ἐν ταῖς Γαλλίαις διατρίψας, Boeckh. *Inscr.* 4107 ζησάσ[η] ἔτεσιν λε. Moreover, if the meaning were 'has been [and still is] a-building,' we should expect, not ᾠκοδομήθη, but μ' ἤδη ἔτη οἰκοδομεῖται. It is true that 2 Ezra v. 16 (in the report made to Darius concerning Ezra's temple) has ἀπὸ τότε ἕως τοῦ νῦν ᾠκοδομήθη καὶ οὐκ ἐτελέσθη, but this seems to be an attempt to render the participle of the original Hebrew

as a finite verb, analogously with a number of preceding aorists in the official report: and in any case the words οὐκ ἐτελέσθη make the meaning clear (the parallel, 1 Ezra vi. 19, has καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου μέχρι τοῦ νῦν οἰκοδομούμενος οὐκ ἔλαβε συντέλειαν). On the whole, the language appears not only to enforce Westcott's conclusion that 'the work was regarded as complete in its present state,' but also to point to *a completion in the past.* Dr. Sanday's paraphrase might pass muster in 2 Ezra v. 16 where there are signs of translation, and where the words οὐκ ἐτελέσθη are inserted, but not here.

The reference to a *completion* in the past is assumed by Heracleon as well as by his critic Origen. The former referred the words to Solomon's temple; the latter (*Comm.* ii. p. 187) points out the difficulty of Heracleon's theory (since Solomon's temple was built in seven years) and adds that there are no means of clearly connecting 'forty-six years' with the construction of Ezra's temple: but as to the Herodian theory he says nothing. He takes it for granted that the word ᾠκοδομήθη means 'was built' in past times, but gives up a solution of the historical problem.

2 (*a*) As regards the Herodian claim, the facts given by Josephus (unfortunately our only authority) need to be stated with great exactness. When the eighteenth year of his reign had come about (or 'expired,' γεγονότος) (*Ant.* xv. 11), Herod undertook (ἐπεβάλετο) to have put in complete order by his means (δι' αὐτοῦ κατασκευάσασθαι) the sanctuary (νεών),[1] and to raise the surrounding buildings (τὸν περίβολον) on a great scale to a magnificent height. Elsewhere (*Wars* i. 21, 1) he tells us, in a much briefer notice, that in the fifteenth[2] year of his kingdom he repaired the sanctuary itself (αὐτόν τε τὸν ναὸν ἐπεσκεύασε) and walled round twice as large precincts as before, and that a proof of the vastness of the work existed in the great porticoes round the temple (τὸ ἱερόν) as well as the fortress on its north. The fuller narrative (*Ant.* xv. 11, 1 *seq.*), describing the building in detail, contains the following important statement: ἀνελὼν δὲ τοὺς ἀρχαίους θεμελίους καὶ καταβαλόμενος ἑτέρους ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τὸν ναὸν ἤγειρε, μῆκος μὲν ἑκατὸν ὄντα πηχῶν, τὸ δ' ὕψος εἴκοσι περιττοῖς οὓς τῷ χρόνῳ συνιζησάντων τῶν θεμελίων ὑπέβη. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν κατὰ τοὺς Νέρωνος καιροὺς ἐπεγείρειν ἐγνώκειμεν. Whiston impossibly translates οὓς ὑπέβη 'which fell down.' The passage is not free from ambiguity; but, having regard to the fact that Herod had made it a point of honour that the present temple should match that of Solomon in height (*Ant.* xv. 11, 1) we may translate: 'So he removed the old foundations and laid new. On these he erected the Sanctuary, in length a hundred cubits, in height [intended to be] twenty cubits more, to the extent of which [twenty cubits], however, in course of time, as the foundations shifted, he [*or* the work] fell short [of his intention].' In other words, as the building went on (and it took from eight to ten years), he found that even his new foundations would not support the intended height; so he gave it up, and built lower. Herod (*ib.*) was not able to enter the Priests' court and the inner portion of the Temple. These, therefore, were repaired or reconstructed by priests, trained for the work. But he busied himself with the porticoes and the outer courts (τοὺς ἔξω περιβόλους), and these he built in eight years (ᾠκοδόμησεν ἔτεσιν ὄκτω). When the sanctuary (ναοῦ) was built (οἰκοδομηθέντος) by the hands of (διὰ) the priests in a year and a half, the whole people celebrated the rebuilding (ἀνάκτισιν) with feastings and rejoicings. It happened that the day proclaimed for celebrating the completion coincided with the anniversary of Herod's accession, which he made a practice of observing: on this account it was now celebrated with special splendour. What suggestion is there, in all this, that the work was left unfinished? What more could have been said by the historian to make it clear that the whole of the work (sanctuary and precincts) was regarded by Herod and the people as complete?

In his history of the rest of Herod's reign, Josephus drops no hint of any works of continuation; but he tells us (*Ant.* xvii. 12, 2) that, while Herod's successor Archelaus was at Rome, a conflict arose in Jerusalem between the Jews and the Romans, in which the latter set fire to the porticoes that surrounded the outer circuit

[1] The words appear to distinguish between the *putting in order* (κατασκευάσασθαι, not ἐπισκευάζειν 'repair,' nor yet on the other hand οἰκοδομεῖν) of the 'sanctuary' (νεών) and the *rebuilding* of the 'precincts' (τοῦ περιβόλου, elsewhere called ἱερόν): but the distinction does not seem to be observed through the whole of the narrative. The words δι' αὐτοῦ perhaps suggest that the king (who was then inclined εἰς εὐσέβειαν (see preceding sentence) regarded himself as the divine instrument in this vast enterprise.

[2] Some explain this discrepancy by dating the 'fifteenth' year, not from the time when Herod received the crown from the senate, but from the time when he slew Antigonus and captured Jerusalem.

of the temple (*τὰς στοὰς αἵπερ ἦσαν τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸν ἔξωθεν περίβολον περιέχουσαι*), and that 'those great and splendid structures were destroyed (*ἠφανίζετο*).' Here was an opportunity for Archelaus to do something for the temple; but as Josephus, while telling us (*ib.* xvii. 13, 1) that he magnificently rebuilt the royal palace at Jericho, adds not a word about anything done for Jerusalem, it is reasonable to infer that he did nothing. And, as in this disastrous fire the Romans pillaged the sacred treasury (*ib.* xvii. 12 (10), 2), we may be prepared to find that the mischief was not fully repaired till long afterwards. It is possible that by Pilate's time the treasury may have been replenished enough to allow of some repairs; but the silence of Josephus is all the more conspicuous because he tells us (*Ant.* xviii. 3, 2) that Pilate did indeed employ the sacred money, but for a different purpose, viz. to bring water into Jerusalem. Nor do Mark xiii. 1 and the parallel passages in Matthew and Luke point clearly to any work actually going on, and certainly not to any work of addition to the Herodian structure.

Herod Agrippa I. is said (*Ant.* xix. 7, 5) to have been a great builder in other parts of his kingdom; Josephus describes in detail his sumptuous works at Berytus, and adds that he (*ib.* 2) repaired and strengthened the walls of Jerusalem; and it is hardly possible that a king of such reputed piety omitted to do something to repair the destruction above-mentioned. But the silence of the historian obliges us to infer that nothing conspicuous was effected, and certainly nothing additional.

Not till the time of Nero, under Herod Agrippa II., do we read of any building operations connected with the temple: and the historian certainly uses language which might lead a careless reader to suppose that the temple was hitherto unfinished (*Ant.* xx. 9, 7), 'Now at last the temple had been completed' (*ἤδη δὲ τότε καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐτετέλεστο*): but this may very easily be explained. The fact seems to have been that, what with the destruction by fire under Archelaus, and what with sinking of the foundations, the ambitious architecture of Herod had very soon turned out to be so far a failure, that it had necessitated repairs for some years past, and had therefore *given the impression* of being an unfinished work. In that sense it *never was finished;* for up to the very commencement of the siege, we find (*Wars* v. 1, 6) that unused materials had been accumulated 'because it had been formerly decreed by the people and the priests to underprop the Sanctuary and to add twenty cubits of height' (*δόξαν ποτὲ τῷ λαῷ καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ὑποστηρίξαντας τὸν ναὸν εἴκοσι πήχεις προσυψῶσαι*). Also, if *ἀνεγεῖραι* is correctly used in the following passage (and not a mistake for *ἐπεγεῖραι*, to 'raise higher'), we have to infer that at the very time when the temple was said to have been 'at last completed,' further repairs were needed; for the Jews (*Ant.* xx. 9, 7) tried in vain to persuade Herod Agrippa 'to raise up again (*ἀνεγεῖραι*) the Eastern portico' (which may perhaps have fallen in through the subsidence of the foundations).

What is the conclusion from all this? It is (1) that the Herodian reconstruction was finished in 8 (or 9½) years, and celebrated as the completion of a great work; (2) that nothing more was done to it for many years either by Herod or his successors; but (3) that in consequence of the too ambitious and ill-calculated design of Herod, and also of the fire in the days of Archelaus, repairs on a vast scale were going on under Agrippa II. (and possibly to a minor extent under Pilate and Agrippa I.); (4) that a Jew under Pilate, in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Caesar, with recent facts fresh in the memory of the citizens, and with present facts before him, could not possibly say, 'This Herodian temple took forty-six years to build,' but, if he spoke of Herod's work at all, 'This work took 8 (or 9½) years to finish, and from the time of the great fire of Archelaus, it has been constantly needing repairs.'

Again, although the use of an exact number, such as 'forty-six,' would be natural enough when applied to facts of past history, yet if the Jews were referring to a work that was still going on—and the commencement of which was marked by no conspicuous historical event that we know of—how much more natural to say, in round numbers, 'some fifty years'! At all events, it would be unnatural for them to *understate* their case, and to say 'forty-six' when they might have said 'forty-seven': and yet that is what we seem driven to believe if we accept Bishop Lightfoot's conclusion that Herod commenced his temple (*B. E.* p. 31) about A.U.C. 735 (B.C. 18), and that the occurrence related by St. John took place at the Passover in A.U.C. 782. And matters seem still worse if, with Westcott, we assign the commencement to B.C. 20 (so also Keim). On the former supposition the temple had been 'a-building' about forty-seven years, on the latter (it would seem) about forty-nine. Is it in human nature that these Jewish

disputants should state their figures so exactly, and yet *understate* them?

2 (*b*) As to the construction of Ezra's temple, the evidence is as follows. The edict for the rebuilding was issued (Ezra i. 1) 'in the first year of Cyrus king of Persia,' and (*ib.* iii. 1–6) 'when the seventh month was come,' they 'set the altar upon its base.' The narrative continues, 'in the second year of their coming unto the house of God at Jerusalem,' they 'laid the foundations of the temple of the Lord,' and celebrated the event with due solemnities: but during the rest of the reign of Cyrus, the enemies of the Jews managed to delay the work, and finally induced Cyrus's successor to stop it altogether. In the second year of Darius the Jews took up the work again (*ib.* iv. 24, v. 1). The 'governor beyond the river' came to Jerusalem and made a report which may be condensed as follows. 'We questioned the Jews as to their authority for rebuilding, and they answered, "In the first year of Cyrus king of Babylon a royal decree was issued for rebuilding.....*and since that time even until now hath it been in building, and yet it is not completed.*" Now, therefore, if it seem good to the king, let search be made for the decree, and let the king send us his decision.' (The italicized words occur in so ambiguous a context that we cannot be sure whether they belong to the Jews or 'the governor': but in subsequent computations of the period of construction they might be accepted as representing that the building went on more or less from the first year of Cyrus.) The king ratified the decree and the Jews finished the temple (vi. 15, 16) in the sixth year of Darius. It will be noted that no express mention is made of the time taken by the building operations. Parts of five years under Darius, and parts of two (or more) years under Cyrus would have to be included, so that a reasonable computation might set the number at seven; but if we seek definite dates, we have only 'the first year of Cyrus king of Persia' for the commencement, and 'the sixth year of Darius' for the completion.

Josephus agrees (*Ant.* xi. 1, 1) that the edict was issued 'in the first year of the reign of Cyrus' (omitting the words 'king of Persia'), but he says nothing about the setting up of the altar in that year, nor does he agree that the foundations were laid in the second year. On the contrary, by the expression (*ib.* 2, 1) '*βαλλομένων τοὺς θεμελίους*,' 'while they were *laying* the foundations,' he apparently means that they only *began* to lay them, and were brought to a stand-still. For it is not till the first year of Darius that Zerubbabel constructed the altar (xi. 4, 1) 'in the seventh month,' and then (*ib.* 2) they raised the foundations 'in the second year of their coming to Jerusalem.'[1] Josephus appears to have confused together two versions of the Return. But still he wishes to make the building complete in 'seven' years (that being a sacred number, and also the number spent in building Solomon's temple). Accordingly he makes the Jews complete their task not in the 'sixth' but in the ninth year (*Ant.* xi. 4, 7) of Darius, having begun it in the second; and thus he is able to tell us that (*ib.*) 'the temple was built in seven years.' Either the precedent of Josephus, or some desire to make up a sacred number, may have influenced other chronologians, for the *Chronicum Paschale* assigns the completion of the temple to the eighth year of Darius. Now the sixth, eighth, and ninth years of Darius are respectively B.C. 516, 514, 513; and 'the first year of Cyrus *king of Persia*' is 559. Between these two dates the interval would be 43, 45, or 46 years.

In such discrepancies the Jews under consideration would naturally adopt the larger number. When disheartened by the condition of the temple, suffering from the fire of Archelaus and from the shifting of the foundations, they would naturally console themselves by saying, 'Never mind, we read in Scripture that, in the beginning, the temple was not built in a hurry nor without obstacles. From first to last it took our forefathers from the first year of Cyrus king of Persia till the ninth year of Darius.' Then a historian would tell them that this meant forty-six years; and so, as we say in a proverb, 'Rome was not built in a day,' the Jews would say, 'Our temple took forty-six years to build.'

Of course, the historian would be a pseudo-historian. The 'first year of Cyrus *king of Persia*' is B.C. 559: but this is a slip of Ezra's. He ought to have written 'the first year of Cyrus's *sovereignty over the Jews*,' *i.e.* after the capture of Babylon: and then the interval would be much less than forty-six years. But in the face of the chaotic confusion just mentioned in Josephus' account of Zerubbabel, and of the general doubt about Biblical dates and statistics of every kind, an error so natural as this seems

[1] But Josephus leaves a loop-hole for believing that both the altar and the foundations had been *begun* before: for he uses *κατασκευάζειν* as to the former, and *ἀγείρειν* as to the latter.

to present no difficulty at all, and especially as a specimen of popular talk. At all events this was adopted in the chronology of Eusebius as extracted from Syncellius (vol. ii. p. 81), ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου ἔτους Δαρείου ἕως ἕκτου ἀνεπληρώθη διὰ χειρῶν τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ζοροβάβελ καὶ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ἰωσεδὲκ ἐν μς' ἔτεσιν ὅλοις ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἔτους Κύρου.

(3) We are so accustomed to speak of 'Herod's temple,' and some Rabbinical expressions lay so much stress upon the splendour of the Herodian structure, that modern readers take it almost for granted that this, and no other, must have been meant when the Jews of our Lord's time pointed to 'this temple.' But it is highly probable that they would be very unwilling indeed so far to detach themselves from the building of their forefathers (hallowed as it was by the prophecies of Zachariah and Haggai) as to admit that the temple was a new one. Herod's careful avoidance of such a suggestion of novelty has been noticed above, and—although in later days when the structure, new and old, was completely obliterated, Talmudical traditions might dwell fondly on the glories of the temple just before its destruction—it is not likely that the Pharisee would be less zealous than Herod in affirming that the whole temple of their forefathers still existed, repaired but not reconstructed.

However, this *a priori* argument is of little importance as compared with the evidence of facts, which, whether linguistic or historical, seem to show that the modern Herodian theory is less satisfactory than the one advocated above: and the arguments for the latter are independent of the question whether the dialogue under consideration is to be regarded as having the accuracy of a short-hand report or as being history dramatized.

EDWIN A. ABBOTT.

Πηγή—Πηγάδι.

I WRITE what follows with a half conviction that I am telling people what they know already, but there is some little hesitation on the subject in Liddell and Scott's Lexicon.

The sources of water here during the summer months are:

(1) Springs issuing from the rock and often conveyed to roads or villages by covered channels. Where springs are not thus conveyed to roads, roads are conducted to springs. Many a time have I been puzzled by a road going up-hill where it need not, and in most cases I have found that it went to find a spring. Of course in many places where springs are abundant a village or town has grown up, and the road goes to find the town, not the water. Notable instances are Stratonicea, the chief town of this part of Caria in ancient times, and Moughla (whence I write), the present seat of government, both of which owe their origin to the abundance of their springs.

(2) Rivers formed by a confluence of such springs.

(3) Wells.

(4) Tanks constructed to receive the winter rains.

The Greek word for a fountain gushing from the rock is κρήνη (or κρουνός), and this words doubtless covers the artificial discharge of a spring when it is conducted in a covered channel to a roadside or village fountain. In fact the last is the main sense of κρήνη, as springs rarely or never spout from the rock itself, but must be artificially contained conducted and released if we are to fill a pitcher from them with ease. The Greek for well is φρέαρ. I do not know if tanks made to receive rain water, now so common in this part of Turkey wherever there is no other supply, existed in antiquity or, if they did, what they were called.

What I am anxious to know is the exact significance of the word πηγή. At the present day πηγάδι is a well, βρύσις is a spring, both κρήνη and φρέαρ being rejected. With the substitution for κρήνη of the more expressive βρύσις I will not concern myself. It is doubtless a result of that effort to make language more individual—to make words more one's own property—which finds its clearest expression in the creation of diminutives. For the extrusion of φρέαρ in favour of πηγάδι I would suggest the following explanation.

Πηγή means a spring, where the water bubbles up, as distinguished from κρήνη or κρουνός, the place whence the water gushes out (see *Il.* X 147). In this country the sources of running streams are wont to be all close together. I recently saw

near Keramus a burn with fish in it and turning mills, which gladdened my heart after a sojourn in the riverless country west of this. I was told that its source was at some hours' distance and that it came out of a big rock. When I went there to see, I found there were many little springs all close together and each one distinguished from its near neighbour in coolness and flavour. These are the πηγαὶ ποταμῶν and the explanation of the plural given in Liddell and Scott is either meaningless or misleading. I have since observed that running streams in this country are almost invariably formed by [numbers of springs rising in close proximity. The little children who scramble about the Greek river-god (the Nile and Tiber) are not his tributaries but his πηγαί, coming, as children should, to help him in his eternal labour of pouring the water from his urn, but forgetting, as children will, their task for love of him who set it. Or perhaps we should think of him as sitting *within* the rock and pouring from his urn one continuous stream which it is the duty of its little ministrants to distribute to the sunlight each by its own channel.

If πηγή means 'spring,' 'source' and nothing else, it is easy to see how it came to mean 'well' and expelled φρέαρ, supposing that the transition was made in a country where wells were the chief source of water. It could hardly, I think, have been made in a country where springs and perennial streams were as numerous as they are here; but possibly, as regards this, the history of the English word 'well' may give me the lie.

W. R. Paton.

THE LONG SONANTS.

In Vol. vi. p. 189 I ventured to advance a physiological explanation of the nasal and liquid sonants. Briefly stated this explanation is as follows: the phenomena of the nasal and liquid sonants result from the transference of *m*, *n*, *r*, *l* to an easier vocal plane. Thus, in pronouncing πένθος, the *n*-sound is produced by the forcible impact of the tongue upon the teeth, while, if we pronounce *e-pn̥th-on* with merely a rapid and transient impact of the tip of the tongue upon the alveolar region, the resultant sound is hardly to be distinguished from *e-path-on*. Hence ἔπαθον. Again, when we say *dérko*, the *r* is naturally alveolar because the accent resting upon the first syllable ensures the normal articulation of the rough liquid; but when we say *drakŏn*, the *r*, in order to be more quickly pronounced, tends to be more coronal or cerebral in its character, that is, the tongue vibrates close to the hard palate. To illustrate from English phonology, the *r* now moves in much the same plane as the *r* of *pretty*, and

δέρκ-ομαι : δρακ-ών : : *pert* : *pretty*.

But the vocal idiosyncrasy of each I.E. language assumes slightly different planes of utterance for the purpose of rapid articulation. And so *ṛ* = *ṛ*, *ar̥*, *ra*, Lat. *or*, Goth. *aúr* (= *or*), &c. In fine, the quality of the vowel-coefficient is a guide to the determination of the plane of utterance.

I concluded my essay with the remark that this theory had a direct bearing upon the question of the *long sonants*. For all that a long sonant would mean is that there is a more prolonged maintenance of the characteristic sound in this easier plane of utterance. If this be so, the existence of a long sonant is inherently probable. But its abstract probability may be more directly inferred.

It seems to be generally admitted that the Low-Grade (*Tief-Stufe*) form of a root is based upon the primitively exspiratory nature of the accent. Thus πετ- in πέτ-ομαι becomes πτ- in ἐ-πτ-όμην, when the accent leaves the verbal root. And this is sufficient for the explosive sounds which from their nature are abruptly terminated. But as regards the combinations of vocalic sounds it is obvious that there may be a varying degree of Prolongation. Thus *eu* and *ŭ* are not the only possible alternatives; there may be an intermediate stage *ū*. For example, we have a triple form of the root *bheu̯* : *bháv-āmi*, φῡ-ω, and φῠ-ή. Similarly we have *eī*, *ī*, *ĭ*. In general, then, diphthongs have *two* monophthongal correlates. Thus:

eu : *ū* : *ŭ*
eī : *ī* : *ĭ*

If now we admit that *m*, *n*, *r*, *l* are, like *u* and *i*, either consonants or sonants according to their syllabic functions, it will follow from

analogy that the virtually diphthongal combination *em, en, er, el* will present triple forms, and that we shall have

em : *m̥̄* : *m̥*
en : *n̥̄* : *n̥*
er : *r̥̄* : *r̥*
el : *l̥̄* : *l̥*

The forms exhibited by the short sonants being recognized as existent, the problem remains to determine whether there are any phonemes which may be regarded as the representatives of these hypothetical and analogically deduced long sonants.

For simplicity and in order to save space we shall confine our remarks and illustrations to the long *liquid* sonants. (See Brugmann, *Grundriss*, i. § 306; F. de Saussure, *Système Primitif des Voyelles*, chap. vi.)

It may be postulated, in the first place, that no philological equation can be regarded as complete in which vocalic variation is ignored. In the earlier stages of linguistic research I.E. *a* was a kind of Proteus which assumed the forms *e, i, o, u* very much at random. The vowel was treated as a 'negligible quantity,' and its amoeba-like variability was tacitly accepted. Thanks to the neo-grammatic school this is no longer admissible. Much doubtless remains to be done in this direction; types like ἵππος and λύκος have not yet been adequately explained; but in general it may be said that vocalic no less than consonantal equivalences are imperiously demanded in any establishment of cognate identity.

What then are we to make of the following equations?

S. *īrmá* = *armus* = Goth. *arm-s.*
S. *ūrdhvás* = *arduus* = ὀρθός (for ὀρθϝος).
S. *purí* = πόλις.
S. *pūrnás* = *full-s* (for **ful-nas*) = πολλο- (for πολ-νο).
S. *sárva* = *salvus* = ὅλος (for σολϝος).

Let us provisionally adopt the hypothesis of the long sonant, and endeavour to ascertain how far it accounts for the seemingly sporadic variations of the vocalic element.

According to this hypothesis , *l̥̄* before a consonant are represented by Sanscrit *īr, ūr*, by Greek ορ (for ωρ), by Latin *ar* (for *ār*), by Gothic *ar* (for *ār*).

I.E. *r̥̄-mós* = *īr-más* = *ar-mus* = Gothic *ar-ms.*

I.E. *r̥̄dh-uós-* = *ūrdhvás* = *arduus* (for *ardhu-us*) = ὀρθϝός.

I.E. *pl̥-nó-* = *pūr-na-* = πολνό- (πολλό-). (The Gothic *full-s* for *fulnas* implies *pl̥-nó*, the *short* sonantic form.)

I.E. *sl̥-vó-* = σολ-ϝο- (ὅλος) = *salvó.* The Sanscrit *sárva-* exhibits the *unreduced* form of the root = *sél-vo-*. With a different suffix the Celtic *slan* ('hale') = *s -nó-*. (Compare *lan* full = *plan* = *pl̥-nó-*.)

It has been indicated that ορ is for ωρ. This is suggested by the fact that the metathetic form is ρω. Thus στρωτός = *str̥̄-tos.* Compare *stīr-n̥ás* = *str̥̄-nas.* Similarly *ār* is suggested by *rā.* Thus *strā-tūs* = *str̥̄-tus, rādix* = *n̥rād-ix* for *n̥r̥̄d-ix* from √*n̥erd*: compare ῥάδαμνος = ϝραδαμνος = *n̥r̥d-amnos;* Goth. *vaúrt-s, vr̥t-s* = I.E. *n̥r̥d-ó-*.

The shortening of ωρ to ορ, *ār* to *ar*, took place in virtue of the principle by which a long vowel was shortened before *n̥, i̯*, nasals or liquids, *plus* an explosive or sonant. Thus βους (S. *gāus*) became βοῦς (ω before *u̯ plus* sonant); *ε-μιγ-ηντ became ἔμιγεν (η before nasal *plus* explosive). (See Brugmann, *Grund.* i. § 611.)

The application of these principles may now be illustrated. The forms *er, r̥̄, r̥* may be called respectively *strong, medial* and *weak.*

(1) θρώσκω. A root **dher* in the sense of 'run' is implied in *dhāráyati*, 'make to run,' 'urge on,' just as *dhāráyati*, 'hold,' 'carry,' comes from √*dher*, 'hold,' *bharáyati* from √*bher*, &c. Accordingly we obtain *dhr̥̄*, represented by θρώσκω = *dhr̥̄-skó.*

(2) βλωθρός (tall). This is for μλωθρος, cf. βλᾶξ and μαλακός. The word μλωθρος = *ml̥th-rós* implies a root *meldh* or *merdh.* The strong form appears in S. *bradhna* (big) = *mredhna* = *merdh-na.* The weak form is exhibited in Slav. *brŭdo* (hill) = *mr̥dh-ó.* The medial form yields S. *mūrdhán* (head) and βλωθρός = *ml̥th-ró-*.

(3) βρώσκω. The root is *ger* (swallow). Hence βρώσκω = *gr̥̄-skó.* The weak form appears in γαργαρεών (throat) = *gr̥-gr̥r-ə-vōn;* and γάρος (sauce) = *gr̥r-ós* (original accent).

(4) δολιχός. The S. is *dīrghás* (long) = *dr̥̄gh-as.* This implies a root *dhergh* (by dissimilation *dergh, dregh*), whence '*drag.*' So that *dīrghas* properly means 'drawn-out.' The formation of the word δολιχός I explain thus. In certain cases the long sonant showed a tendency to anaptyxis. Thus: κολοσσός = κολοκιος is connected with S. *kūrca* (roll, bundle), both words implying *kr̥̄c*, √*kerk* (to be round), hence κρίκος, *circus.* Similarly κολοβός = S. *kharba* (maimed) = *skerba.* Hence *dlgh-ó-* would naturally become δολοχος, but this being an anomalous adjectival form, it was assimilated to μείλιχος, πύρριχος, &c.

(5) τιτρώσκω. The root *ter* (τείρω = τερ-r̥-ω, *tero*, etc.) means 'rub,' and thence 'pierce'

by means of friction: cf. *terebra*, τόρμος. The medial form *tr̥̄* is presented in τι-τρωσκω = *ti-tr̥̄-skō*.

(6) βλώσκω. This verb is of course for μλωσκω (cf. ἔμολον) = *ml̥̄-skō*. A root *mel* is implied, which appears in S. *mil-áti* (meet) = *mlḷ-áti*. The generic idea seems to be that of 'going towards.'

It would, I think, be a mistake to suppose that the long sonantic forms are sparse, casual and exceptional. On the contrary, they pervade the I.E. languages. Did space permit, the illustrations given might be indefinitely multiplied. I propose merely to give two classes of Greek verbs, and a few Germanic examples of the operation of this sonantic principle.

The class of verbs represented by στρωφάω, τρωπάω, τρωχάω, βρωμάομαι, etc., has long presented difficulty. They have been supposed to give evidence of an *ō*-ablaut. I do not think there is any necessity for this assumption. I regard them as examples of long sonantic formation. Thus στρωφάω = *str̥̄ph-ā-i̯-ō*. This formation is closely analogous to the type of Sanscrit verbs represented in *gūrdhâyati* (delight), *sphūrjayati* (make to rumble), &c. Such words as μωκάομαι, πωτάομαι would then be formed by a process of analogy.

There is another small class of verbs of which τρώω and πλώω are examples. The verb τρώω is of course for τρω-ϝ-ω (cf. Slav. *trovą*, 'destroy') and πλώω for πλώϝω.

The root is *terv*, a determinative form of *ter*. The medial *tr̥̄v* occurs in S. *tūrv-áti*, 'overpower,' and τρωϝω = *tr̥̄v-ō*.

Similarly πλω-ϝ-ω = *pl̥̄v-ō* from *plev* (πλεύσομαι). Bechtel's theory that πλώω is evolved from a theoretic perfect *pe-plōv-a* (*Hauptprobleme der I. G. Lautlehre*, p. 167) seems to to me far-fetched; and Bartholemae expresses himself in much the same sense (*Indo-Ger. Forsch. Zeitsch.* iii. p. 48, footnote).

We come now to a few Germanic forms, the vocalism of which finds its explanation in the function of the long sonant.

(1) *Walten*, Goth. *waldan* ('rule'), Lith. *valdýti*, O.B. *vladą*, O.I. *flaith* = *vlat-i-* ('rule,' 'lordship'). The root is *vel-* + *dh*, Latin *val-eo*, and *vald-* = *vl̥dh-*.

(2) *Halten*, A.S. *haldan*. *Hald-* = *qldh-* from *qel* + *dh*. The primary root *qel* ('drive,' 'raise') appears in βου-κόλος, *culmen*, *columna*, Lith. *kélti*, 'raise,' etc. The connection of 'raising' and 'holding' (*e.g.* a tool, a burden, &c.) is close.

(3) *Spalten*, O.H.G. *spaltan*, cf. Goth. *spilda*, a writing-tablet = δέλτος, from √*der*, *del*, 'cleave,' 'tear.' *Spalt-* = *spl̥dh*, from *spel* + *dh*. The root *spel*, *sper* appears in σπαραγμός = *spr̥r-ag-mos* (unless the root is *sqer*).

(4) *Falten*, O.H.G. *faldan*, Goth. *falþan*. *Fald* = *p dh*, from *pel* + *dh*. The weak form of the primary root appears in the redup. noun πέ-πλ-ος, in Latin *duplus*, the strong form in Ger. *zweifel*, 'doubt.'

(5) *Walzen*, O. Icelandic *velt*, from *vl̥d*, from *vel* + *d*. The primary root appears in ϝελ-ύω, ϝελ-ίσσω; *vl̥̄* is represented by *val-va*; *vl̥* gives *vulva*, *volva*, *volvo*. Οὖλος, 'curly' = ϝολνος = *vl̥-nós*: cf. *villus* for *vilnus*, and this for *vel-nus*.

Another class of German verbs exhibits the same function of the long sonant, that namely ending in *-allen* as *wallen*. Thus *wallen*, *wallan* = *u̯l̥-nan-* from *u̯el*, 'go round.' The English *walk* = *u̯el* + *k*.

Similarly, *wallen*, 'boil,' 'gush,' 'well forth,' is for *u̯l̥-nan-*. The root is *u̯el*, *u̯er*; O.H.G. *walm*, 'heat,' for *u̯ol-mo-* (o-ablaut); Goth. *vul-an*, 'be hot,' for *u̯l̥l-an-*.

In general, then, when we encounter *al-, *ar, in Germanic words we have to consider whether the syllabic *a* represents the *ŏ*-ablaut or whether it is the coefficient of the long sonant. Thus, for example, is *kalt*, from √*gel* (*gel-u*, *gel-idus*), for *gol-to-* or *gl̥-to-*? In such cases we must be guided by the principles of suffix-formation and observe the analogies in the cognate languages.

Brugmann (*Grundriss* i. § 306) points out an anomaly in the Greek forms of the long sonant. Thus, while S. *īr* and *ūr* before a consonant correspond to *ir* and *ur* before a sonant, Greek ορ, ολ, ρω, λω correspond to ορ, ολ instead of αρ, αλ, as might have been anticipated. Thus τιτρώσκω, ἔ-τορ-ον, θρωσκω, ἔ-θορ-ον, &c. He considers this phenomenon as due to the same operation of analogy as that which produces θετός and δοτός instead of *θατός and *δατός, where *a* would have represented *ə*, 'the indistinct vowel sound.'

A comparative novice in philological research has inevitably considerable hesitation in dissenting from the conclusions of a scholar whose erudition is so vast, and whose powers of scientific analysis are so transcendent. Nevertheless, I shall venture to state the opinion which I have formed on the subject.

This opinion I would formulate in the following way: the long sonant being primitively an independent reduction of the strong form of a root, had originally *no* correlate whatsoever, and the apparent correlate was evolved by a process of analogy after the long sonantic form of the root had become hardened to a type. Nothing is more mani-

fest than the fact that the medial form of a root tended to supersede the strong form. Thus *θύω*, *φύω*, *δύω*, &c., supplanted *dheu̯-*, *bheu̯-*, *deu̯*, and such derivative forms became independent units, as it were, and centres of organic evolution. In Sanscrit this tendency was very marked, and we have a large number of verbs which have budded off, so to speak, from the parent stem and acquired a separate and independent existence. Thus *kŭrdati* (leap, exult), *jŭrvati* (waste, consume), *tūrvati* (overcome), *sphŭrjati* (rumble), &c. And it may be noted that concurrently with their assertion of independence they have generally assumed the radical accent.

In this way also we are able to explain the declension of *ὕδωρ*, *σκῶρ*, &c. For *ὕδωρ* (= *ὕδ-r̥*) does not form its oblique cases by a reduction or modification of the long sonant. Had there been a correlate to *r̥*, we might have expected *ὕδαρος* or *ὕδορος*; but the long sonant was so unique in character that the oblique cases were supplied from a different suffixal element, and we have *ὕδατος* for *ὕδη̯τος* (cf. S. *udan*, water, and Lithuanian genitive *vanden-s*).

But when the long sonantic form became a distinct type, analogy began at once to operate. Thus, for example, when **στωρ-νυμι*, *στόρ-νυμι* had ceased to reflect the root *στερ*, *στορέσω*, *εστόρεσα* were readily evolved. And just as *θνᾱ́σκω* gave *ἔθανον*, so *θρώσκω* gave *ἔθορον*.

No doubt S. *gīr* (praise) for *gr̥̄-s* yields the instrum. case *girā*, but this may be regarded as due to the same principle of analogy, or may be derived from the strong form of the root **gers* collaterally existing with *gr̥̄s*. Surely it is more natural to derive *φῡ-ή* from *bheu̯* than from *φῡ-*.

The differential selection of the medial form of a root as an independent type is an interesting and by no means insoluble problem. One operating cause may have been an endeavour to distinguish homonyms. Thus *θύω* was possibly isolated to distinguish it from *θέϝ-ω* (run), *δύω* to avoid coincidence with *δεύω*. As regards *φύω*, Lesbian form *φυίω*, it seems clear that it was originally *θῡ-ι̯ω* with the accent on the suffix; and possibly the other cases may be similarly explained.

As regards the genesis of the long sonant the space at our disposal will admit of only a few remarks. (See Osthoff, *Morph. Unters.* iv. p. 277 ff.) A widely accepted theory is that its evolution is due to the operation of the *Bye-tone* (*Nebenton*) either in the word itself or in the sentence. To take an example in English: if we say, 'a simple explanation will suffice,' the accent on *simple* is a bye-tone, the stress being relatively slight; but if we say, 'this explanation is sufficiently símple,' the first syllable of *simple* receives the acute accent. Similarly in Greek *βασιλεὺς ἐγένετο*, but *ἐγένετο βασιλεύς*. That is to say, the *Nebenton* stands midway between the acute accent and non-accentuation. In the English word *dèmonstrátion* the first syllable receives the Nebenton, the penult the acute. Similarly in *ὀλβιοδαίμων* the accentuation may be thus represented, *ὀlbiodaímon*. The *Nebenton*, however, may immediately precede or follow the acute accent. Thus in the Sanscrit desiderative *mŭ-mūrsh-ati* (desire to die, from √*mer*) we have a kind of accentual cadence. So in Greek *πέπρωται* = *pĕ-pr̥̄-tăi̯*. Considering, however, the extreme difficulty which besets the whole question of the primitive I.E. accentuation, this may be regarded as an attempt to explain an *ignotum per ignotius*. I am inclined to think that the explanation of the phenomenon is to be found in the *anceps* quantity of vowels before a combination of a consonant *plus* a liquid or a nasal. Thus we have *μᾱκρός* and *μᾰκρός*, *τῆκνον* and *τῆκνον*. Now we have good grammatical authority for the fact that some longs are longer than other longs; and it seems manifest that the long of *μᾱκρός* is shorter than the long of *μαργός* from the greater articulative fluidity of the combination. In other words, the *ᾱ* of *μᾱκρος* might be called a semi-long. What hinders us then to suppose that the long sonant represents this intermediate length of sound? According to this view *str̥̄neúmi* exhibits the semi-long pronunciation of *stern-* produced by the dragging effect of the accent. We might present the result of this conception in the form of a proportion:

στρωτός : *στρατός* : : *μᾱκρός* : *μᾰκρός*
str̥̄-tós : *str̥-tos*

What probability there is in this explanation must be left for more competent students to determine. The long *nasal* sonants will require a separate investigation.

G. Dunn.

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PROPERTIANA.

I. 2, 2.

Aspice quos summittat humus formosa colores.

Perhaps *humus, formosa, colores.*

II. 1, 5.

Sive illam Cois fulgentem incedere cogis.

Perhaps *croceis—Cois.* Cf. Catull. 68, 132.

II. 9. 43, 44.

Te nihil in vita nobis acceptius umquam :

Nunc quoque eris quamvis sic inimica mihi.

Mr. Postgate has improved this passage by his conjecture

Nunc quoque eri*t* quamvis sis inimica *nihil.*

But I should prefer

Nunc quoque eris, quamvis sic inimica, *mea.*

keeping *sic* of N, against *sis* of other MSS.

II. 19. 17.

Nam quid Medeae referam quo tempore matris

Iram natorum caede piavit amor ?

As Bährens remarks, *quo tempore matris* is probably corrupt. But I think *pectore* for *tempore* is sufficient cure.

II. 23, 27.

Et cupit iratum talos me poscere eburnos

Quaeque nitent sacra vilia dona via.

I suspect that a shopkeeper's name lurks in *iratum. Iraeum ? Atrectum ?*

II. 26, 23.

Non si *Cambysae* redeant et flumina Croesi.

Perhaps :

Non si *gaza Midae,* redeant et flumina Croesi.

Statius more than once couples the 'gaza Midae' with the wealth of Croesus.

III. 1, 23.

Famae post obitum fingit maiora vetustae.

So N. : *omnia—vetustas* all other MSS.

Perhaps :

Ferme post obitum fingit maiora vetustas.

III. 11, 5.

Venturam melius praesagit navita *mortem.*

Venturum—motum. Cf. 'motus orientis Austri' in Horace.

III. 5. 39.

Sub terris sint iura deum et tormenta. . . .

Tisiphones atro si furit igne caput.

The hexameter is left incomplete in N. The other MSS. give the improbable *gigantum.* Haupt's *nocentum* is better. But I now believe *tremenda* or *timenda* to be the true reading, and to have been omitted in the archetype owing to its likeness to *tormenta :* cf. vs. 46, Et *timor* haut ultra quam rogus esse potest.

III. 11. 39, 40.

Corniger atque dei vacuam pastoris in aulam

Dux aries saturas ipse reduxit oves.

Vacuam should I think be *vaccas.* In that golden age Pan himself led the cattle home ; he is called *armenti custos* by Ovid. I propose :

Corniger atque de*us* vacca*s* pastoris in aulam,

Dux aries saturas ipse reduxit oves.

After *vaccas* had been corrupted to *vacuam, deus* was left apparently without a clause to govern and *dei pastoris* suggested itself to the scribe as being a description of Apollo.

III. 12, 25.

Castra decem annorum et Ciconum manus Ismara, calpe

Exustaeque tuae mox, Polypheme, genae.

For *calpe* 'non proposuerim' *culpae,* although it is capable of a construction if carried on to next verse.

III. 14, 19.

Inter quos Helene nudis *capere arma* papillis,

Fertur nec fratres erubuisse deos.

The tradition seems to vary between *capere arma* and *armata.*

Perhaps *spectata.*

IV. 1, 47.

Arma resurgentis portans victricia Troiae

Felix *terra* tuos cepit, Iule, deos.

Perhaps *prora.*

IV. 1, 63.

Qui me tam *docilis* potuisti fundere in usus.

Perhaps *indocilis.* Cf. I. 2, 12.

IV. 8, 39, 40.

Nile tuus tibicen erat, crotalistria *Phyllis.*

Perhaps :

Miletus tibicen erat, crotalistria *Byblis.*

IV. 8, 81, 82.

Indixit leges. Respondi 'ego legibus utar.'

Riserat imperio facta superba dato.

The pluperfect is defensible, but I should suggest

Risit, era imperio facta superba dato.

IV. 9, 22.

Terraque non ullas *feta* ministrat aquas.

Read *usta.*

IV. 11, 15.

Damnatae noctes et vos vada lenta paludes.

Perhaps :

Damnati sontes.

A. Palmer.

NOTES ON THE *RUDENS*.

[*The lines are numbered as in Schoell's edition* (1887).]

THE name *Rudens*, for which we should expect *Vidularia*, is explained by supposing that the latter had already been used; but *Rudens* may serve to mark the nautical character of the play: 'The Halyard—a Tale of the Sea,' as we might put it.

85—8. Detéxit uentus uíllam—quid uerbís opust?
Non uéntus fuit, uerum Álcumena Eurípidi,
Ita omnís de tecto déturbauit tégulas:
Inlústrioris fécit festrasque índidit.

The last of these verses has always been felt to be a difficulty. *Inlustrioris* must refer to *tegulas*, and so Ussing. But then we are using *tegulae* first of the single tiles, then of the tiles collectively, the tiled roof. Few will agree with Schoell: 'at neque difficilius et facetius *nos* (ex v. 84) mente supplemus.' *Nobis* is remote and trivial, and *tegulas* has intervened. I incline to think we have a mixture of two readings, both of ancient date:

Non uéntus fuit, uerum Álcumena Eurípidi:
Ita omnís de tecto déturbavit tégulas.
and Non uéntus fuit, uerum Álcumena Eurípidi
Inlústriorem fécit festrasque índidit.

The former is to be preferred. When the two were combined, *inlustriorem*, which referred to *uillam*, became *inlustrioris* to accommodate it to *tegulas*. I propose to bracket 88.

139—146. The difficulties are removed if 145, 6 precede 142—4, the latter being retained without brackets. There is no connexion between *nullus* (in 141) and *nullum* (in 142). *Nullumst periclum* is explained and justified by *Pseud.* 1076: Nullúm periclumst, quód sciam stipulárier.

160—2. Sed ó Palaemon, sáncte Neptuní comes,
Qui aerúmnae Herculeae sócius esse díceris,
Quod fácinus uideo?

161 has long been recognized as corrupt. The MSS. (see Schoell) give: qui (q F) hercule (herculis B) socius esse diceris. It should be observed (1) that the explanation (qui etc.), proceeding from Sceparnio's lips in such a moment of excitement is absurd; (2) that it does not correspond with any known or easily conceivable facts; (3) that the reading of MSS. does not even pretend to metrical form. The connexion between Hercules and Palaemon is given by Ovid, *Fasti* vi. 519 foll., where we are told how Ino (Leucothea) and her child Melicerta (quem nos Portumnum, sua lingua Palaemona dicet) were saved from destruction by the appearance of Hercules. Remembering this story a scribe glossed: Qui ab Hercule servatus esse dicitur. *Servatus* being blurred, *comes* in 160 suggested *socius*, and when once the gloss had crept into the text, the change of *dicitur* to *diceris* was inevitable. Fleckeisen rightly bracketed the verse. Schoell's conjecture *aerumnae Herculeae* will hardly meet with general approval.

411. Ut eápse succincta ádiuuat, calefáctat ut lauémus.

The MSS. (see Schoell) give: ut ea spe succincta aquam calefactat ut lauemus, where the metre halts and *aquam*, recurring in 412, is at once suspicious. The correction of *ea spe* to *eapse*, long since made, is in itself good, if obvious. Schoell's *adiuuat* is sadly weak. Other conjectures, none of them satisfactory, are noted in his Appendix. I believe the verse to be spurious. (1) There is no need to explain why Ampelisca is obtaining the water: Daemones (133 foll.) has told us that it was a constant practice to take water from his well for ritual purposes, and it is on this occasion carried in a *sacra urna Veneris* (473). (2) *Spe succincta* looks like the emendation of some one familiar with the Latin of a later age; nor, if we read *eapse succincta*, can *succincta* be held to be a very appropriate word of the venerable Ptolemocratia. (3) *Calefactat* (for which Seyffert: *it....calefactatum*) must be a present-future; but is it in accordance with usage to say 'She is boiling water, and now I will go and fetch it'? (4) *Nunc ne morae illi sim* points in the same direction: Ampelisca is anxious not to keep *the priestess* waiting. The truth may well be that *petam hinc aquam* (412) seemed to the scholiast to call for an explanation, which he gave in some such form as this: Ea sc. succincte (he meant 'hastily,' as Camerarius did) aquam calefactat ut lauent.

The comment once written into the text, *lauent* becomes *lauemus* (as *dicitur* became *diceris* in 161), and the rest is patchwork.

682—3. Desíste dictis núnciam miserám me consolári
Nisi quíd re praesidi ádparas, Trachălio, acta haec rés est.

These verses are clearly out of place. (1) They are impossible as an answer to Trachalio's: Ah, desine: Nimis inepta's. (2) They come too soon in the conversation: Trachalio has had no time to make any definite proposal. (3) They are appropriate when his *bono animo's* (679) has been followed by *bonum animum habete* (687). (4) They are fitly answered by the advice of a practical character: adsidite hic in ara (688). (5) In their present position they break the connexion of thought: Certumst morirei quam etc. is an explanation of Quae vis vim mi adferam ipsa adigit, and *must be assigned to the same speaker*, whether Palaestra or Ampelisca I leave, at present, undecided. The passage is restored if 682, 3 are placed after 687 and given to the same speaker. We are then able to recover the reading of 684 with some degree of certainty.

Read (680)

AM. (or PA.) Sí modo id líceat, uis ne ópprimat:
Quaé uis uim mi ádferam ipsa ádigit.
TR. Ah, désine:
Nímis inepta's.
AM. (or PA.) Certúmst morirei quam húnc pati [uim fácere] lenonem ín me.

Many other passages suggest themselves for comment. I briefly note: (253[a]) The difficulty seems to have been caused by *amabo*, which got out of place. Continue the cretics:

Séd quid hoc óbsecrost? PA. Q íd uides? AM. Fánum amabó uidesne hóc? PA. Ubist?

then as Fleckeisen. Creticus trimeter follows creticus tetrameter (252), as in *Curculio* 100, 101 (Fl.). (711) At etiam minitatur audax. Read as a question; so *Tri.* 991 At etiam maledicis? and often. (856) *A portu*, the conjecture of Acidalius, would seem most appropriate. The *adulescentes* had gone seaward (157). (1115) The excellent conjecture *pro oratione* should hardly give place to the *pro portione* of MSS.

Students of Plautus owe Professor Schoell thanks for his admirable apparatus criticus; their gratitude will hardly extend to all his numerous conjectural emendations. See *tela teneam* (779) and *pecu alui* (1307).

W. G. Field.

THE MODERN GREEK WORD νερό.

In turning over the leaves of the *Classical Review* of 1891, I lighted upon two notes on the derivation of the modern Greek word νερό. One, by Mr. J. B. Bury (p. 232*b*), connects the word with νηρός and Νηρεύς in the relation of ξερός to ξηρός, but denies that νηρόν could give νερό. In the other (p. 338*a*), Mr. Walter Leaf rejects Mr. Bury's opinion on the ground of such analogies as πληρώνω to πλερώνω and φιλάργυρος to φιλάργερος. I beg leave to observe that the connexion of νερό with νηρός and Νηρεύς, though appealing to the principle of the Erasmian pronunciation (η = ē), as well as to the ambition of present Greeks, since it carries their language back to primitive antiquity, rests on a pure fallacy. Similarly the example φιλάργερος cited by Mr. Leaf from Mr. Psichari's Ταξείδι is foreign to the purpose, since it is not a popular word. It is a mere fiction of Mr. Psichari for the genuinely colloquial and very common term ἀκριβός *parsimonious*—so used already in Byzantine Greek—or for the less common σφιχτός (*i.e.* σφιγκτός) *close*. As to the disputed word νερό, it is nothing but a phonetic modification of νεαρόν (*scil.* ὕδωρ), used as a substantive like θερμόν (*i.e.* ὕδωρ) *warm drink, broth*; ἄλογον (*i.e.* ζῷον) for ἵππος *horse*; ἄσημον (*i.e.* ἀργύριον), now ἀσῆμι *silver*; συκωτόν (*i.e.* ἧπαρ) '*ficatum*,' now συκῶτι *liver*; ἄσβεστος (*i.e.* τίτανος), now ἀσβέστης *quick-lime, lime*, and many others. Of the identity of νερό with νεαρόν we have an express testimony already in Ammonios the grammarian, who states *s.v.*: νεαρὸν νεαλοῦς καὶ προσφάτου διαφέρει· νεαρὸν μὲν γάρ ἐστι τὸ νεωστὶ κομισθὲν ὕδωρ. To the same, if not still earlier, period belong the following instances taken from the *Hermeneumata Pseudo-Dositheana* (ed. G. Goetz, 1892) p. 87[b] (*Herm. Amploniana*, MS. IX. century) '*ydor* aqua; psychron frigida; chearon (for χλιαρόν) tepidum; *neron*

recente; zeston feruentem; synceraston calda aqua'; and *Colloq. Monacensia ib.* 653[a] '*βάλε νερόν* mitte recentem; *πρόσθες ἄκρατον* adice merum; *ib. πίωμεν νερὸν ἐκ τοῦ βανκιδίου* bibamus recentem de gillone.' Further examples from Byzantine authorities: *Apophth. Patrum* (ed. Migne t 46), p. 205 B *καὶ ἀνέστη τις πρεσβύτερος μέγας δοῦναι τὸ καυκάλιον τοῦ νεροῦ.* Leont. Neap. (ed. Migne t. 93) V.S. p. 1713 C, *ἐκεῖ θερμὸν καὶ νερὸν καὶ ὧδε νερὸν καὶ θερμόν.* Porph. Adm. 77, 13, *Βερούτζη ὅ ἐστι βράσμα νεροῦ. Et. M.* 597, 43 *sq. ναρὸν τὸ ὑγρόν...Σοφοκλῆς Τρωίλῳ: Πρὸς ναρὰ δὲ κρηναῖα χωροῦμεν ποτά. οὕτω Φιλόξενος καὶ ἴσως ἡ συνήθεια τρέψασα τὸ Α εἰς Ε λέγει νερόν* (cp. *Et. G.* 406, 23). That the etymological part of the last remark is a pedantic fiction of the *Et. M.* needs no special comment, since every student of this authority knows too well his absurd passion to connect every platitude with classical Greek.

A. N. JANNARIS.

JAMES' *APOCRYPHA ANECDOTA.*

Texts and Studies, Vol. II. No. 3. *Apocrypha Anecdota*, edited by MONTAGUE RHODES JAMES, M.A. 6*s*. net.

THE general excellence of the series to which it belongs is fully maintained by Mr. James' *Apocrypha Anecdota.* Here is a volume of no less than thirteen apocryphal works compiled, as the editor states, without anything like a continuous or wide investigation from three British and two French libraries (Bodleian, British Museum, Cheltenham, Bibliothèque Nationale, Trèves). One can heartily sympathize with the editor's regret that so few professed theologians appear to have any liking for research in the field of apocryphal literature. Nor indeed is there any necessity why such research should be undertaken solely by the theologian. If some portion of the time which is at present wasted by men of ability over hack-work editions of Cicero's speeches or Virgil's *Aeneid* were devoted to the scholarly study of patristic literature, what enormous gains would result alike to classical scholarship and our knowledge of the history of the Empire! Of course if linguistic style be the criterion which determines the range of his pursuits, the classical student had perhaps better keep away from the present *Anecdota* lest the Greek of the *Apocalypsis Mariae* or the Latin of the *Visio Pauli*, like Jerome's Hebrew, injure his powers of composition. The language of several of these *Apocrypha* represents an interesting stage of transition between ancient and modern Greek. Curious words like *κουβουκλεῖον, ἀκούμβιτος, κογχοστάτης, χανότης* meet us at every turn.

The book opens with a complete Latin version of the *Visio Pauli.* Tischendorf's belief that the existing Greek text is mutilated at the end is probably incorrect, as the present version, as well as the Syriac, concludes with the appearance of Elijah and Elisha.

One may perhaps regret that the editor has seldom attempted to discuss in any way the historical setting of pieces like the *Visio Pauli* and the *Acta Xanthippae et Polyxenae*, which furnish us with some internal indications of locality and date. In the case of the former document we find at the commencement: *Quo tempore palam facta est? Consule Theodosio Augusto minore et Cynegio.* Both the Greek MSS. used by Tischendorf read, in place of 'Cynegio,' *Κωντιανοῦ*, for which Tischendorf suggests *Γρατιανοῦ.* This is not in itself a very probable conjecture, but it is at any rate an attempt to place the date of the book under the reign of the elder Theodosius who shared the consulship with Gratian in 380. On the other hand it seems almost certain that the Latin version has preserved the correct form of the second consul's name. Cynegius (Quinegius) was consul in 388 with Theodosius the Great. Now it is easy to see whence the error *Theodosio Aug. minore* arose. The MS. from which the present copy of the *Visio Pauli* was made read, no doubt, *consule Theodosio II. et Cynegio,*—the Roman numerals referring, quite correctly, to the Emperor's second tenure of office,—and the scribe, misunderstanding the significance of the number, wrote down *minore.* Any doubt as to which Theodosius originally figured in the date is set at rest by Sozomen's statement (vii. 19), —*τὴν δὲ νῦν ὡς ἀποκάλυψιν Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου φερομένην...πλεῖστοι μοναχῶν ἐπαινοῦσιν ἐπὶ ταύτης δὲ τῆς βασιλείας* (*i.e.* of Theod. I.) *ἰσχυρίζονταί τινες ταύτην ῥυῆσθαι τὴν βίβλον.* The fact that the Syriac version

omits all mention of the consulship in question would seem to imply that it represents an earlier recension of the work than either the Greek or Latin versions. Perhaps after all the writing may be the old ἀναβατικὸν Παύλου mentioned by Dionysius of Alexandria worked up at a later date in a different form. The ἀναβατικόν exists, I believe, in an Armenian version; if so, it ought to be examined.

Perhaps the most interesting document in the book is the *Acts of Xanthippe and Polyxena.* It is difficult to see any justification for Tillemont's remark, 'nous nous consolons aisément de ne les avoir.' Mr. James has pointed out very carefully the numerous coincidences, verbal and otherwise, which exist between the present Acts and those of Paul and Thekla, Andrew, Philip and Thomas. In fact Mr. James is always thoroughly at home in dealing with the inter-relation of apocryphal writings.

If the date assigned by Mr. James to these Acts,—the middle of the 3rd century,—be correct, several interesting results follow. For example, we get one of our earliest clues to the whereabouts of the mysterious 'Babylon' of 1 Peter. When Polyxena has been carried off by one of her rival lovers, he hires a vessel and sets sail—(I suppose ὥρμουν is for ὥρμων)—ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν· εἶχεν γὰρ ἐκεῖ ἀδελφὸν τοπάρχην ὁ καθαρπάσας αὐτήν. In the introduction Mr. James speaks of Polyxena's 'forced voyage to Greece.' But Βαβυλωνία cannot denote Greece or any part of Greece. It might of course refer to the ordinary Babylon, but it is very improbable that a document written, as the present was almost certainly, in the east should speak of a sea-voyage from Spain to Babylon on the Euphrates. The identity of the Βαβυλωνία here is, I venture to think, rendered almost certain by the use of the word τοπάρχης in connection with it. This title was, it is true, occasionally used in a loose way of oriental rulers in Arabia and parts of Asia Minor [cp. *e.g.* Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 7, 2, Spartian, *Had.* 13]. But its special employment to denote a definite magistracy seems, as far as I can gather, to to have been confined to two localities, viz. Edessa and Egypt. Abgarus was a 'toparch' of Edessa; cp. Procop. *Bell. Goth.* 1, 12. Αὔγαρος ἦν τις ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις Ἐδέσης τοπάρχης, οὕτω γὰρ τοὺς κατὰ τὸ ἔθνος βασιλεῖς τηνικαῦθα ἐκάλουν. But Edessa will scarcely suit the 'Babylon' of these *Acta.* On the other hand Egypt suits them very well: the fugitive vessel is on its way to Egypt when it is stopped by contrary winds and ultimately carried to the coast of Greece. The question of the Egyptian magistracies is a difficult one, but there were, apparently, τοπάρχαι of single τόποι [cp. *C.I.G.* 4976 Ἑρμίας τοπάρχης Ἀριανσαίτιος], as well as of composite τοπαρχίαι, the latter of whom answered to the δήμαρχοι of Herod. 3, 6. In short the only locality which could be reached by sea from Spain, be called Βαβυλωνία and possess toparchs must be Egypt. The Coptic Church has, I believe, always held that 1 Peter was written from some part of Egypt and it is curious that in mediaeval Spanish MSS. Cairo is very commonly spoken of as 'Babylon.' If the words ἡ ἐν Βυβυλῶνι in 1 Peter are not after all a primitive corruption which conceals some female name, probably that of Peter's wife, the theory that he wrote from Egypt is at any rate supported by the passage we have been discussing in a writing of the 3rd century. And it may be remarked in passing that it is difficult to see on what grounds Alford speaks of the Babylon in Egypt mentioned by Strabo as 'an insignificant fort.' So far from being insignificant it was the headquarters of one of the three army-corps which garrisoned Egypt, and a large number of chained convicts were permanently employed in working the τροχοί and κογχλίαι upon the canal which supplied the town with water from the Nile.

There are many other points of interest which meet one in reading these early *Acta.* For example, the private use of a wooden cross (*vide* § xxiii.) in the middle of the 3rd century is worth noticing. Again there is a clear reference to antiphonal singing in § vi. where Xanthippe hears the birds singing ὡσὰν ἐξ ἀντιφώνων καὶ ὑπηκόων. In § xii. our Lord is spoken of as ὁ δοὺς ὕπνον ἀνεπαίσθητον τῷ δράκοντι πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπιγνῶναι αὐτὸν τὴν ἐνανθρώπησίν σου. This comes no doubt from the well-known passage in Ignatius' letter to the Ephesians (§ xix.) quoted again and again by the fathers. But is the expression ὁ δοὺς ὕπνον ἀνεπαίσθητον with its mythological associations derived from any known source?

In the same section a passage occurs which may have some bearing on the date of these Acts. Xanthippe utters a long prayer in which she addresses Christ as being λόγχῃ νυγεὶς τὴν πλευρὰν ἵνα τὴν ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς γενομένην πληγὴν τῷ Ἀδὰμ ἀποθεραπεύσῃς· πλευρὰ γὰρ οὖσα ἡ Εὔα πληγὴν εἰργάσατο τῷ Ἀδὰμ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ. Now this extraordinary exegesis is attributed to Apollinarius of Laodicea by Corderius in his *Catena* and is, I believe, found

nowhere else. What inference are we to draw? If the exegesis be Apollinarius' own, then Mr. James has dated these Acts too early. But, of course, this may not have been the case, and this fanciful explanation of the Johannine passage may have been more or less prevalent in the 3rd century. No decided opinion can ever be offered on a point like this until the numerous 'Catenae' of the New Testament which exist have been properly examined,—a work still open to the theological student and full of promise.

Documents like the present *Acta* would often repay careful study on the lines pursued with such ability and success by Professor Ramsay in the case of the Thekla legend. For instance, can we find any historical facts incidentally mentioned which bear on the genuineness of the incidents recorded? The husband of Xanthippe is Probus, an *ἀνὴρ βασιλικός*. Now the name Probus occurs with some frequency amongst Spanish inscriptions, especially, I believe, those of Tarraconensis, in which province the plot must necessarily be laid. At first sight, indeed, the name Xanthippe as that of the lawful wife of a Roman official under the early empire might cause surprise. But in *C.I.G.* 4272 one finds an inscription from Tarraconensis,—

M.GRANIO PROBO DEC. PONTIFICI
AEDILICIIS HONORIBVS FVNCTO.

In the rest of the inscription a sister of this magistrate is mentioned called 'Aphrodite.' This seems to indicate that there is no *a priori* reason against a Roman official with a Greek-named wife having lived in Spain in the reign of Claudius. At the same time 'Probus' is a name which would readily be used by the compiler of a fictitious narrative.

Amongst the other contents of the volume is a full text of the well-known *Apocalypsis Mariae Virginis*. This has been transcribed from a Huntingdon MS. in the Bodleian which furnished Tischendorf with his printed selection from this Apocalypse.

Another Bodleian MS. (Rawl. Auct. G, 4), unnoticed by Tischendorf but mentioned by Mr. James, contains what may perhaps be the latest recension of this Apocalypse. The text in this MS. is not only, as the editor remarks, much shorter, but quite different from the one before us. For instance we get no help from the later MS. towards filling up the unimportant lacuna[1] at the end of § xvii. for the Greek is different,—*ἄνθρωπος κεκραμένος· καὶ θηρίον πτερωτὸν ἓ κεφαλάς...καὶ ἀπεκρίθη Μιχαὴλ καὶ εἶπεν, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἱερεὺς ὁ μὴ ποιῶν τὴν διάλυσιν τῆς ἀναγνώσεως κ.τ.λ.* I do not know how to construe the last words.

With respect to the three short fragments which conclude this selection Mr. James has suggested very reasonably that they may all perhaps be amplifications of the ordinary LXX. text. Even a slight acquaintance with cursive MSS. of the LXX. reveals the fact that such additions occur frequently.

In the supplement to the *Acta Philippi* there occurs one of the few known references to the talking cross which figures in the Gospel of Peter and very probably in the still earlier Ignatian Epistle to the Smyrnaeans (vid. *Academy*, Dec. 23rd, 1893). The whole section in the Acts where this incident occurs is full of interest; and I may mention that the expression *πολλαὶ φωναὶ ἤχησαν ἐν οὐρανοῖς τὸ ἀμήν* lends support to my suggestion in a former number of the *Classical Review* (vol. vii. p. 42) that the *τὸ ναί* of the Petrine Gospel is not an answer to a question but a response equivalent to *ἀμήν*. We have also in this section a voice from heaven as in the Gospel of Peter. Perhaps it is worth mentioning that a reference to a voice at the Crucifixion is found in the *Christus Patiens*, l. 2256 *sq.*

ἐκ δ' αἰθέρος φωνή τις, ὡς μὲν εἰκάσαι,
θεὸς πατὴρ ἤχησεν ἐν βοῇ ξένῃ.

The incidents of the voice and the talking cross and so forth must, one would think, have been borrowed originally from some very early Christian work of the apostolic or sub-apostolic age which may perhaps be yet recovered.

Mr. James has edited the frequently corrupt and mutilated text of these *Apocrypha* with great skill and has seldom given up a passage as hopeless. Can the very difficult *istic mel apex magnus* of the 'Oratio Moysi' conceal *iota vel apex manet unus?* This is the Old Latin rendering of 'jot or tittle.'

E. N. BENNETT.

[1] The contracted cursive scrawl on f. 346 of the older document which Mr. James was unable to decipher does not, as he surmised, furnish the missing words. It seems to contain a couple of silly iambic lines,—perhaps,

. . . πόθος οὖν τὸ γραφημ' ὧν μανθάνειν
νέας δ' ἀφορμὰς καὶ τροποὺς ἐγκαρδίας κ.τ.λ.

PELHAM'S HISTORY OF ROME.

Outlines of Roman History, by H. F. Pelham, M.A., F.S.A., Camden Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford. G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1893. 6*s*.

The story of the Romans has been told many times and in many ways. That imperial people worked their wisdom and their wickedness so thoroughly into civilization that the world seems likely never to see the day when one cannot lay the finger on some familiar thing and say 'this is Roman.' We talk of our modern science, of our new thinking in philosophy and religion, of the achievements of our nineteenth century democracy. But everywhere, in state and church and scholarly life, we are always under the shadow of Rome.

A new book, then, on this familiar theme we are inclined at once to challenge for its *raison d'être*. Is it the result of investigation which discloses new truth? Or does it embody a fresh and more striking way of putting old views? For after all unless one can say something new, or can say something old in a new way, there is hardly adequate excuse for giving another book to a book-burdened world.

Mr. Pelham's history is an octavo of nearly 600 pages, is a revised reprint of the article in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, and gives the outline of Roman politics to the fall of the Western Empire. It is not a picture book and is scantily supplied with maps. The author writes from a full mind, with ample command of the sources as well as of modern views. From the original purpose of the work it is perhaps fair to infer that it is not designed primarily as a school book, but is rather a concise treatise for the general reader. How far does it fulfil this end?

There is one form of historical writing to which of course it does not belong. The scholar who investigates a given field for purposes purely scientific cares little for the way in which his study is presented. He treats every point exhaustively, being guided as to the space he shall occupy only by the amount of evidence at hand, or by the amount of speculation to which the problem gives rise. His aim is simply to say all that can be said. Whether his *opus* requires one volume or ten, is matter of indifference. The demands of the subject are what control. The reader is quite of secondary importance.

Such an outline as we are discussing, however, exactly inverts these conditions. The results of scientific inquiry are assumed, and the reader's correct understanding of a given epoch is the predominant thought. There must usually be some regard to the limits of space, determined in general by the probable limits of the reader's time and patience. There must always be careful regard to the class of reader whom it is intended to instruct, as on this will depend the emphasis. If some special purpose is in view, as literature, war, society, that will be the main thing throughout, and others will be subordinated.

If, however, it is the ubiquitous and rather hazy individual known as the 'general reader' for whom the work is designed, the emphasis should be determined on a different principle—or rather principles, for there are two. The first is the consideration as to what are the most characteristic features—what it is that marks out a nation or an age and makes it worthy of being remembered by everybody. And in the second place we inquire what it is that has meant most to the world. For in this view the importance of any portion of history does not depend on duration, or on the number or variety of phenomena, but on the bearing of things on the welfare of mankind.

It is in accordance with these last considerations that Mr. Pelham's book should be judged. It is an 'outline,' designed, as an encyclopaedia article presumably should be, for a somewhat general reader. Has he, then brought out the salient facts? Has he given his picture adequate perspective? Literary perspective, we must remember, consists in leaving out things judiciously. And for this purpose it must be confessed that a scholar is at some disadvantage. He knows so many things that it often is quite painful to him to pass any of them over.

May we not say that Rome means to the world mainly two things?

The first of these is law and government. The people of Rome built up, slowly and painfully enough to be sure, a scheme of government which stood the shock of many centuries, and which in the end controlled the civilized world and gave it political

shape. Many parts of the Roman system seem to us very poor political science. But perhaps our criticism may have more weight after our own institutions have endured as many centuries as did those of Rome.

But the body of law which the Roman state and the Roman jurists created was not only a marvel in its cogent application of logic and justice to human intercourse under the conditions prevailing at Rome. It was also so universal in its conceptions, so elemental in its analysis of human motive, so clear in its application of reason to fact, that it has lived on long after the Roman state has vanished. It is the essence of the juristic science of the continent of Europe, and of the canon law throughout the world. And through the church it has not been without influence on the common law of England itself.

Virgil realized what his people were doing in the world:

'Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento;
Hae tibi erunt artes, pacisque imponere morem,
Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.'

But government and law are a means, not an end. They are mere machines, devised to produce certain results. And the character of Roman political and legal institutions was strictly determined by the composition and aims of Roman society. Every line of the Roman constitution was the crystallization of some social struggle. Every judicial maxim implied strife which had been stilled. And to understand the institutions of Rome and the process by which they were created, one must understand the Romans. The social classes, how they lived, what they wanted, what they enjoyed and suffered, their fierce faction fights,—all these are vital to a real comprehension of the meaning of Roman political results.

Too often we err in conceiving these Romans as materially different from modern Teutonic men. We must not judge by the Italians of our day—a mixed race, not so much welded as crushed by the oppressions of a thousand years. The old Romans were in many ways like the modern English. They were hard-headed merchants and acute lawyers. They were keen, shrewd, civilized men, using adroitly the means at hand. They were, in short, much what modern Englishmen would be without the printing press, steam and the telegraph wire.

Of these two conceptions which seem fundamental to Rome, and of which Roman history should be the unfolding and the illumination, Mr. Pelham has been especially happy in dealing with the first.

To begin with, his distribution of space shows sound historical judgment. About three-fifths of the book are devoted to the time from the Gracchi to Nero, a period of some 200 years. It was in those centuries that the republic culminated and the empire rose. By the end of that time the legal system was virtually complete. The great work of Justinian's jurists was of course not to create law, but merely to codify the *corpus iuris* already existing. The transfer of the capital and the transformation of religion effected by Constantine were mere surface changes. The imperial structure was not altered, and Christianity was more Christian before it became the official cult. The orientalization of the empire due to Diocletian left still the virile Roman body of the state, simply substituting for the toga the gorgeous silks of the east. And though Mr. Pelham ends his volume before any of these events, he is able to present the essence of Roman law and politics.

He traces the development of the constitution very logically. But perhaps for the general reader somewhat too much general knowledge is assumed. We can hardly say that he gives us a photograph of the Romans from life. And here it seems that he rather falls below his otherwise high standard. His treatment of what has been called the second of the two fundamental conceptions of Rome is not quite adequate.

After all, constitutional growth is important not so much for the mere change in mechanism as for what is done with it. Democracy, for instance, aims at power in order to make life better worth having. And for real understanding of the people one must know more than mere politics. Mr. Pelham hardly attempts to give even a reduced photograph of the living human beings whose political strife he so vividly depicts.

One ventures such suggestions with diffidence. In the narrow limits of 600 pages it is not easy to cover all the vast field of Roman life and history. And yet the course of politics is sketched with so masterly a hand that one cannot avoid the question whether perhaps the people too might not have been drawn. In other words, might not a brief history of Roman politics be at the same time a brief history of the Roman people?

If one is somewhat familiar with the Romans, Mr. Pelham's book will be found

very delightful. It has perhaps a trifle of the encyclopaedia hardness of literary quality. A liquid style doubtless cannot be expected in a dictionary. And yet, bearing in mind that rather dreary purpose with which the work was originally written, it is surprisingly easy. And, as a clear presentation in short compass of the evolution of Roman politics, it is quite unique in its field.

H. P. JUDSON.

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PETERSON'S DIALOGUS OF TACITUS.

Cornelii Taciti Dialogus de Oratoribus, a Revised Text with Introductory Essays and Critical and Explanatory Notes, by W. PETERSON, M.A., LL.D., formerly scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, Principal of University College, Dundee, St. Andrew's University. Oxford at the Clarendon Press. 1893. 10*s.* 6*d.*

ALL Latin scholars, especially those who are students of Tacitus, will feel deeply grateful to Dr. Peterson for having followed up his well-known edition of Quintilian Book x. by one of a treatise so nearly related to it, and hitherto so conspicuously neglected by English scholars generally: and their gratitude will be the more complete by reason of the thorough and exhaustive manner in which all the questions relating to the Dialogue have been treated.

The Introduction, in ninety-one pages, embraces the following subjects: i. The question of authorship and date; ii. Substance and scheme of the Dialogue; iii. The interlocutors and their parts; iv. Style and language; v. Manuscripts; vi. Bibliography.

The first head deals with one of the most vexed questions of literary criticism, on which Dr. Peterson has given us a full narrative of the controversy and a critical judgment grounded on it. It has been generally seen that the question of date closely affects that of authorship; for the *Germania* and *Agricola* were written at the beginning of Trajan's rule, and the difference of style between them and the Dialogue is too great to be accounted for by mere difference of subject, unless we also suppose them to be separated from it by a considerable interval of time; and those who, like Andresen, treat this work as written in the time of Nerva, would consider its Tacitean authorship at least extremely questionable.

Again, it is generally assumed that the sentiments are too outspoken to have been published at any time under Domitian. On the other hand, the date at which the Dialogue purports to have taken place has been generally fixed, on data furnished by c. 17, somewhere from A.D. 75–78, at which date Tacitus calls himself 'iuvenis admodum,' an expression which he would hardly use if he were writing as soon afterwards as the time of Titus. Dr. Peterson's conclusions on these points will very generally commend themselves. Inasmuch as the 120th year from the death of Cicero cannot be made to square with the sixth year of Vespasian, he prefers to take the latter as the most definite date, and to assume the Dialogue as held in A.D. 74, at which time Tacitus was probably about twenty years old. Nor does he consider it impossible that the treatise should have been written and perhaps even published under Domitian. That prince had his good period, like Nero,[1] and there is no difficulty in supposing literature to have been fairly free at such a date as A.D. 84–85, by which time Tacitus, who had meanwhile filled two magistracies and had become a senator, might well look back on himself as having been 'iuvenis admodum' some ten years previously. With this chronological arrangement most of the difficulties disappear, and full space is left between the Dialogue and the *Germania* and *Agricola* for such development of his peculiar style as Wölfflin, Dräger and others trace continuously throughout all his writings. The fact that there is more difference of style between the Dialogue and the *Germania* or *Agricola* than between either of them and even the *Annals*, may well have been due to the difference of subject, and to the obvious desire of the writer to advocate by precept and example a nearer approach to the Ciceronian model than the prevalent fashion of his age prescribed. Making this allowance, we may admit that Dr. Peterson has shown by very careful study a great many points of contact between the Latinity of this treatise and that of the Silver Age generally and of the

[1] See Suet. *Dom.* 9.

later writings of Tacitus in particular[1] which have not had the attention which they deserve: and his reasoning in favour of the Tacitean authorship of the treatise will add much weight to the conclusion which the majority of recent scholars have already reached.

The scheme or plan of the treatise has been almost as much discussed as its authorship. It is hardly possible here to draw attention to more than one or two points in the editor's extremely thorough treatment of this subject. He holds that the reason of the decay of oratory is the chief topic of discussion, and that the apparently disproportionate proportion of the treatise as a whole which is given to this, its proper subject, is to be explained by the mutilated condition of the work, and the great lacuna,[2] which has deprived us of the close of the argument of Messala, and of apparently one-ninth of the whole treatise, and has caused much difficulty in apportioning the remainder. Dr. Peterson argues that there is no second lacuna in c. 40, that Maternus is the speaker throughout chapters 36–41, and that he is intended to be the principal person in the treatise and the representative of the author's own opinions.[3] It is also argued that he has been wrongly identified with the σοφιστής of that name, mentioned by Dio as put to death by Domitian in A.D. 91, and may probably have died before the date of the composition of the treatise. The Maternus of this treatise certainly could not rightly be so described; but it is perhaps easier to suppose that Dio is inaccurate than that two literary men of the same note and similarly free-spoken were flourishing at the same time. This however is an open question.

Another point to be noticed in the Introduction is the extremely full examination of the manuscripts of this treatise. Dr. Peterson starts from the labours of Michaelis, Baehrens, and Scheuer, with especial recognition of the advance of the last upon his predecessors,[4] but has himself carefully gone over the whole ground again with the additional examination of a manuscript in the British Museum ('Harleianus'), hitherto neglected but of considerable interest; and has thus given us a superior critical edition of the text to any which has hitherto appeared.

A very full bibliography of the literature of the treatise completes the Introduction.

The notes, which are very scholarlike and complete, cannot here be adequately discussed; but a few words may be said of some of the instances in which Dr. Peterson has himself originated emendations of the text.

(1) In c. 3, 9, 'intelleges tu quidem quid' certainly gives a better sense and construction to the passage than Halm's 'leges inquit quid,' and is far less violent than the suggestions of Nipperdey or Bährens.

(2) In c. 3, 22, the alteration of 'adgregares' (which could only stand with a somewhat violent insertion of 'ut') to 'adgregando' is well supported by analogies as a probable resolution of a misunderstood abbreviation.

(3) In c. 5, 12, the insertion of 'contigit' is more questionable, and at least requires more explicit demonstration of the way in which it might be supposed to have dropped out.

(4) In c. 5, 13, 'hos' as a correction of 'eos' is perhaps simpler than, and preferable to, the usual 'vos.'

(5) In c. 21, 4, 'alii omnes' is very possibly the right version of what has become 'alios' by a misread abbreviation.

(6) In c. 22, 21, 'insolentia' is better coupled with 'oblitterata than is the MS. 'olentia,' and the word is supported by Cic., Quint. and Gell.

(7) In c. 25, 8, 'in quae nimirum' for 'si cominus' (or 'quominus') is extremely bold and needs more defence in the note. The MS. text is plainly corrupt, but no emendation seems as yet to deserve to win its way into the text.

(8) In c. 26, 12, 'facetis hominibus' for 'sicut his clam et' seems again too conjectural to be admissible into the text, however legitimate for suggestion in a note.

(9) In c. 27, 7, 'nec nunc' for the MS. 'nam nec' or 'nam et' may fairly stand on equal ground with the other emendations, though none can be altogether approved.

(10) In c. 32, 15, the insertion of 'huius' after 'ius' strongly commends itself. The homoeoteleuton is one which a writer might well have tolerated, and on which a copyist might very easily blunder.

(11) In c. 37, 37, the reading 'vellicent'

[1] See pp. xlvii. foll.; liv. foll.

[2] See c. 35.

[3] Dr. Peterson might perhaps with advantage have dwelt more on the evident touches of satire in the representation of the style of Aper, especially the pedantic subtlety by which he endeavours to show that the great Greek orators are moderns and Cicero one of the present generation. He almost reminds us in some points of the Thrasymachus of the *Republic*; and the question 'who is an ancient?' carries us back to Hor. *Ep.* 2, 1, 35.

[4] A review of Scheuer's treatise, by Dr. Gudeman, will be found in *C.R.* vi. 316, foll.

for 'velint' rests on a possible supposition of misunderstood contraction, and the word has in other authors the meaning here given to it, but the sentence so read seems on the whole somewhat weak and pointless.

(12) In c. 39, 12, the insertion of 'audiendis' derives some support from a blank space left in one MS. which seems generally to have been overlooked, and, with the slight change 'patronis' for 'patronus,' gives good sense.

As a sample of good discussion of a difficult point, attention may be drawn to the notes on the chronological difficulty in c. 17. It might perhaps be worth while to compare the slighter but somewhat similar difficulty of dates in *Germ.* 37, where 'sescentesimum et quadragesimum,' which does not look like a round number, is either to be so taken or as an inaccuracy for A.U.C. 641, and 'ducenti ferme' has to stand for 210 years. If we add the slight errors of reckoning in Ann. 3, 31, 1; 12, 25, 3; 14, 64, 1 (which it is difficult to take as all due to copyists), it would seem to show some tendency in the author to chronological inaccuracy.

As a small point to alter in another edition, Draeger has been wrongly followed in giving 'proeliator' as a new word (see the reference in the note on c. 37, 32). Also it does not seem quite clear on what principle Dr. Peterson uses italics in the emendations of text, and it might be better to restrict them uniformly to cases in which words supposed to have dropped out are inserted.

It is much to be hoped that this treatise, evidently (to judge from the number of recent editions) not unpopular in Germany, may be henceforth rescued from its most undeserved neglect in England. An abridged edition for schools would be needful to effect this object, and would probably cost Dr. Peterson little trouble in preparation.

H. FURNEAUX.

LINDSAY ON THE SATURNIAN METRE.

W. M. LINDSAY, *on the Saturnian Metre* (*American Journal of Philology*, Vol xiv. No. 2).

MR. LINDSAY has grappled with a thorny subject in undertaking to determine the real nature of the Saturnian metre. The extant specimens are derived almost wholly from citations by the grammarians, not uncommonly open to the suspicion of being corrupt, or from inscriptions, in which a certain amount of illiteracy on the part of the inscribers is at times a disturbing element. The theoretical explanations of the grammarians are shaped by their incapacity to look at any metrical question except through Greek spectacles. Hence it is little wonder that of the two most recent treatises on the Saturnian metre (both published in 1892) one emphatically pronounces it quantitative, while the other assumes it to be accentual. M. Havet, the author of the most elaborate and (as far as collection of materials goes) valuable work on the question (Paris, 1880), declares that no poet before Commodianus (*circ.* A.D. 250) ever attributed the slightest importance to accentuation; and now again Mr. Lindsay finds accentuation to be the prime determining principle. There is obviously room for a fresh examination of the whole question on sound scientific methods; and this is what Mr. Lindsay has given us. Whatever other results his inquiry may have had, it is certainly a fine specimen of the way in which such an inquiry ought to be conducted.

It is clear that we have abundant evidence of the quantity of words as used in the comic dramatists; and the whole burden of proof lies upon those who would assert that this was not the quantity which was observed in Saturnians. Forms like *Lucīom*, *itāque* have no intrinsic probability, and must be established by strong evidence before we can accept them. On the other hand there is so much evidence that the ordinary accentuation of a Latin sentence was observed by Plautus and Terence, that there is a strong presumption in favour of its holding good also in Saturnians. We shall therefore naturally start with reading Saturnians according to the current rules for quantity and accent, until we are forced to do otherwise.

Mr. Lindsay begins his inquiry by reprinting all extant Saturnian verses. As the number does not reach 150, this does not take up much space, and it is very convenient, not only for reference, but also

as admitting of discussions on the text, where necessary, without interrupting the thread of the argument elsewhere. Then he proceeds to consider whether there is any evidence in Plautus or Terence for quantities forced upon those who suppose the Saturnian metre to be based upon quantity: *e.g.* if we are to start with ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – –, we assume *ā* in the nominative *quoius forma virtutei parisuma fuit.* But of this there is no satisfactory proof. Passing on to the question of accent, he shows by a large collection of instances that Plautus and Terence distributed the metrical ictus with due regard not only to the usual law of the penultima, but also to the modification of this produced by 'word-groups,' as in *voluptás-mea coctúm-dabo* and the like; and confirms his conclusions by some interesting phenomena of the Romance languages. Then on the firm basis thus won he tests the rival theories of accentual and quantitative scansion, and finds the latter directly clashing with the facts observed in the only trustworthy specimens that we have of early Latin poetical literature. The only possible device for getting over some of these difficulties—to assume that the metre might be trochaic or iambic at discretion, a tolerably audacious suggestion—involves a metrical accentuation like *inclútus,* which is always avoided by the dramatists. The conclusions to which Mr. Lindsay comes are so far the same as those of Thurneysen in his book *Der Saturnier* (1885), *i.e.* that the lines are scanned according to accent, without regard to quantity, the first half having three accents, the first of which always falls on the first syllable of the line, the second having two accents; and his service consists in having removed more completely certain difficulties by means of a more thorough investigation of the accentuation of certain word-groups, and especially of the conditions under which a secondary accent was allowed to count. (By the way, is Mr. Lindsay right in saying that the first syllable of 'fortnightly' has a secondary accent, and the second the main accent? I fancy that with the usual tendency in English to regressive accentuation most people would lay the main accent on the first syllable, not on the second. It seems to me a parallel rather to 'hóuseholder' than to 'Entsagung,' or 'unfolding.')

In his second paper he contends however that this rule is not sufficient, and proposes to add a further limitation. Whether the restriction held good or not, must be decided by the facts: the reason which he gives for it is not cogent. If Thurneysen's rule is accepted, what would prevent, he says, a large number of sentences in Cicero's speeches from possessing Saturnian metre? This supposition he regards as so awful as to need a double mark of exclamation to express his horror at it. But why should not they possess it? We know, of course, that Cicero carefully avoided allowing his rhythm to pass into metre, in spite of which metrical bits are not very uncommon (cp. Reid on *Acad.* ii. 117). But the metre which he avoided was quantitative, not accentual. We have no reason to suppose that he was so conscious of the nature of the Saturnian rhythm as to deliberately avoid it. And how easily a rhythmical succession of accents presents itself unsought is evident from the well-known fact that sentence after sentence—I had almost written page after page—in a writer like Dickens falls into blank verse:—a phenomenon only too familiar to those who have to read many translations of Greek or Latin poets into English prose. Still this is no reason against, even if it is not decisive for, a further restriction of the schemes of Saturnian versification. Mr. Lindsay adds two more conditions: (1) the normal number of syllables is seven in the first hemistich, six in the second: (2) after the first two feet of the lines, a regular alternation of accentual rhythm is sought, so that a 'rising' accent is followed by a 'falling' and *vice versa.* The first is of course subject to the usual licence of resolution, though within well-defined limits. Hence he arrives at the normal types:—

(A) *Dábunt málum Metélli* || *Naévio poétae.*
(B) *Hónc oíno ploírume* || *coséntiont Római.*

In the rare cases of five syllables instead of six in the second hemistich, this licence seems to be due to a desire to secure the alternation of accentual rhythm: e.g. *fuísse vírum.* Other irregularities may have been caused by a wish to introduce alliteration or rhyme.

There is no doubt that on this system the great majority of Saturnian lines can be scanned quite satisfactorily; but a few difficulties remain for further elucidation. There seems to be no clear rule as to the treatment of secondary accents. Words like *prìmárium, còllégium, Taùrásia* are allowed to have two accents, each counting in the scansion; others like *conséntiunt, saipíssume,* and even *imperatóribus* (in a very illiterate inscription, it is true), have but one. The reason is not obvious. Then

again some of the 'word-groups' are natural enough in themselves (Mr. Lindsay well compares *fórtis-vir* with *gentleman*), or are established by the usage of Plautus or the express testimony of the grammarians. But of others Mr. Lindsay can only say that they are 'strange.' If we can take *Ulixí cor* or *mare mágnum* as a word-group carrying but one accent, it is hard to see what limits can be set to this licence.

It is not possible to lay much stress on the Saturnian lines which may perhaps be embedded in some passages of Livy. With all the ingenuity of M. Havet and Mr. Lindsay we cannot feel confidence in a method which after conjectural transpositions gives us such a foot as '*tům tŭ aŭdax.*' Mr. Lindsay rightly admits that most of these lines lack the true ring of Saturnians. In his suggestions as to the origin of the Saturnian verse and its possible relations to primitive metres in the languages, Mr. Lindsay is on still more slippery ground. We have at last arrived at an explanation of the metre on the basis of the accentual system in use when extant specimens were produced. But we know that there was an earlier system, not bound by the law of the penultima, which does not furnish a satisfactory explanation of Saturnians as we have them. It seems undue caution for Mr. Lindsay to say that it is equally impossible to affirm or deny with certainty the hypothesis that quantity alone supplied the rhythm to the earlier Saturnians. I should have thought that this hypothesis was one which could have been discarded with as much certainty as is ever possible in speaking about things of which no specimen is in existence. If anything is clear about the history of Italic metre it is (more than ever after the publication of Mr. Lindsay's papers) that accentuation furnished its earliest basis, that metres regulated by quantity came in through Greek influence and thrust the native metres into the background, and that ultimately the principle of accentuation gained the upper hand again, modifying even the quantitative metres and determining entirely the form of those of popular origin. To assume that quantity may have been in primitive Italic times the regulating force seems to me to ignore the course of history. There is much that is attractive in Mr. Lindsay's suggestion as to the possible course of development of the Saturnian; but it does not explain how what he calls the B type, which according to him represents the earlier form ($x'x$, $x'x$, $x'xx$), is so much less common than the A type ($x'x$, $x'x$, $xx'x$). It is hardly sufficient to say that the former was disliked, because it maintained the falling accentuation throughout the hemistich. Why was this natural rhythm disliked? But the suggestion is put forward merely tentatively, and Mr. Lindsay recognises the need of fuller information from specialists as to the primitive metres of various Indo-European nations, before any trustworthy conclusions can be drawn. It is perhaps worth while putting in a plea for refraining from premature identification. In view of the range of possibilities offered by metre, it is certainly rash to assume that all varieties must have had a common source, although it is highly interesting to establish this wherever it is possible.

An apology is due to the readers of the *Classical Review* for offering what is rather a summary than a criticism of papers so easily accessible, and confined within the modest limits of some sixty pages, so that they make no heavy demands upon the students interested in the subject. My excuse is, in the first place, the request of the editor; in the second, my own sense of the high value of Mr. Lindsay's methods and results.

A. S. Wilkins.

NEUMANN ON EUSTATHIOS.

Eustathios als kritische Quelle für den Iliastext; mit einem Verzeichnis der Lesarten des Eustathios. Von Max Neumann. Teubner: Leipzig. 1893. Mk. 5.

The materials for a critical edition of the *Iliad* are slowly, very slowly, accumulating; the present work is a useful, but not a vital addition to them. It is certain that any editor would require such a fresh survey of the critical remarks embodied in the παρεκβολαί, as La Roche's citations in his apparatus criticus are notoriously inexact and incomplete. Needless to say that I have not attempted to check the new collections of the various readings of

Eustathios now given by Neumann; but a rough examination convinces me that it is far more complete and trustworthy than any we yet have. It is not perfect; at least I should have expected to find in it an intimation that Eustathios may fairly be quoted as an authority for νῶι instead of νῶιν in Π 99. But I do not think that there can be many omissions on important points, to judge from an imperfect list of Eustathian readings which I once made out for another purpose.

Neumann does not come to any conclusions which would raise our opinion of the critical value of Eustathios. He shows that the sources from which the good bishop drew are mostly accessible to us: the collection of Apion and Herodoros in the scholia A, and another compilation, containing a great deal of Porphyrios, in the scholia B, T, etc. And where we can control the use which Eustathios made of his authorities, we have no reason to rate his acumen very high. Still he had certain sources of information which are unknown to us, so we cannot afford entirely to neglect him. It must be added however that when we have a fuller knowledge of the MSS. these unknown sources will be considerably diminished. I may give as an instance the reading κυνόμυια for κυνάμυια in Φ 394. This is at present quoted from Eustathios only; but in the MSS. which I have personally examined it is a rather commoner reading than κυνάμυια, and Eustathios' source is merely the vulgate. As for the MS. which Eustathios used, Neumann concludes that it was a copy of the vulgate nearly allied to L. But it must be observed that Eustathios very rarely gives any of the really important peculiar readings of L. It seems to me clear that he really did compare several MSS. of the vulgate, and give a selection of readings from them; at least the number of variants that he gives is far larger than, judging from MSS. which we possess, were ever given as marginal variants in any single copy. On the whole, the final conclusion which I should draw from this essay is that, though it is a piece of work which had to be done, and has been done well, it cannot lead to any improvement of the text of the *Iliad* at all comparable to what may yet be gained from a more complete collation of the MSS.

WALTER LEAF.

LOOFS ON THE *SACRA PARALLELA*.

LOOFS, DR. FRIEDRICH: *Studien über die dem Johannes von Damascus zugeschriebenen Parallelen.* (Halle, Niemeyer, 1892. Pp. x. 146.—5 Mk.)

THIS masterly investigation of a most intricate critical problem fulfils in part the promise which accompanied the writer's volume on Leontius of Byzantium (*Classical Review*, 1888, p. 73). It bring us within measurable distance of that reconstruction of the original form of the ἱερά, or so-called 'sacra parallela,' which shall make them safely available for the criticism of the numerous authors on whom they draw.

The whole credit of this result is due to Dr. Loofs, although Bishop Lightfoot as early as 1885 had divined in part the direction from which light would come (*Ignat.* i. 210). But on the whole, Dr. Loofs found the problem of the 'Parallels' much as it was left by Le Quien, over 500 of whose folio pages (Joh. Damasc. *Opp.* vol. ii.) are occupied by their *rudis indigestaque moles.*

They consist of extracts from the fathers, and some from Philo and Josephus, grouped under titles, which again are arranged alphabetically. The whole is preceded by a full πίναξ, with abundant παραπομπαί (cross references) at the end of each letter. There are also two prefaces. From the second or longer, which is clearly the preface of the whole, we learn that the author called his collection τὰ ἱερά simply ('sacra parallela' was a compromise adopted by Le Quien in deference to the traditional title 'Parallela'); also that the whole was disposed in three separate alphabetically arranged books, the first containing the topics relating to God, the second those relating to man, the third virtues and their opposed vices. That the author himself 'telescoped' the three books into one is a mistake, due to Billius, the first editor, which no one seems to have detected before Dr. Loofs. The shorter preface turns out to be the original preface to the 'parallela' proper, *i.e.* to the third book, in which virtues

and vices were arranged in 'parallels' or pairs.

The MSS. of these ἱερά are at first sight a chaos of disorder, and Dr. Loofs compares his work to that of exploring a virgin forest. That he has left some work for future explorers is a matter of course; but he has defined the fundamental features of the country, and those who meet with a new manuscript will, with this volume at their side, be able to make the best use of their time. In fact the reconstruction of the ἱερά in their original form is a task which, in its main outline, Dr. Loofs has accomplished.

Intricate questions remain, such as the mutual relation of the materials for Book II., the order of Book III., &c., but we now know what lies behind the labyrinth of 'Parallela' MSS.

These MSS. represent not merely textual variations, but different recensions, of their common ancestor. Dr. Loofs' first step is to show that we have an independent tradition of Book II. in the MS. *Vat.* 1553 (published in part in Mai, *Script. Vett. Nova Coll.* vii.) and of Book I. in *Coisl.* 276. Comparing the 'titles' in these collections of excerpts with those in the 'Parallela' MSS., he leaves no doubt on this point.

Books I. and II. are then discussed separately and with minute critical skill. The general result is that omission, not addition, has played the leading part as a factor in the divergence of tradition. Yet we can very nearly reconstruct Book I. both in materials and in arrangement.

The same is approximately true of Book II., though the evidence is hardly as satisfactory as in the case of Book I. To arrive at what seems to be the true result, we have to subordinate ordinary genealogical rules to internal considerations more strongly than is agreeable. The omissions in the 'Parallela' MSS. of many citations preserved in *Vat.* 1553 are only explained by somewhat alarmingly free drafts upon the bank of Accident. That the MSS. in question may have been copied from two originals is a suggestion to which Dr. Loofs seems open (pp. 95, 104). Anyhow this is one of the points where fresh material will doubtless let in more light.

The reconstruction of the third book by eliminating from the 'Parallela' tradition all that has been assigned to Books I. and II., and that does not fit in with the known character of the book, is an obvious method, but exposed if used prematurely to equally obvious pitfalls. Dr. Loofs takes the safer line of first collecting the references to Book III. from the παραπομπαί in I. and II. Next he combines this result with the passages apparently taken from Book III. by Antonius 'Melissa,' and with the two leading recensions of the 'Parallela.' Where the παραπομπαί tally with either of the latter in combination with Antonius, the result is of course certain. This gives us sixty-five 'Parallels' and only about four really unverifiable παραπομπαί. The independence of the witnesses shows that we have arrived, within a few 'tituli,' at the full original contents of Book III. The question of the original arrangement of this book is beset with difficulties; all that need be said is that Dr. Loofs' provisional summing up is the best working hypothesis at present available.

The three books, so strangely separated on the one hand, and fused apparently by independent hands on the other, in course of transmission, are not earlier than about 518, when the Areopagite, whom they frequently quote, first begins to be used as an authority. The *terminus ad quem* is the year 627, if the Scholia referring to the loss of the Holy Cross really refer to the capture of Jerusalem by the Persians in the reign of Heraclius.

But Dr. Loofs gives reasons for putting the ἱερά (apart from the question of these Scholia) a century earlier. The first book is ascribed to 'the presbyter John,' the second to 'Leontius the presbyter and John'; and Dr. Loofs gives almost conclusive grounds for identifying the Leontius in question with the subject of his former monograph. The latter work in fact owed its origin to Dr. Loofs' first investigations of the 'Parallela' question, to which we accordingly owe a most important clearing up of the history of the Monophysite controversy, and a surprising illumination of many important problems in patristic study and the history of dogma. Loofs has 'rediscovered' Leontius, and has (along with Caspari) enabled Dräseke to rediscover Apollinarius. 'Rediscovery' is, in our age, apt to overshoot the mark, but the sobriety and scholarly acumen which characterize all that Loofs has written stamp his results with the signature of reality.

The origin of the ἱερά is localized at the monastery of S. Saba, where they possibly underwent partial revision: the tradition which associates the name of John Damascen with the 'Parallela' in their later form may therefore have some foundation.

The 'Origenism' of Leontius brought his name into disrepute after the 5th general

council, to the main result of which he had yet so largely contributed. John Damascen was content to profit largely by his labours without mentioning his name. To Dr. Loofs the most learned theologian of the age of Justinian owes the tardy reversal of the injustice of posterity. The ἱερά were probably a joint work (p. 106), but the master-mind was surely that of Leontius.

As a small sample of the results to be hoped for from a restoration of the ἱερά, it may be mentioned that the fragments assigned to Amphilochius (No. iv. and xvii. Combef.) in some recensions of the ἱερά were originally quoted from Epiphanius, who is therefore their traditional owner; also that the citations from Philo and Josephus prove to be part of the original ἱερά. But the classical quotations (alluded to in *Dict. Chr. Biog.* iii. 418) were never part of the 'Parallela' at all, being only found in a Medicean MSS. (Loofs, p. 5) containing portions of a 'sacro-profane' florilegium drawn only in part from the 'sacra parallela.'

I may add that the citation from Athanasius which has puzzled Dr. Loofs (p. 77) will be found by him in Migne *P.G.* xxv. p. 420 C, D. That the *de Decretis* (*circa* 355) was addressed to Maximus the Philosopher, a known correspondent of Athanasius, is an interesting hint, which possibly finds some faint support from a comparison of the opening sections of the treatise and §§ 1, 5 of the letter to Maximus.

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NORDMEYER ON THE PLAY *OCTAVIA*.

De Octaviae Fabula, scripsit Gustavus Nordmeyer. Commentatio ex supplemento xix. annalium philologicorum seorsum expressa: pp. 257-317. Lipsiae, Teubner, 1892. 2 Mk.

The treatment of the subject is divided into six chapters as follows:—i. De rerum scriptoribus qui Octaviae vitam narrant (pp. 257-63), ii. De ratione inter fabulam et Tacitum intercedente (pp. 263-75), iii. De fabulae fontibus historicis (pp. 275-83), iv. De tragoediae Romanae in primis Annaeanae historia (pp. 283-9), v. De hominum domus Augustae appellationibus quibus poeta utitur (pp. 289-309), vi. Octavia Domitiano imperatore conscripta (pp. 310-15).

The object of the article is to determine the time when the *Octavia* was written and the author finally settles on the early part of Domitian's reign, viz., between 81 and 92 A.D.—the opinion now in general accepted. Nordmeyer has produced a very excellent example of the modern historical method, and although he has brought forward little that is new, he has succeeded in gathering together in a very satisfactory way all the testimony that bears on his subject and presenting it in a logical, systematic manner.

Chapter i. considers briefly the various authors by whom the story of Octavia, the ill-fated wife of Nero, is related, viz., Josephus, Tacitus, and Suetonius. The missing portions in the account of Dio Cassius may to a great extent be supplied from later extracts and epitomes of his history, the mutual relation and interdependence of which is discussed.

In chapters ii.-iii. the historical sources of the play are considered. A comparison of Tacitus' account with the historical basis of the play leads to the conclusion that the *Octavia* was not drawn from Tacitus and probably was written before his account was published (p. 275); further, that Tacitus and the author of the *Octavia* probably drew from a common source—Cluvius Rufus.

In chapters iii.-iv. the literary sources of the play are discussed—verbal resemblances to Seneca, Lucan, Velleius and Florus are pointed out, and the general dependence of the play upon its models, especially Seneca, is noted. The author belonged to the 'Ovidian' rather than to the 'Vergilian' school.

Chapter v. is in great part taken up with disproving the statement of Suetonius (*Claud.* 45) that Claudius was deprived of divine honours by Nero, although 'divus' ceased to be applied to him after the beginning of the second century. From the fact that Claudius is always (four times) mentioned as 'divus' in the *Octavia* it may be inferred that the play was written during the first century.

Chapter vi. concludes the argument by a more exact definition of the time.

The criticism of W. Gemoll (*Wschft. f.*

kl. Phil. Feb. 1, 1893, 125) of Nordmeyer's statement about the thoroughly Roman spirit that pervades the play is hardly fair in the light of the footnote on page 314, where the attributing of the fasces to a tribune of the plebs (v. 907 P and R) is discussed at length. It may be a trifle rash to regard as evidence of 'absolute ignorance of Roman customs' what Bücheler is willing to accept as testimony for the tribunes having the fasces at the time the play was written, even though this is denied by Mommsen and others.

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LEHMANN'S LETTERS OF CICERO TO ATTICUS.

De Ciceronis ad Atticum epistulis recensendis et emendandis, scripsit C. A. LEHMANN. Berolini apud Weidmannos, MDCCCLXXXXII. 6 Mk.

As regards the criticism of the *Epistles to Atticus*, the main question at present is whether the Medicean MS. is to be regarded as the chief basis of any reconstruction of the text; or whether there are not other manuscripts of at least co-ordinate value.

The criticism of the *Epistles to Atticus* is a most difficult subject. The principal reason is that many of the fifteenth century manuscripts have suffered from serious interpolations. Of that there can be no doubt whatever; and Lehmann (p. 152) gives many obvious examples, *e.g.* in xv. 4, 2 *Bruto <intellexisse* (or *intellegere*) *dicis> scribis <ipsum optare> ut*, the words in brackets, which are plainly interpolations, are not found in the Med. (M) or the Turin MSS. but appear in two Paris MSS. (one bearing date 1419). This would lead us to the just conclusion that, where we find additions to what appears in a manuscript of such recognized merit as M, we must be slow to receive them unless the manuscript in which they appear can be shown to be older than 1392, the date of the Medicean. That the Ambrosian Excerpts are older than that date Lehmann (p. 135 note, cp. 20) considers will be evident to any one who inspects that codex.

But it must be remembered that all additions are not of the same character as the example given above. In it there is no reason why the words should have fallen out, and there is every reason why the addition should have been made by an intelligent copyist; for the words which Cicero wrote are strongly elliptical, but not impossible in epistolary language.

Not so plainly interpolations are such additions as xiii. 45, 3 *equidem si ex omnibus esset eligendum nec diligentiorem nec officiosiorem <nec mehercule nostri studiosiorem> facile delegissem Vestorio.* These words in brackets appear not only in some of the Italian MSS. but also in Cratander's marginal notes, which are certainly in a considerable measure taken from a German manuscript. There is no reason for their addition and there is every reason why they may have fallen out. Bosius too (valeat quantum) attests their appearance in his manuscripts.

It is well nigh impossible to *prove* conclusively that any such words, which are not found in M, cannot have been interpolations; but still in many cases it is certainly more probable that the suspected words are really genuine, and that M is not the source of the manuscripts in which they appear. Thus in the following, the words (in Roman type) which are either necessary or very helpful to the proper understanding of the passage may have been omitted in M ex homoeoteleuto—ix. 15, 4 *ad te* ante: xii. 12, 1 *Insula Arpinas habere potest germanam ἀποθέωσιν*, sed vereor ne minorem *τιμὴν habere videatur ἐκτοπισμός* (the copyist went on at the wrong, to him unintelligible, Greek word): xiii. 3, 1 *negotium meum gererem* nihil gererem *nisi consilio tuo;* xiii. 20, 2 *non desinam.* Ad Ligarianam *de uxore.* Again the following readings found in other MSS. cannot possibly be due to a copy of M corrected from another manuscript: v. 15, 1 *quippe ius* appears as *quippetus* in a certain class of manuscripts which Lehmann calls Σ, and as *quippe et iis* in M. No corrector would alter Latin words to non-Latin words. In ix. 10, 3 for *si vel periculose,* Σ gives *sive periculose,* M *sive periculo.* It is difficult to believe that Σ was due to a corrector who remembered x. 1, 4 *vel periculose*; for if so, why would he not have changed *sive* to *si vel?* In x. 4, 5 *nunquam nisi pie cogitasse,* for *nisi*

pie, M (first hand) has *infidie*, M (corrected) *infide*, Σ *nisi die* (the intervening stage may be seen in the Burn MS. 146 *insidie*): it is incredible that Σ would have altered a possible to an impossible reading. In xv. 3, 1 *accepi in Atinati* (or *Arpinati*) *duas epistulas tuas*, M omits *in Atinati* (or *Arpinati*), Σ has *accepi nati*. This last is a most striking example.

Having thus found several manuscripts both in Italy and France which, on careful examination, would appear to be independent of M, Lehmann, in his valuable work, has given an elaborate account of these manuscripts, and a thorough discussion of the principles which should guide any future reconstruction of the text. It would not be possible to point out in detail the vast wealth of learning and anxious and laborious care with which Lehmann traces the connexion of these various codices and assigns to them their relative positions and value. Often no doubt he adduces arguments which, if they stood alone, would seem of little value, but which must be judged in connexion with the whole complex discussion. But, as far as we are able to judge, he has fully proved his main contention, that in reconstructing the text we must look beyond M; and that it is not merely the Tornesianus, Cratander's notes (of which two important aids to the text a most exhaustive discussion is given), and the Würzburg fragments which are independent of M, but that there is a whole series of other MSS. which must be duly considered in any future recension of the text. We earnestly hope that Lehmann may be soon sufficiently restored to health to give us a longer list of readings from these codices if not a full collation of them, or better still a complete critical edition of these most important letters.

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MENDELSSOHN'S LETTERS OF CICERO.

M. Tulli Ciceronis Epistularum Libri Sedecim: edidit Ludovicus Mendelssohn. Lipsiae: Teubner. MDCCCXCIII. 12 Mk.

By the publication of Mendelssohn's edition most of the questions which concern the criticism of Cicero's *Epp. ad Fam.* may be said to have been settled. The labour which the author has expended in mastering the various departments of his work can only be equalled by the carefulness and accuracy which he has shown in the minutest details. To the vast mass of learning which study of many years has accumulated, he brings soundness of judgment and simple clearness of exposition; and the whole work is animated by a high ideal of the end and aim of philological studies—'atque omnino hae editiones fiunt veterum causa non nostra: illorum igitur qui ipsa scripta reliquerunt honori consulendum est, non nostrae gloriolae' (p. xxxi.).

Mendelssohn first traces the history of the *Epistles* from the time of their editor Tiro and shows that in no age was the knowledge of these letters lost. Originally each book appears to have been separate; in the fourth or fifth century they were probably bound in volumes of four books, and later in volumes of eight books, such as we have them now. Even in the ninth century they were known to scholars like Lupus and Sedulius, and manuscripts of them existed in Germany and France. The labour expended in this investigation must have been immense. Thus we find in support of a statement that Lupus probably knew only the *Epp. ad Fam.* the following in a note (p. vi.) 'equidem certe dum omnes perlego Lupi epistulas bis significatas inveni epistulas miscellas et libros quidem i.—viii.' Again (p. iv.) 'haud paucos medii aevi scriptores perscrutatus sum' and then follows a list of over twenty such writers. We may regret, as the author does, that no adequate return was reaped for this labour; but the work has now been done once for all and well deserves our amplest gratitude.

The other subject of investigation is the arrangement of the most important existing manuscripts. And first, in the volume which contains i.—viii., Mendelssohn unhesitatingly gives the principal place to Med. 49, 9 (cent. ix.), which contains the whole sixteen books. From this was copied in 1389 Med. 49, 7, and it is from the latter that most of the fifteenth century codices have been derived. Of a different class, and so supplementary in some cases but on the whole vastly inferior, are Harleian 2773 and Parisinus 17812, both of cent. xii.

From this latter the Turonensis was copied, as Mendelssohn has most acutely proved. As regards the second volume (ix.—xvi.) there are again two main classes, one represented as before by M. 49, 9 and its copy 49, 7, the other by Harl. 2682 (cent. xi.), the Erfurdt codex, now at Berlin, (cent. xii. or xiii.), and the Palatinus Sextus of Graevius (cent. xv. or xvi.). The assistance which each class renders to the other makes the decision of the primacy difficult; but on the whole in doubtful cases Mendelssohn inclines to follow his old leader M. But again there is a mixed class formed by a 'contaminatio' or blending of these two classes. There are several such manuscripts; but, though they exercised a great influence on the early editions, they are all rejected as worthless by Mendelssohn (consilium cepi eliminandi totius illius sterquilinii), as any reading which differs from both the principal classes may be due to a late corruption. He takes as a special example of that class Canonicianus 244 in the Bodleian, a codex to which Gurlitt had assigned undue value; and he shows, from the materials supplied to him by the late Prof. Nettleship, that this codex does not hold even a high place in the 'contaminated' class.

Scattered throughout the volume are many brief discussions on difficult passages. It is consistent with the generally conservative character of the whole work that the best attested reading should be defended to the utmost; and the defence has been successful as far as we can judge, in the following :—i. 9. 21 *quem coeperis* for *ceperis*, comparing for the transitive use of *coepisse Rosc. Am.* 52, *Brut.* 20, *De Legg.* ii. 69 : i. 10 *tam Ulixes* (for *tanquam U.*) 'such a traveller' comparing ix. 2, 2 *tam Lynceus* : vi. 1, 1 *quisquis* used indefinitely, comparing *Lex Iulia Munic.* l. 13 : vi 7. 1 *ne ea res inepte mihi noceret*, where *inepte* = imprudentia nostra as Manutius says, a very slight irregularity justly to be pardoned in Caecina; xvi. 21, 2 *cum omnia mea causa velles mihi successa*, in a letter of young Quintus, is admirably defended by such expressions as *custodibus successis* in Coelius Antipater and *sole occaso* in Q. Claudius : x. 1, 4 *iudicii* 'recognition of your merits' by reference to x. 23. 7, cp. also Plin. *Epp.* x. 3 *fin.* and Mr. Hardy's note, who quotes *Fam.* xiii. 46.

Elsewhere very slight alterations have been applied to difficult passages, which however do not always leave one quite satisfied, *e.g.* iii. 11, 2 for *verum* he reads *veteratorium* (or *vafrum*) 'a trickstering thing is maiestas'; but such concord is rare in Cic. except with such words as *extremum* (Reisig p. 4) : v. 8, 1 *id.* (= Idibus) for *ad* : viii. 11, 2 as *hac re* can hardly, he says, mean *ideo* 'with this object' (yet cp. Munro on *Lucr.* i. 172, where Balbus, Mela and Seneca are quoted : add Terence *Heaut.* v. 1, 59), he reads *acre* = *acriter* : ix. 2. 5 *gnavare* is rightly suggested for *gravare*. The form *gnavus* appears in MSS. of Cic. *in Verr.* iii. 53, *Leg. Man.* 18, and it is just the word required and might easily have been corrupted. (*Gnavare* is found in some inferior MSS., which perhaps might have been followed in the simple reading *ne<id> ita caderet* in ii. 19, 1.). The slight changes x. 21, 3 *nimis quam* for *nimisque*, and xiii. 26, 2 *magni* for *magnum* (comparing xiii. 72, 2, xv. 15, 4) are admirable. x. 22, 2 *esset, in quis certe ego fuissem*, for *essem qui* etc. is possible : but the relative referring to a remote antecedent is hardly a Ciceronian usage, cp. Kühner on *Tusc.* i. 3. Perhaps *essem, quoi certe ego favissem.*

Two brilliant emendations of Mendelssohn's we keep to the last :—viii. 5, 1 *et quantum gloriae triumphoque opus esset adsequeremur.* For *gloriae* he reads *loreae* (= laureae), comparing Cicero's reply to this letter ii. 10, 2 *velles enim ais tantum modo ut haberem negotii quod esset ad laureolam satis*, where note too the correct *quod esset ad...satis* instead of the dat. after *opus.* For the form cp. Loretum in Plin. xv. 138 for Lauretum. In viii. 8, 7 for *de ea rep.* he reads after Willems (*Le Sénat* ii. 229, note 5) *de ea re p. q. t.* (= primo quoque tempore), cp. § 7, 2.

The volume ends with a useful chronological table of the letters prepared by O. E. Schmidt and Aem. Koerner, who have already done excellent service in determining the order of large portions of Cicero's correspondence.

There is one remarkable statement made in the Pref. p. viii. which deserves the most serious attention coming as it does from a scholar like Mendelssohn who weighs every word he writes. In a catalogue of the Library of the Abbey of Cluny (composed about 1160) we find no. 490 'Volumen in quo continentur libri Epistularum ad Atticum xvi.' On this Mendelssohn says, 'Quippe e tenebris iam emergit "familiae Gallicanae" alterius collectionis testis et antiquus et ab omni suspicione liber, ut necessitas iam existat retractandae totius illius quaestionis quae est de "Tornesiano" Lambini deque Bosii et "Decurtato," hoc quidem "ex bibliothecae cuiusdam sacrae direptione servato" et Noviodunensi. Fuisse

Cluniacensem unum ex his codicibus si apparuerit equidem non mirabor—nam "Decurtatum" et Noviodunensem ut cum M. Hauptio e Bosii capite ortos esse putem multa me impediunt, recteque oblocutus est Hauptio D. Detlefsen (ann. phil. suppl. iii. 1857, p. 113 *sqq.*): sed surdis cecinit.' Nothing can be more interesting than the prospect that Bosius may be cleared of the charge of wholesale mendacity. We confess to having listened to Detlefsen's charming; and though he charms never so wisely, and also most fairly, we cannot think that he at least has cleared Bosius. The fact that there is no evidence that a single scholar besides Bosius ever saw the 'Decurtatus' or the 'Crusellinus' puts them in quite a different position from that in which the 'Tornesianus' stands.

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COLSON'S *CICERO PRO MILONE.*

Cicero pro Milone, edited with Introduction and Notes by F. H. Colson, M.A. Macmillan. 2*s.* 6*d.*

This little book, with its clear sharp-cut introduction and notes, is a satisfactory addition to our classical schoolbooks. Whether 'the fear of having classics over-edited is really groundless,' I venture to doubt. That Mr Colson is right in partly addressing his notes to masters, rather than directly to boys, I have no doubt whatever. And the results of valuable scholastic experience are apparent.

The only fault I would find is one that borders closely on praise. Mr Colson is if anything too brief in explanation. Whether the mere translation of such passages as § 17 *non alio facinore* etc. is sufficient to convey the meaning to an average student may perhaps be doubted.

It is doubtless well to leave a good deal to the teacher, but I should gladly have seen the force of the genitive case more fully explained in such passages as § 6 *criminis defensio*, § 15 *iuris defensionem*, § 38 *quid simile Milonis*, and in dealing with § 81 *praemia laudis* it would have done no harm to consider § 97 *praemiis virtutis.* Indeed I rather miss the illustration of the speech from itself in other connexions; for instance, in the note on § 8 *Ahala ille Servilius* Mr Colson, while citing a remark of Prof. Tyrrell, does not add that § 17 *Appius ille Caecus* gives another order where the gentile *nomen* is omitted. Yet surely these two passages in the same speech are worth comparing if we are discussing the usage of names.

The conclusions arrived at in the note on § 56 *propositam.....addictam* seem to me disputable, but the note is valuable in any case, and it may well be that Mr Colson is right. How far we are to require precision in metaphors is a question not in all cases easy to determine.

The introduction is a model of terse clearness.

Important textual points are well treated, as in the note on § 34. Minor questions are wisely ignored.

How far it is practical to refer boys to their 'Classical Dictionary' for historical or mythological allusions, how far we are free to refer to the details of a story when we do not tell the story itself, are points on which I cannot feel certain. Mr Colson's notes (say on §§ 7, 8) raise these questions not seldom—intentionally, as the preface shows. As to making a boy 'feel that he can do without his big Latin Dictionary,' I admit that such an attempt is wrong. But I wish I knew a 'big Latin Dictionary' in English that was not only sound in matter, but printed so as to facilitate inquiry. Fortunately Mr Colson now and then comes to the rescue; and such notes as that on § 34 *cottidie* will be received by a weary schoolmaster with a sense of relief and gratitude.

I have heard Mr Colson's little Thucydides highly praised by several teachers, and I fully expect to hear a like verdict on his present work.

W. E. Heitland.

MOOR'S TRANSLATION OF THE *DE ORATORE*.

Cicero de Oratore Book I. Translated into English, with an Introduction, by E. N. P. Moor, M.A. Methuen and Co. London. 3*s*. 6*d*.

Mr. Moor's action in preparing and publishing his translation of a part of Cicero's *de Oratore* consisted of two stages: and if we measure these by Kant's canon, which requires that a righteous act should be such as might be willed law universal, we must regard these two stages differently. That a master reading with a good sixth form a book like the *de Oratore* should translate each lesson on paper and read his version to the class, is an act of virtue which cannot find too many imitators. For the difficulty in producing an adequate translation lies not so much in particular phrases, of which a rendering may be jotted down in the margin of the text, but in maintaining a high level of dignity, of smoothness and of purity of language, through the whole of the long and stately periods, a task in which boys need the careful and well-prepared help of the teacher. But if such translations were too generally published, the temptation would be strong to make them the substitute for individual effort on the part of boys and masters alike. Each new translation has to justify its existence by its superiority not only to anything which already exists, but also to anything which is likely to be produced in the ordinary course of school-work. It is no matter of surprise that Mr. Moor should have hesitated long before publishing, and have done so at last with reluctance. Just in proportion to a translator's appreciation of an author, will be his sense of dissatisfaction with his own attempts to reproduce him. Hence the more gratitude is due to Mr. H. F. Fox for having overcome this reluctance, and induced Mr. Moor to publish his translation. The translation is one which manifestly rises so much above the ordinary level that its publication was more than justified: it was demanded as a boon not only to pupils but to teachers. Every one must have his own ideal of translation; some sacrifice being inevitable, opinions may and must differ as to the direction in which the sacrifice should be made. The great pleasure, with which I have read Mr. Moor's version, is due to the extent to which his practice agrees with my own conviction as to the extent to which the form as well as the precise meaning of the original should be retained. Mr. Moor confesses some doubt as to whether it might not have been wiser to take Addison or some other English classic as a model and to have written the translation in his style. It is possible that the result—*periculosae plenum opus aleae*—might have justified the attempt: it is much more likely that the translation would have come far less near to its aim, that of producing the same effect upon an English reader that the original produced upon a Roman reader. As it is, the style is that of vigorous and idiomatic English, very pleasant to read, but undoubtedly it is English dominated and moulded by the Ciceronian period. So far as this is wrong, Mr. Moor has been unsuccessful: in my own judgment, it is entirely right, and he seems to me to have been remarkably successful. Of course there may often be room for difference of opinion as to whether the best English equivalent for a particular phrase has been chosen: *e.g.* 'civil law,' which has a kind of technical sense, seems to me not so good a rendering of *ius civile* as 'law of the land.' At the end of § 184 another word might have been chosen than 'impertinence,' which recurs immediately, as representing a different Latin word. In § 257 'subjects' is not so good a rendering for *causas* as 'cases.' In § 226 'hedonistic' strikes me as too technical for the context. In § 219 'a moving air of passion' is not happy for *tragoediae*. In § 137 a point is missed by rendering *cuiquam novum* 'new to you.' We certainly ought to have been spared forms like *Caius* and *Cneius*. But these and similar points are mere trifles, hardly worth notice except for the remarkable accuracy as well as felicity of the translation as a whole.

Mr. Moor rightly calls attention to the service which such a rendering may do to students in their Latin prose composition. Time could hardly be spent better, especially by those who have not sufficient tuition at their command, than by reading large portions of this back into the original. This practice would give not only a *copia verborum* but also a sense for Ciceronian rhythm, which could hardly be otherwise attained. Dr. Reid's translation of the *de Finibus* would be even more valuable for philosophic prose, but the subject-matter is naturally less varied.

The excellent introduction gives just what is necessary to put the reader into the right position for appreciating this, the greatest of Cicero's treatises, and not a little shrewd criticism. A few notes on special difficulties would have been welcome; but probably the book is intended to be used not with a plain text, to which it would be an inadequate supplement, but along with some annotated edition.

A. S. WILKINS.

TWO BOOKS ON PLATO.

Platon : sa philosophie : précédée d'un aperçu de sa vie et de ses écrits, par CH. BÉNARD, Ancien Professeur de Philosophie. (Paris : Alcan. 1892.) 10 frcs.

Platonstudien von DR. FERDINAND HORN. (Wien : P. Tempsky. 1893.) 6 Mk.

M. BÉNARD has succeeded in producing an excellent book. His object is to give a comprehensive survey of the whole of Plato's philosophy, and thereby, as he states in his preface, to refute the opinion which is still only too prevalent in more countries than France that Plato's system is an enigma and Plato himself a Sphinx. Accordingly M. Bénard's attitude is on the whole conservative rather than critical, and the method of exposition he adopts synthetic. He treats the Platonic system under three heads, Dialectic, Physics, and Ethics, an arrangement, it will be seen, similar to Zeller's. But the book does not challenge comparison with Zeller's *Plato*—being intended, as the author is careful to explain, rather for the 'enlightened public' than for the professed student of philosophy. Consequently we miss in it the exhaustive fulness of detail which marks the great German authority, but we get in its place a lucidity and freshness of style and arrangement which will commend it to the attention of teachers and students of all classes.

But though the scope of his work precludes full discussion of vexed metaphysical questions, M. Bénard is careful to note the most important points at issue, and to indicate his opinion regarding them; and especially is he careful to point out where his more cautious judgment is unable to assent to the daring theories of M. Fouillée.

The main value of the book, however, will be found to lie rather in its treatment of the less knotty problems, where the method of the author is more adequate to the matter of discussion.

Dr. Horn's *Studies* have, as the name implies, an entirely different aim. Instead of a comprehensive survey of the contents of the Platonic dialogues as a whole, and a synthesis of the results, we find here a series of separate essays on selected dialogues. These are arranged in three groups: the first contains the *Laches, Protagoras, Gorgias;* the second the *Lysis, Charmides, Euthydemos;* the third the *Phaedrus, Symposium, Phaedo,* with the *Meno* and *Philebus* as appendix. The argument of each of these dialogues is set forth in detail, followed by a general criticism of their philosophic contents and relations, in accordance with which, as the author explains, the grouping is determined. Hence the above order is not to be taken as necessarily identical with the historical order; on the contrary, the second group must as a whole precede the first in point of date.

The larger proportion of the book is naturally occupied with the *Phaedrus, Symposium,* and *Phaedo,* which Dr. Horn appears to think are to be placed in this order, since they express respectively the romanticism of philosophic youth, the maturity and power of middle age, and the other-worldliness of life's declining years. If this determination is meant to indicate a corresponding divergence in the dates of composition, the author must expect to find many dissentients from his opinion. But though such results must be regarded as at least very questionable, there is much valuable criticism in the discussions which precede.

The most interesting part of the book, however, in the eyes of many Platonic students will be the concluding fifty pages, which are devoted to a vigorous attack against the Platonic authorship of the *Philebus.*

Dr. Horn is evidently a critic of the most radical type, who outdoes even Schaarschmidt in his 'chorizontic' fervour. He finds in the *Philebus* quite a score of inconsis-

tencies with the doctrine of the *Gorgias* and *Republic*, whence he deduces the conclusion 'mit aller Bestimmtheit' that this dialogue is not merely not Plato's but actually a polemic against Platonism. But the major premiss in this remarkable enthymeme is one, I imagine, that many Platonists will refuse to grant.

R. G. Bury.

GWATKIN'S EARLY CHRISTIAN WRITERS.

Selections from Early Writers, illustrative of Church History to the time of Constantine, by H. M. Gwatkin, M.A. Macmillan & Co. 1893. Pp. ix. 167: price 4*s.* net.

Within the brief compass of 170 pages, Professor Gwatkin has produced a book which is likely to be most helpful to those who are commencing the study of sub-Apostolic literature, and desire to acquaint themselves with the actual words of the greatest of the Early Christian writers. Only those who have abundant leisure can afford the time to wade through Clark's *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, or the well-known *Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* published by Messrs. Parker; and still fewer have the time or knowledge to read these books in their original tongues. A vast deal of labour and trouble is spent by the learned in editing and re-editing *ad nauseam* the Greek and Latin 'classics'; it would be well if some of our scholars would set themselves to work, and produce, say, a worthy edition of the *Stromateis*, of Augustine's *City of God*, and of the whole of Tertullian, to say nothing of the works of the two Gregorys. It is to be hoped that we are waking up to the fact that the works of the Alexandrine Fathers, at least, have been too long neglected; Prof. Armitage Robinson's recently-published text of Origen's *Philocalia*, with critical apparatus is a great step in the right direction. It would surprise many modern writers, and even some professed students of philosophy, to find how many of the problems, intellectual and moral, which harass our age, were thought over and discussed, and (at least in some cases) solved by the great Alexandrian writers. They, of all the Early Fathers, have stated these questions, and put forward their solution to these problems, in terms of the modern consciousness. Prof. Gwatkin's book is thus most opportune. The selected passages number, in all, seventy-two; of these seventeen are from Eusebius, and twelve from Tertullian. I venture to think this selection disproportionately large. Why are not Clement of Alexandria, Justin, Irenaeus, and above all Origen, more fully represented? Opposite the Greek text there is an English translation,—a very great convenience to such as cannot read Greek with ease. Several of these translations are borrowed from the Clark *Library*, and other sources. Unfortunately everything in the way of notes has been omitted, which is rather trying for the solitary student, who needs help if he is adequately to take in the meaning of the extracts. If Prof. Gwatkin could see his way to produce a companion volume of notes and introductions, he would be conferring a further boon upon every one who is interested in Early Church History.

Edward Henry Blakeney.

GUTSCHMID'S *KLEINE SCHRIFTEN*.

Kleine Schriften von Alfred von Gutschmid. Herausgegeben von Franz Rühl. Vierter Band. Schriften zur griechischen Geschichte und Literatur. Leipzig: Teubner. 1893. 20 Mk.

The editing of posthumous works is always an unsatisfactory task, and this book forms no exception to the rule. It contains a series of dissertations on various subjects of which a few have been published before; but the greater part are now, for the first time, published from the author's lecture notes. The two longest are connected with the History of the Jews: we have a full analysis of the Sibylline Books, and

extracts from lectures on Josephus against Apion; these will be extremely useful to students of Josephus, for they contain the fullest discussion and illustration of the text available. It is to be regretted that all the author's work on this period could not be published together in one separate volume. Most of the other essays in this volume are critical studies on the sources of Greek History; the most important is a series of extracts from lectures on the History of Greek Historiography, containing a full discussion of some of the earlier historians, and a rather laboured characteristic of Xenophon. There is also a lengthy discussion on that most unprofitable of subjects, the various ἀναγραφαί of the mythical kings of Athens and other states. There are also a series of reviews of historical works that appeared originally in the *Literarisches Centralblatt* and other papers: the greater number of these, however admirable they were as judgments on a new book, do not contain anything that justifies their republication. One exception to this is a review of Adolf Schmidt's *Perikleische Zeitalter*, which contains a careful discussion of the historical value of the fragments of Stesimbrotos. All the discussions show great diligence and thoroughness; it is only to be regretted that the author was not able during his lifetime to publish them in a more complete and attractive form: the style that was admirably suited for lecture notes is most disagreeable to read. The editor seems to have done his work with great care and judgement.

J. W. Headlam.

EDITION OF LIVY XXI. AND XXII.

Livy. Books xxi. and xxii. edited with Introduction and Notes by J. B. Greenough, Professor in Harvard University, and Tracy Peck, Professor in Yale University. Boston, U.S.A. and London: Ginn and Co. Publishers. 1893. 6*s.* 6*d.*

This book contains an introduction, pp. vii.–xiv., and text with footnotes, pp. 1–232. The introduction deals with the events that led to the Second Punic war, with Livy's authorities and his treatment of history and historical problems; the notes on the text are mainly literary and grammatical and are written 'to stimulate...students and aid them in forming the habit of reading Latin *as Latin*, of apprehending thought in its Latin form and sequence, and of entering with intelligent sympathy into the workings of Livy's mind and his conception of his country's history and destiny' (preface). These notes are, as might be expected, scholarly and really helpful. They are intended, as the preface says, for *college students*—perhaps one might add, for honour men. Here and there I have noticed that their particular reference requires some thought to appreciate it. Take as an instance the note on xxi. 62, 11, '**levaverant**: taking a new point of view, as, for instance, the time of the *comitia*, which is passed over without mention'; which is rather a dark saying. The same may be said of the note on sec. 5 of the following chapter, '**consularibus**: *i.e.* used against consuls. The Romans were masters in the arts of filibustering.' Does *filibustering* mean *chicanery* in America? Historical and archaeological notes are given whenever they are needed, but the editors have thought it best not to discuss the two or three acknowledged historical difficulties of the narrative further than is necessary to make clear Livy's point of view. For a discussion on the vexed question of the battlefield of Cannae, the reader is referred to Dodge's *Hannibal*, chap. xxvii.

The book cannot fail to give to any one who understands and appreciates Livy a better understanding and appreciation of a subtle and interesting writer.

The paper and printing are excellent.

M. T. Tatham.

PARALLEL VERSE EXTRACTS.

Parallel Verse Extracts for Translation into English and Latin, with special prefaces on idioms and metres, by J. E. Nixon, M.A., and E. H. C. Smith, M.A. (Macmillan & Co.) 5*s.* 6*d.*

It will seem specially undesirable to many interested in education that a fresh impulse should be given to the study and composition of Latin verse. This jesuitical practice, cunningly contrived by the enemies of progress and enlightenment with the express object of dwarfing and chaining the human intellect, has been held up to scorn by almost all enthusiasts of the utilitarian school: and the superiority of Latin prose as an instrument for sharpening the faculties and training them in habits of accuracy and observation has become almost axiomatic. The pains bestowed on teaching Latin prose in all good schools has no doubt resulted in turning out a vast quantity of passable work, and yet it may be doubted whether the higher rhythmical effects can be acquired without the aid of verse; and consequently the higher a boy gets in his school, if verse is neglected, the more the prose which passed muster at first, and gained him a good position, falls off in quality and tone. But perhaps the tide is turning again, and the poets are reclaiming their proper place as the natural teachers of the young, and the exclusive study of Caesar for the sake of oblique narration is giving place to the more congenial Ovid and Virgil. And the triumph of turning out a fairly sonorous and compact Elegiac couplet is surely far more exhilarating than a successful dovetailing of final clauses.

But Mr. Nixon's book is not for beginners. It presumes an elementary training, and aims at finish and precision. The prefaces on Amplification, Condensation, Equivalents, Emphasis and Antithesis, Grammatical and Metrical licences are full of matter, and illustrated by constant references to the select passages from Latin poets which follow. Then follow chapters on various metres, treating the subject scientifically, and with reference to musical notation. Especially instructive is the note at page lxxxvi. on the sapphic stanza.

An appendix at the end of the volume contains specimens of the Greek originals of Latin metres, and the early attempts of Ennius, Lucilius and the rest.

The parallel extracts, to which all the rest is subsidiary, are ranged on opposite pages, and selected from a great variety of authors, —perhaps from too great a variety. But passages from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and from the Silver Age are often more modern in thought and feeling, and serve metrically as a foil to the perfection of Virgil. There are very few absolute translations from the Latin; as a rule mere similarity of thought and general scope has led to juxtaposition. A key is being prepared, which will materially add to the interest of the work.

E. D. S.

HOSIUS' LUCAN.

In my review of this work in the last number of the *Classical Review*, I have not stated correctly the editor's account of the relation of the MSS. I should have pointed out that both U and G are manuscripts with a mixed text. This error—quite inexcusable, I admit—was caused by trying to do too many things at once, and I am very sorry for it. Those who are familiar with the Lucan literature of the last forty years will I am sure be the most willing to make allowance for my blunder. I sent a correction, but too late.

W. E. Heitland.

5th February, 1894.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

TOPOGRAPHY OF SYRACUSE.

In Freeman's *History of Sicily* [Vol. ii. pp. 306, 312] it is said that in the course of their struggle with Thrasyboulos the Syracusans occupied Tycha or Tyka, and that before long they fortified it. The latter step was taken in the course of the war with the mercenaries, after the tyrant's expulsion. That a quarter of the city called Tycha existed in 466 B.C. and was fortified in 461 B.C. is, according to the author, practically certain. In the Appendix [note 30] he sets himself to prove this in detail.

On reading this note it appears that the conclusion is drawn from the evidence of Diodorus only. The other citations give no help whatever; for that there was in later times a part of Syracuse called Tycha is not to the point. And what is to be inferred from the evidence of Thucydides is just the question, a question which seems to me not fully dealt with in the note.

Diodorus says xi. 67—8 that Thrasybulus *τῆς πόλεως κατειληφὼς τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Ἀχραδινὴν καὶ Νῆσον, ὀχυρὰν οὖσαν, καὶ ἐκ τούτων ὁρμώμενος, διεπολέμει πρὸς τοὺς ἀφεστῶτας.* Then he adds these words *οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον μέρος τῆς πόλεως κατελάβοντο τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Ἰτύκην* [*Τύχην* Casaubon]. Soon after [xi. 73] he says that the mercenaries *τῆς πόλεως κατελάβοντο τήν τε Ἀχραδινὴν καὶ τὴν Νῆσον, ἀμφοτέρων τῶν τόπων τούτων ἐχόντων ἴδιον τεῖχος καλῶς κατεσκευασμένον. οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι πάλιν ἐμπεσόντες εἰς ταραχὴν τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς πόλεως κατεῖχον, καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὰς Ἐπιπολὰς τετραμμένον αὐτῆς ἐπετείχισαν καὶ πολλὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἑαυτοῖς κατεσκεύασαν.*

Now this proves that Diodorus thought that there was then a quarter of Syracuse called Tycha (for I do not quarrel with the above emendation). Is he speaking from good authority, understanding it and using it well, or is he applying to the fifth century B.C. the language appropriate to conditions of a far later time?

First let me point to a passage in which he makes another statement more explicit than the above. In xiv. 18 he says that Dionysius, intending to go to war with the Carthaginians, decided to fortify Epipolae, *εἰδὼς κατὰ τὸν Ἀττικὸν πόλεμον τὴν πόλιν ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν ἀποτετειχισμένην.* Can anybody believe this? or are we to suppose that *παρὰ μικρὸν* (or words to that effect) have dropped out? For my part I will say that what reading I have done in Diodorus has not led me to build much upon his statements.

Thucydides mentions the *νῆσος*, the *Τεμενίτης*, and *ἡ ἔξω πόλις*, but not Tycha or (by that name) Achradina. In vi. 75 he tells of the inclusion of the Temenites in the circuit of fortifications, *ἐτείχιζον..... τὸν Τεμενίτην ἐντὸς ποιησάμενοι, τεῖχος παρὰ πᾶν τὸ πρὸς τὰς Ἐπιπολὰς ὁρῶν, ὅπως μὴ δι' ἐλάσσονος εὐαποτείχιστοι ὦσιν, ἤν ἄρα σφάλλωνται.* What *παρὰ πᾶν.....ὁρῶν* may mean I do not now discuss. I am at present concerned only with the reason given in the latter part of the extract. Let any one take a good map of Syracuse and consider the following propositions. If the object was to give the Athenians, after a possible victory in the field, a greater length of besieging wall to build and guard, then

1. The acuteness of the angle ['reentering angle' is I believe the technical term] to be formed by the Athenian lines, and hence the length of the lines, would depend on how far the new Syracusan wall projected towards Epipolae *at its most advanced point*, not on the line generally followed by that wall.

2. If Tycha already existed and was fortified as in Freeman's map [p. 139] it is hard to see how the Syracusans gained much in this respect by their extension.

3. The particular mention of the Temenites by Thucydides rather goes to show that the most important part of their work was the inclusion of that district. When I went over the ground some years ago I thought that this was obviously true. The nature and importance of the post at the Temenites itself are well explained by Freeman Vol. ii. pp. 42—3.

4. That the foremost projection of the new Syracusan wall was some point in that section which embraced the Temenites, is at least as probable in itself as that it was some point further north. That Thucydides calls particular attention to that section makes it if anything more probable. That in vi. 100 he speaks of *τὸ προτείχισμα τὸ περὶ τὸν Τεμενίτην* rather favours the view that that section was an advanced outwork of a special character.

5. I think that the operations concerned

with the first Syracusan counterwork [Thuc. vi. 99, 100] are much more intelligible if we adopt this supposition. I hope some day to deal with this subject at length. There is not room for it here.

6. That westward extension from the city consisting of the Island and Achradina should begin in the south [Temenites, later Neapolis] rather than in the north [Tycha], is not improbable from the nature of the ground. I refresh my memory with the map of the Italian military survey. It is much the more probable alternative, if we consider that the southern piece lay nearer the harbour and the centres of city life than did the northern. And if, as Diodorus says, the expelled Syracusans occupied Tycha (or the piece afterwards Tycha) when at war with Thrasybulus and the mercenaries, they did so with an offensive purpose, not a defensive one.

7. Therefore, even if we accept Casaubon's emendation Τύχην in Diodorus as certain, we are not justified in so far deferring to Diodorus' authority as to introduce a further difficulty into the narrative of Thucydides and violate the general probabilities of the case. That there may have been some houses at an early date on the piece afterwards Tycha, is surely not to be denied. But that there was a city quarter Tycha existing before the Athenian siege is, I submit, as surely not to be affirmed.

W. E. Heitland.

Die scenische Aufführung der griechischen Dramen des 5 Jahrhunderts. Diss. Inaug. von K. Weissmann. München: 1893. 2 Mk.

Pending the publication of the long-expected book by Drs. Dörpfeld and Reisch, which is certain to introduce a new phase to the stage question, contributions to this subject awake unusual interest, both for the new light which they bring to a series of difficult problems, and as showing the steady drift of opinion toward a complete reconstruction of the views generally held only a few years ago concerning the scenic arrangements of the theatre of the classical period. Within the past year three dissertations on the subject have appeared, as the result of the prize competition set by the faculty of the University of Munich. That of Pickard is accessible to English readers in the *American Journal of Philology* for 1893. The prize dissertation by Bodensteiner is reserved for a later notice.

Weissmann has searched the dramas for information on the following points: (1) whether there was an elevated stage in the fifth century; (2) whether a platform was built in the orchestra; (3) whether actors made their appearance through the orchestra; (4) whether the rule of Pollux as to the significance of the right and left πάροδοι admits of proof; (5) whether periacti and parascenia were required in the presentation of the plays. In order to follow closely all the movements of actors and chorus, he limits his discussion to six plays, which he treats in the manner of Schönborn, drawing his conclusions on the various questions that arise as he proceeds, and supporting them often by citations from the other dramas.

The author's conclusions are briefly as follows. There were no side entrances to the stage; hence no periacti were in use. The lack of side entrances, which became necessary only on the introduction of the high stage, is one of the best arguments against such a stage for the classical drama. The πάροδοι were always used by actors entering from the sides. Since the chorus often sees and announces actors so entering, and since they in turn see and address the chorus before they notice other actors who are present, there were walls at each end of the proscenium projecting a considerable distance into the orchestra—the parascenia. Both actors and chorus, when entering from the πάροδοι, sometimes refer to the steepness of the path. This leads to the supposition that there was an elevated platform in the orchestra, a 'thymele,' which is necessary also for ghost scenes. Since there was no high stage, against which speak also the intimate relations of actors and chorus, all references to an elevation in front of the scena have to do with the steps leading to the temple or palace in the scene, or a corresponding elevation in other plays. This elevation belonged distinctly to the scenery and is not a part of the stage proper. The notices found in literature and in the grammarians, when they do not square with such an arrangement, must be referred to the post-classical theatre. The directions of Vitruvius rest on a misunderstanding of his sources, caused by this confounding of the earlier with the later theatre.

It will be seen that, in its general outline, this theory satisfies fairly well the demands of the dramas, and furnishes an easy method of disposing of the disturbing notices of scholiasts and lexicographers. With the exception of the 'thymele' in the orchestra, any student of the dramas, unacquainted

with the tradition, might have reached the same conclusions from purely *a priori* grounds. But it is our duty to examine the evidence on which the theory is constructed. It would carry me too far to discuss in detail each of the many questions involved. It will suffice to show the author's method by an examination of the most important parts of his argument.

The theory of an elevation immediately in front of the background is suggested at first by the steps, often expressly mentioned, leading up to the temple or palace. This view is not new, and would be readily granted for certain plays. But a similar elevation before private houses, tents, etc., is another matter. *Vesp.* 1342 (*ἀνάβαινε δεῦρο χρυσομηλολόνθιον*) Weissmann completely misunderstands, and the fact that he seriously discusses this scene in detail to prove an elevation makes us doubt both his soundness of judgment and his ability to see a joke. Against *Vesp.* 1514 *καταβατέον γ' ἐπ' αὐτούς* = *καταβατέον εἰς ἀγῶνα* he has nothing of weight to urge. The only other passage here produced is *Lys.* 286—8 (*τὸ σιμὸν οἷ σπουδὴν ἔχω*). We may grant that the approach to the Acropolis may have been suggested in the scenery, but what right has the author to assume a similar arrangement for all other plays? If this were the case, what special appropriateness would this elevation have had in the *Lysistrata?* The only safe conclusion that may be drawn from the dramas, as I have said elsewhere (*The Stage in the Greek Theatre*, pp. 60 and 70), is that the space in front of the background may have been built up in some plays so as to be in a measure realistic, as in the *Birds*, *Philoctetes*, and others. To claim the same elevation for the *Hecabe* or *Trachiniae* would be a quite unwarrantable assumption.

The raised platform in the orchestra Weissmann considers established by the necessity of providing for the shade of Clytemnestra in the *Eumenides*. Todt considers such cases the strongest proof of the existence of the high stage. Weissmann, however, assumes for some reason that ghosts must appear in the orchestra. An underground passage such as has been discovered at Eretria would seem to be precisely what is needed for the explanation of such scenes. But its use in the classical period is denied, first, because its existence at Athens cannot be proved, and secondly because there is no agreement as to the date of that found at Eretria. The report of the American School at Athens assigns this tunnel to 'a good Greek period' on the authority of Dörpfeld. No other authority has expressed himself on the subject. It is hardly probable that the great theatre at Athens should have been inferior to that at Eretria in its scenic conveniences. But it is not necessary to assume anything, either tunnel or platform, so long as we are able to explain the few ghost-scenes that the dramas contain by means of the arrangements of which we are certain—the altar or the usual side-entrances. Considering his 'thymele' established, however, Weissmann explains by it such situations as *Her. Fur.* 120 ff., *Ion* 748 and others in which actors or the chorus, generally aged persons, complain of the difficulty or steepness of the path, and *Eq.* 149 (*ἀνάβαινε σωτὴρ τῇ πόλει*) and *Ach.* 732 (*ἄμβατε ποττὰν μάδδαν*). He supposes that the platform was connected with the ground by an inclined plane. Between this place of ascent and that near the background he would distribute all expressions in the dramas that indicate height. Now in order to be useful for ghosts the 'thymele' would have to be at least six feet high (W. simply calls it 'low'). The inclined plane would in that case be uncomfortably steep for horses and chariots, and would have to slope away on all three sides in order not to impede the view of those who occupied the front seats, which were also the best. See Pickard's excellent *reductio ad absurdum Am. Jour. Phil.* 1893, p. 68 ff., and for explanation of the passages cited by Weissmann see White, *Harv. Stud.* ii. 167, and my paper in 'Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.' 1891, p. 69 ff. One need only to refer to such scenes on the modern stage to show how weak Weissmann's arguments are.

The use of the parascenia is not proved. In the nature of the case it cannot be proved from the dramas, though its presence would often assist in preserving the illusion. The arguments for the use of the *πάροδοι* by actors would have been greatly strengthened if the author had availed himself of Harzmann's investigations. The side-entrances to the stage and the periacti involve too complex a question to be decided on the slight evidence adduced. Niejahr and Dähn would have helped him here. The rule of Pollux as to the significance of the right and left entrances is treated only superficially, as is also the question of the curtain. Weissmann has some good observations on the *ἐκκύκλημα* which should be carried into a closer investigation. He would however find the machine hard to

manage on the steps that lie before his background.

In the way of general criticism it should be said that Weissmann does not realize that the burden of proof lies with those who oppose the tradition, which is distinctly in favour of a high stage. The only justification for rejecting for the fifth century the testimony of our only witnesses is that it is in direct conflict with the dramas of the fifth century. It was Weissmann's plain duty to collect every ray of evidence from the dramas and to test fairly the traditional view by the material thus acquired. We cannot but admit that even with the whole number of extant plays our sources are defective. Whatever conclusions one reaches from an examination of six plays must needs be provisional and should not be called proofs. Moreover, in interpreting the ancient dramas one should avoid above all things the assumption that perfect scenic appliances were at hand. We must leave a great deal, no one can say how much, to the imagination of the spectator. Weissmann has called Aeschylus and even Aristophanes to account with a rigour that no one would think of applying even to a modern stage-manager.

In addition to his unscientific method, we must accuse him of being unacquainted with the literature of the subject, not only with the many articles that have appeared in English, but even with the work of his own countrymen. Consequently he has gone over ground that has been better worked by others and has made many blunders from which he might have been saved. His only source of information as to the theatre at Eretria is a short letter to a German periodical. Worse still, he transfers to the Americans the unwelcome honour of having conducted the campaign against Dörpfeld at Megalopolis.

EDWARD CAPPS.

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Die Griechischen Meisterschalen der Blüthezeit des strengen rothfigurigen Stiles. Mit Unterstützung der Kön. Sächs. Ges. der Wissensch., und aus privaten Mitteln herausgegeben von PAUL HARTWIG. Stuttgart und Berlin 1893. pp. viii., 701. Tafeln i.–lxxv. 220 Mk.

THE author of this book, probably the most important work on vase-painting that has appeared since Klein's *Euphronios*, was fortunate in his choice of a subject, and still more fortunate when he met with the financial assistance which enabled him to treat it on a scale which is not only adequate, but even lavish in the excellence of its printing and illustrations. It is to be wished that we in England had more of the spirit which prompted Herr Niethammer and the Sächsische Gesellschaft to undertake the cost of this splendid contribution to science. At the present stage of archaeological enquiry, what we chiefly need is publication, and yet again publication. With nations and schools and even individuals vying with each other in a feverish energy of excavation, discovery succeeds discovery so rapidly that the new material is not given time for digestion, and new theories form and are dissolved with kaleidoscopic brilliancy and result. If some proportion of the money now spent on digging the weapons of controversy out of dull theatres, and similar undertakings, were devoted to the issue of first-rate illustrations of important monuments, valuable time would be saved, and science would be decidedly the gainer. It is no prejudice to Hartwig's suggestive and often brilliant commentary to say that the most important part of his work is the collection of plates in the atlas: these are drawn by the best Greek vase-painters, copied by the most skilful draughtsmen of antiquities, Anderson, Devillard, and Eichler, and reproduced in the full size which is so necessary for purposes of comparison. These are selected on a judicious principle: where adequate publication already exists, the vase is not reproduced here; in other cases Hartwig's plates have all the claims of a first publication. They are arranged as far as possible in chronological sequence under the artists to whom they are assigned; so that with the *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, now being issued, students have a fine apparatus available for studying the great vase-painters of the periods before the Persian Wars. It is to be hoped that Hartwig will be enabled to carry out his scheme of treating the preceding and succeeding painters of cups in the same way: and finally, at some future period, perhaps we may even hope for a *Corpus* of those vases, signed or unsigned, which illustrate the styles of the individual artists.

The book is not, however, merely an illustrated commentary on Klein's *Meistersignaturen*. It is a brilliant exposition of the comparative analysis, which has been so valuable with regard to sculpture, applied to vase-painting by a student of wide general knowledge and trained eye. Klein's

Euphronios had shown what might be done in this direction, and Meier, Dümmler, and others have followed out individual minor paths which lead from his enquiry: but Hartwig for the first time has actually extended the road which Klein began. It is only natural that the issue of so wide a range of new material should be accompanied by novel and suggestive ideas. Perhaps the purposes of the *Classical Review* will best be served if I merely indicate in brief the general scope of Hartwig's innovations; a detailed criticism would involve technical discussion which would cover a large space and probably interest very few specialists only.

The excavations in the Pre-Persian strata of the Acropolis, in moving back the chronology of vases by some decades, have practically established the fact that Euphronios, the central figure of vase-painting, began his activity at Athens as nearly as possible in B.C. 500, and continued painting for probably half a century. Starting from the somewhat flat and formal manner of Epictetus and his cycle, Euphronios has left us works in which can be traced the stages of development from an outline drawing in a single plane down to the art which observes the most complex forms in nature, and does not hesitate to record them. It is within these limits that the material before us stands. Twelve artists at least whose names are known to us fall within it: and a considerable number of vases, of which the attribution is due to considerations of style, sometimes coupled with the use of a particular name with καλός. These names with καλός ('Lieblings-inschriften') may be said to form the writer's starting-point. He would explain them on the category of the concurrent formula ὁ παῖς καλός, as referring *exclusively* to παῖδες, never to grown men, and thus each such reference would fall within a period not exceeding ten years. Hence he deduces the following conclusions: (i) that all the cups of one master, bearing the same καλός name, belong to a limited period (ten years) of the activity of that master: (ii) that all the cups by different masters, but bearing the same καλός name, are (within ten years) contemporary: (iii) that the occurrence of two or more καλός names on the same vase marks approximately that the persons so named were contemporary (within ten years). The identification proposed for so many of the καλός names, with historical personages and others, falls through in this case: perhaps, after all, most of them have a sentimental rather than a real historical value so long as we are not sure at what precise period of his career the personage in question was named καλός on the vase. At any rate the idea does not commend itself, that a popular general, presumably of mature years, if not elderly, should be persistently called beautiful: and it is significant that the instance of Miltiades on the Ashmolean plate, which Studniczka adduced as an argument in favour of this anomaly, has been recently converted by Winter into an argument against it. On the other hand it is certainly a striking coincidence, as Hartwig remarks, that among the vases of the middle decade of the fifth century, so many names occur which we meet in the Dialogues of Plato.

The natural result, if we accept these deductions, would be to simplify the chronology of vase-painting. The author maintains that the analysis of the style of the cups tends to confirm his position: admitting, that is to say, that in cases where any given καλός name is found repeated on vases assigned by their style to totally different periods, the identity of the persons so named is impossible. In pursuance of this idea, he distinguishes both in Euphronios and in Duris an earlier and a later manner. This division is especially suggestive in the case of Duris. His earlier vases, judging from their καλός names, cannot be much later than the earlier vases of Euphronios: it is on these vases that Duris, following the great painter of the palaestra, shows us mainly athletic subjects. In his later period, Duris is less under the influence of Euphronios, and scenes of this kind practically disappear from his work. Between these two periods are arranged the vases of Peithinos, of Hieron, and, more important still, of Brygos. These artists, and probably many more, inherited the improvements of those who were the pioneers, with varying success and with varying measure of originality: hence it is often difficult, as in the case of Brygos, to decide by style alone which are the earlier and which the later periods of his work. Euphronios on the other hand won for vase-painting gradually and step by step the power of conception and of artistic embodiment of ideas. It is he who represents for us the great epoch of transformation in Hellenic art reflected in the 'inventions' ascribed by Pliny to Kimon of Kleonae. In a highly suggestive chapter, the writer shows that these 'inventions' are reflected in the sense of individuality, of naturalism and knowledge of perspective shown in the

vases of Euphronios: within them is included the movement in different planes; the capacity for raising or lowering the head; and the setting free of the pupil of the eye. Looked at in this light, Kimon takes his position as 'the master who pushed to its full extent the power of expression by means of mere linear drawing: and who thereby laid the foundations of drawing for Greek painters.' Vase-painting in this respect affords at any rate a secondary reflection of the developments of the greater art: the question whether the Kerameikos may be said to have actually contributed to this progress, cannot be settled here; it hangs together with the larger enquiry, which is still far from being solved, as to the status in Athenian social life of vase-painters and their work. The whole subject of the relation of this minor art to the achievements of sculpture and painting needs further enlightenment: while it is undoubtedly true that vase-painters often adopted characteristic motives and even compositions from one another or from a common source, it still remains to be proved that these are ever traceable to the major arts of painting or of sculpture. We must beware, for instance, of referring to the influence of Pheidias or Polygnotus vases in which motives occur which resemble known groups of the Parthenon or Nekyia: for a wide acquaintance with vases will often show that such motives had been the common possession of the vase-painters of nearly a century before. It would be well in future in the index of a vase catalogue to include a heading in which these motives should be tabulated.

Into the great mass of unassigned vases,—that is to say, vases with neither signature nor καλός name, or with a disconnected καλός name,—the author has ventured with considerable boldness and ingenuity: as a result he claims to have added several fresh examples to most of the known artists' lists, and has set up several series of new groups, determined either by their καλός names, or else by pure criticism of style: both these classes will probably be subjected to criticism: the latter, especially those grouped under the 'Meister mit dem Kahlkopfe' and the 'Meister mit der Ranke' seem to me highly problematical. When we see what diversity of style is covered by the signed vases of (for instance) Euphronios and Phintias, it is evident that the unsigned vases must offer the gravest difficulties in classification.

CECIL SMITH.

[The issues of the *Classical Review* for April and May will contain a notice by Miss Eugénie Sellers of the very important work just published by Adolf Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke der Griechischen Plastik.*]

MONTHLY RECORD.

ITALY.

Concordia Sagittaria, Venetia. — Several new inscriptions have been found relating to the *colonia* established here under the Empire and the military cemetery attached thereto. The most interesting inscription is from a tomb raised to Flavius Fortunatus Augustalis by Vettius Serenianus. The former is styled *ex nomine militum Iovianorum*, and appears to have been tribune of the *Iovii iuniores* (cf. *C.I.L.* v. 8753), who derived their name from the Emperor Jovian.[1]

Este.—Part of a mosaic pavement has come to light, consisting of geometrical patterns in black and white, having the general appearance of a carpet. Some of the patterns are unusual, as for instance a large star of laurel leaves and a double row of interlacing arches. Below the pavement were amphorae and glass vases of an earlier date, and on a higher level a coin with radiated bust of Probus and other unimportant objects were found.[1]

Albacina in Umbria is on the site of the ancient Tuficum, on which excavations have been recently made. The results consist of sculptures, architectural fragments and inscriptions, which appear to have come from large public edifices surrounding the forum; this view is supported by the fact that many honorary inscriptions from the bases of statues have been found. One very interesting inscription to C. Fulvius Plautianus refers to the betrothal of his daughter Plotilla to Caracalla. The date of the inscription is A.D. 203; Plautianus is styled *praefectus praetorio clarissimus vir consul bis.*[2]

Arezzo.—Some new fragments of Aretine vases have been discovered on the site of the ancient *officina* which belonged first to C. Tellius and afterwards to P. Cornelius; they consist chiefly of cups and plates with reliefs of the usual type, masks, Bacchanalian subjects, etc. The manufacture appears to have been transferred from Tellius to Cornelius in B.C. 82.[2]

Rome.—Excavations have been made in the Stadium Palatinum, and fragments of pilasters and columns from the colonnade have been found, also part of a large vaulted apse. On three plinths of columns are the letters CAI, probably part of the name of the architect who restored the stadium under Septimius Severus. Among other discoveries were a fine female head of the best period of Greek art, perhaps from one of the Muses with which Augustus adorned the temple of Apollo Palatinus; bust of Antoninus Pius; heads of Bacchus, a Bacchanal, and a youth; a statuette of a Faun; a double bearded terminal figure; and the plinth of a statue of Venus, on which the right foot and the head of a dolphin remain; also numerous stamped tiles of the second century of the Empire.[2]

Near the royal palace on the Quirinal remains of ancient construction in *opus reticulatum* have come to light, below which was a well of brick lined with tiles.[3]

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[1] *Notizie dei Lincei*, June 1893.
[2] *Ibid.* April 1893. [3] *Ibid.* May 1893.

On the Via Latina have been found the remains of the ground-plan of a tomb, and an inscribed tombstone of the time of Claudius to one Statilius, a flamen, on the tympanon of which are sculptured appropriate emblems; also a sepulchral *cista* of marble, and a tile stamped DOMITIAE.[3]

Santa Maria di Capua.—An interesting inscription has been found relating to the *magistri vicorum et pagorum Campanorum*, of the period immediately following the second Punic War. It runs: Q·SA.. | Q·MIN.. | L·OPIMI.. | C·FABIV.. | P·OFELLV[S | M·FVLMON.. | HEISCE·MAGISTREIS·HORTO... | IVDICIOQVE·VICERE·EIDEM·LV.. | SVCRVNDAM·PORTICVSQVE REG... | IIDEMQVE·DE·SVA·PECVNIA·HERCVLEI...[2]

Santo Angelo in Formis.—A *cippus* has been found inscribed: IMP·CAESAR | VESPASIANVS·AVG | COS·VIII·FINES·LOCOR | DICATORVM·DIANAE | TIFAT·A·CORNELIO·SVLLA | EX·FORMA·DIVI·AVG | RESTITVIT. On the top: PDT. A similar inscription occurs in *C.I.L.* x. 3828. PDT = *Praedia Dianae Tifatinae.* The upshot of the inscription is that Vespasian in 77 re-established the boundaries of the territory dedicated by Sulla to Diana Tifatina according to the plan (*forma*) made by Augustus. The stone would then be a *cippus terminalis.*[2]

Velletri.—An early tomb has been found here, of beehive shape, lined with blocks of tufa. It contained a *cinerarium* in the form of a hut, resembling those found at Alba Longa in 1877, one of which is now in the British Museum. Somewhat similar *tuguria* have been found at Falerii and other places in Etruria. There appears to be no doubt that the form is derived from that of a primitive hut.[3]

Naples.—Some ancient constructions of Roman times have come to light, including remains of unburnt brick; also a marble statue draped in a toga, holding a scroll in the left hand, of good workmanship, probably a municipal statue. Also a female statue of marble, a marble head from a terminal figure of Hercules, and a few inscriptions, mostly in late Greek characters.[4]

Ruvo.—A tomb of tufa has been opened containing a bronze patera and lebes, the latter containing some acorns, and supported by a large iron tripod; also some painted vases, including a late b.f. kylix representing the return of Persephone (?), and a fine r.f. Attic *vaso a colonnette* representing Theseus receiving the ring of Minos and crown of gold from Amphitrite. In the background Poseidon's palace is indicated; Poseidon, Nereus, and a Nereid are spectators of the scene. Only three other instances of this subject are known, one being the famous kylix of Euphronios. On the reverse is a music school.[1]

Syracuse.—A *Porta Scaea* has been identified in the wall of Dionysius on the north side, with a road winding in a north-westerly direction down the slope of the hill, which was evidently available for vehicles.[2]

H. B. WALTERS.

[4] *Notizie dei Lincei*, July 1893.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie u. Pädagogik. Ed. Fleckeisen u. Masius. Leipzig 1893.

Heft 2 contains (1) H. Kluge, *Vorhomerische Kampfschilderungen in der Ilias*, calling attention to passages (several in K) in which a Homeric warrior lacks the usual breast-plate or greaves, and suggesting that these passages represent an earlier form of civilization. (2) W. Schwarz, *Die Danaïdensage.* Chiefly an examination of the names of the Danaids as given in Apollodorus, and suggesting that the myth has reference to the exclusion of Greek ships (penteconters) from the Egyptian market. (3) F. Cauer, a criticism of B. Keil's *Die Solonische verfassung in* 'Αθ. πολ. Chiefly to the effect that Keil misunderstands the 'Αθ. πολ., 'because he has too high a notion of the intelligence and credibility of the author.' (4) S. Brandt, *Ueber den verfasser des buches de Mortibus Persecutorum*, contending that Lactantius is not the author. (5) A. Behr, *Fragmente einer hs. Macrobius- und Plinius- excerpte*, describing portions of a parchment ms. recently discovered in the Archiv of Cologne.

Heft 3 contains (1) F. Blass, Ὑπερείδου κατ' Ἀθηνογένους, a summary, followed by an emended text, of this speech, discovered by E. Revillout in 1888. Blass has apparently had access only to the facsimile published this year. (2) E. Hasse, *Notes on the Dual*, showing that Xen. does not use the plural verb with dual nom., and that Polybius does not use δυεῖν as dat. but only as gen. For dat. he uses δυσίν. (3) F. Geffcken, *Die Gründung von Tarent*, contending that Tarentum was an Achaean colony. (4) J. Lange, *Zu Plautus*, some emendations, one of which (on *Captivi* 923) calls forth from Fleckeisen a short note on *redux*, to the effect that *reddueere* is found but not *reddux*: hence *redux* probably is connected with *red* or *redire*, not *reducere*, the *x* being adjectival as in *trux, atrox.* (5) C. F. Müller on *ante annos* = *vor jahren*, showing that *ante annos*, without numeral or other limitation, is good Latin for 'some years ago.' Many similar Latin expressions are cited. (6) S. Brandt on *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, concluded.

Hefte 4 and 5 contain (1) G. F. Unger, *Die Zinsurkunde zu ol.* 88, 3–89, 2 (*C.I.A.* i. 273), an elaborate treatise on the Attic calendar for the years named. (2) T. Matthias, *Die Stellung der griech. frau*, an attempt to show, from classical writers, that women were not so much repressed in Greece as is commonly supposed. (3) E. Bussler, *Zu Aeschylos Prometheia*, contending that Π. Πυρφόρος was the first tragedy of the trilogy. (4) Ch. Clasen, *Zur Gesch. Timoleons*, conclusion of some articles which appeared in 1886 and 1888. (5) T. Oesterlen, *Horatius Episteln I.*, contending that *Ep.* i. 7 implies a rupture between Hor. and Maecenas, and that this rupture was never healed. (6) R. Oehler, *Die häfen von Karthago*, a study of the existing ruins with conclusions founded thereon. (7) O. Stange, *Zu Ovid. Metam.*, three emendations. (8) C. Hosius, *Die hss. von Lucanus*, a comparison of many readings, but not founded on inspection of the MSS. (9) K. Hachtmann, *Zu Tac. Agricola*, c. 9, suggesting *adrogantiam et amaritiem* (for *avaritiam*). (10) J. Lange, *Zu Caesar B. G.*, emendations. (11) W. Koch, *Die feldzüge Julians gegen die Germanen* chiefly on the original sources of Ammianus and Zosimus.

Heft 6 contains (1) B. Schmidt, *Steinhaufen als fluchmale in Griechenland*, connecting the ἀναθεματούριο of modern with the ἕρμαιον of ancient Greece. (2) R. Peppmüller, *Theognidea*, some emendations. (3) R. Vari, *Oppiani codicum series*, a list of over forty extant MSS. of the *Halieuticon.* (4) Th. Breiter, *Zu Manilius*, a number of emendations founded on a Madrid

MS. (5) W. Sternkopf, *Ueber zwei briefe Ciceros an T. Trebonius* (viz. *epp. ad fam.* xv. 20, 21), contending that xv. 21 was written from the country about the end of a.u.c. 708, and xv. 20 from Rome a little later.

Heft 7 contains (1) O. Froehde, *Der begriff und die angabe der litteratur-wissenschaft*, inaugural address delivered at Berlin. (2) V. Pingel, *Zu Soph. Ant.* 1–4, proposing ἀκῆς ἄτερ (Hesych. ἀκή· θεραπεία) and ἆρ' οἶσθ' ἔτι. (4) H. v. Arnim, *Der streit des Zenon u. Theophrastos*, a controversy with E. Norden. (5) G. Helmreich, *Zu Galenos*, a few emendations. (6) F. Skutsch, *Ad Statii silvas symbolae*, Part I. of a discussion of the MS. authorities. (7) E. Schweder, *Ueber die Peutingersche tafel*, a discussion of the origin and earlier form of this ancient map.

Hefte 8 and 9 contain (1) H. Müller-Strübing, *Zur verfassung von Athen während des peloponn. Krieges*, an attempt to show that Pericles and Cleon were not στρατηγοί, but ἐπιμεληταὶ τῆς κοινῆς προσόδου, *i.e.* holders of a financial office tenable by one man for four years at a time, re-election being permitted. (2) O. Keller, *Zu Livius*, some small emendations. (3) E. Dittrich and A. Fleckeisen, *Zu Plinius n. h.* xii. 18, reading *auctor ille historiarum condidit Thurios in Italia.* (4) C. Schirlitz, *Die fünf ersten reden in Platons Symposion*, the first part of a long disquisition. (5) O. Schwab, *Uber* μάλιστα *bei zahlen* usw., showing that μάλιστα with numbers means 'about,' 'pretty nearly.' (6) C. Rüger, *Zu Dem. rede vom trierarch. Kranzen*, emendations. (7) R. von Scala, *Fabius u. Nikias*, contending that Livy (xxviii.), in his account of Fabius, was following the account of Nicias in Thuc. vii. (8) H. Magnus, *Zu Ovid. Metam.*, a discussion of the archetype MS.

Jahresberichte des Philologischen Vereins zu Berlin. January—March, 1893.

LIVY, by H. J. Müller.

I. Editions. *T. Livii ab u. c. libri* i. ii. xxi. xxii. with select parts of iii. iv. vi. by A. Zingerle. 3rd ed. Wien 1892. *Titi Livi ab u. c. libri* xxi. xxii. xxiii. xxiv. xxx., ed. A. Zingerle by P. Albrecht. Leipzig 1893. *Chrestomathie aus Livius*, by J. Golling. Wien 1892. Besides an introduction this consists of (1) a selection from book ii. (2) the three books i. xxi. xxii. (3) a selection from iii. vi. xxvii. xxx. xxxiii. xxxix. and xlv. *T. Livi ab u. c. liber* ix. by E. Ziegeler. Gotha 1891. The notes need more examples. *T. Livi ab u. c. liber* x. by F. Luterbacher. Leipzig 1892. An excellent edition. *T. Livii ab u. c. liber* xxi. by K. Tücking. 4th ed. Paderborn 1892. *Livius-Kommentar*, by C. Haupt. Commentary on book xxi. Leipzig 1892. Too elaborate for school use. *Titi Livii ab u. c. liber* xxi. by F. Luterbacher. 3rd ed. Gotha 1892. Much improved from the 1st ed., chiefly through the use of Luchs' ed. *Titi Livii ab u. c. liber* xxii. by F. Luterbacher. 2nd ed. Gotha 1889. Most of the many new readings are improvements. *T. Livii ab u. c. liber* xxii. by E. Wölfflin. 3rd ed. Leipzig 1891. Commendable for its clearness and precision in explanation. *Titi Livii ab u. c. liber* xxx. by F. Luterbacher. Leipzig 1892. Luterbacher always shows independence of judgment.

II. Contributions to criticism and interpretation. L. Winkler.

Die Dittographien in den nikomachianischen Codices des Livius. Part ii. Progr. Wien 1892. [Part i. noticed Cl. Rev. vii. 191.] This part deals with books vi.–ix. W. Heraeus, *Vindiciae Livianae.* Part ii. Progr. Offenbach 1892. Often successfully defends the received text. [For Part i. see Cl. Rev. v. 346.] R. Novák, *Zu Livius*, Zeitschr. f. d. öst. Gymn. 1892. A number of passages discussed and emended. E. Reichenhart, *Zu Erklärung einiger Liviusstellen*, Zeitschr. f. d. öst. Gymn. 1892. On 4, 8, 5 and various passages in books 21, 23, 24 and 25. Ad. Schmidt, *Zu Livius*, Zeitschr. f. d. öst. Gymn. 1892 Reads *se* for *sese* in 28, 18, 10 and 28, 25, 13. Notes on reading in 30, 7, 3 and 37, 33, 5. A number of scattered contributions are given by A. Howard (Harvard Studies iii. 185), F. J. Drechsler (Zeitschr. f. d. öst. Gymn. 1892, p. 301), d'Arbois de Jubainville (Rev. de Phil. 1891, p. 56), R. Unger (Paradoxa Theb. p. 304), H. W. v. d. Mey (Mnemos. xx. 224), ed. Wolff (WS. f. kl. Phil. 1892, coll. 184, 185, 212, 297), G. Landgraf (Festschrift des Prof. w. v. Christ. 1891, p. 380), M. Müller (Or. Mitt.), A. Wodrig (N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1892, p. 421), and A. Zingerle (Berl. WS. 1891, col. 1038).

III. Writings of mixed contents (Lexicon, Sources, &c.).

C. Haupt, *Anleitung zum Verständniss der Livianischen Darstellungsform.* Leipzig 1892. This useful work is divided as follows: I. The period in historical writing. II. Notes on method. III. Grammatical peculiarities. IV. Position of words (1) anaphora, (2) chiasmus, (3) union of anaphora and chiasmus. V. Elucidation of some comprehensive periods. *Lexicon Livianum*, F. Fügner. Fascc. iv. and v. Lips. 1892. Comprising *adscensus-ambitio.* A specimen 'solidae eruditionis, diligentiae, assiduitatis.' [Cl. Rev. v. 346, vii. 191, 333.] A. M. A. Schmidt, *Beiträge zur Livianischen Lexikographie.* Part iii. Progr. Waidhofen 1892. On the word *contra* (1) position, (2) meaning (a) as adverb (b) as preposition. R. v. Scala, *Griechische Verse bei Livius*, Zeitschr. f. d. öst. Gymn. 1892. L. derives this ornament not from his own reading in Greek poets, but from his sources. On the relation of Livy to his sources, particularly in his use of Valerius Antias, see Fr. Münzer, *De Gente Valeria.* Diss. Berlin 1891. Also see H. Hesselbarth, *Die neueste Hypothese zur Livius-Polybios-Frage.* Berlin WS. 1891. M. Jumpertz, *Der römisch-karthagische Krieg in Spanien* (211–206). Diss. Leipzig 1892. Well written and learned. It is questionable whether for 205 B.C. it is necessary to assume a source between Livy and Polybius that Livy uses. [See Cl. Rev. vi. 381 foll.]

HOMER (except the higher criticism), by E. Naumann.

I. Editions. *Homers Ilias*, by G. Stier. Eighth part. Χ—Ω. Gotha 1890. Especially rich in quoting parallel passages. *Homers Ilias*, K. F. Ameis. Vol. i. 2nd part, Δ—Ζ. 4th ed. by C. Hentze. Leipzig 1891. Still further improved. *Homers Ilias*, by J. La Roche. Part iii. Ι—Μ. Part iv. Ν—Π. 3rd ed. Leipzig 1891. *Homeri Odyssea*, ed. J. La Roche. Part i. α–μ. Part ii. ν–ω. Prag. 1892, and *Kommentar zu Homers Odyssea* in 4 parts. Prag. 1891–2. [Cl. Rev. vi. 176.] *Homers Odyssee* in a shorter form, by A. Th. Christ. Prag. 1891. On the same lines as the shorter edition of the Iliad by the same editor [on which see Cl. Rev. iv. 313]. *The Odyssey of Homer*, by A. Platt. Cambridge 1892. An attempt to restore the original Homer, often without taking count of the Alexandrians. [Cl. Rev. vi. 343].

II. Form and elucidation of the Text. Language. Verse. J. Mähly, *Satura*, Bl. f. d. bayer. GSW. 1889. On Δ 453, Π 668. W. T. Lendrum. Cl. Rev. iv. 46. *Notes*, on Τ 227 and defends Τ 76 against Leaf. A. Platt, *Notes on the text of the Iliad*, J. of Phil. 1889. Several conjectures. R. Peppmüller, *Ein Emendationsvorschlag zur Ilias*, N. Jahrb. f. Phil.

1891. Ψ 48, γαστρί for δαιτί. E. Mehler, *Inter ambulandum decerpta.* Mnemos. 1889. Several conjectures in Homer. J. van Leeuwen, jr. *Homerica.* Mnemos. 1889. (1) Patronymics in -εΐδης and -εΐων. (2) The verb μέλλειν. (3) Contracted and lengthened verbal forms. Continued, Mnemos. 1890. (4) On the caesura after the 4th trochee. (5) On ἀφαμαρτοϝεπής, ἀπποϝεπής, ἀρτιεπής. (6) μιάνθην, κομείτων, πεφύκει, δίδωθι, etc. (7) εἶν, εἰνί. (8) On Ο 556 foll. (9) ἔδϝιε for δέδϝιε in Σ 34. (10) On the promise of Patroclus to Briseis, Τ 298. (11) Did H. consider the dolphin a fish? (12) On ἀήρ and ἀχλύς. Continued, Mnemos. 1891. (13) On the digamma. H. van Herwerden, *De locis nonnullis Homericis e posterioribus libris Iliadis.* Mnemos. 1889. Conjectures and remarks on Ο—Ω. H. van Herwerden, *Annotationes ad Iliadem.* Mnemos. 1890. Continuation of a previous paper in Rhein. Mus. [Cl. Rev. vii. 91.] H. van Herwerden, *Homerica.* Mnemos. 1891. Further emendations. S. A. Naber, *Epistula critica ad Batavos Homeri editores.* Mnemos. 1891. On the digamma. A. Platt, *Notes on the text of the Odyssey.* J. of Phil. 1889. A. Platt, *Homerica.* J. of Phil. 1890. Defends a number of readings which he adopts in his edition of the Od. A. Platt, *The augment in Homer.* J. of Phil. 1890. The augment was a method of emphasizing, not merely a mark of past time. K. Meiser, *Textkritisches.* München 1891. On χ 186. Fohleisen, Zu Od. viii. 521 foll. Württemb. 1891. Ed. Goebel, *Homerische Blätter.* Progr. Fulda 1891. On (1) ἀβρότη, ἀμφιβρότη, ἀβροτάζειν. (2) ἐπιεικτός, ἀάσχετος. (3) ἐν νηυσὶ πεσέεσθαι Ι 235, Μ 107. (4) μενοινάω and the so-called epic lengthening. (5) ἀπατάω, ἀπατηλός. (6) Χ 178. (7) Θ 535. (8) Ρ 89. (9) Ρ 155. (10) κ 441. (11) κ 494. Ed. Goebel, *Zu Homer,* N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1892. G. Vogrinz, εἰ *und* εἴ κε(ν) *mit den Konjunktiv bei Homer.* Zeitschr. f. d. öst. Gymn. 1890. W. T. Lendrum, *On the construction of clauses following expressions of expectation in Greek.* Cl. Rev. 1890. The exposition of Σ 497 fails. A. Hildebrandt, *De verbis et intransitive et causative apud Homerum usurpatis.* Diss. Halenses 1890. The intrans. meaning of many verbs has arisen from the causative meaning, but others are originally intransitive. Mehliss, *Ueber die Bedeutung von* καλός *bei Homer.* Progr. Eisleben 1891. P. Stengel, θυήεις—θύελλα—θυόεις. Hermes 1891. θύειν = to burn, only. G. E. Marindin, χλωρηΐς in Od. xix. 518. Cl. Rev. iv. 231. H. Skerlo, *Einiges über den Gebrauch von* ἀνά *bei Homer.* Progr. Graudenz 1892. L. Parmentier, *Homériques* νηῦς, γρηῦς, ἠΰς. Rev. de l'instr. en Belg. 1889. F. Weck, *Die epische Zerdehnung.* Progr. Metz 1891. A new attempt to explain the various forms of contracted verbs in H. Deserves careful consideration. E. Stolz, *Bausteine zu einen sprachwissenschaftlichen Kommentar der homerischen Gedichte.* Wiener Studien 1890. This is premature. *Index Homericus,* comp. Aug. Gehring. Leipzig 1891. Laborious and valuable. [Cl. Rev. vi. 14.] C. Hentze, *Anleitung zur Vorbereitung auf Homers Odyssee.* Leipzig 1891. Two parts. Books i.–xii. have as yet appeared. Much to be commended. E. Eberhard, *Die Partikel* καί *im homerischen Verse.* Zeitschr f. d. öst. Gymn. 1889. A. Platt, *Note on Homeric Scansion.* J. of Phil. 1889. A. Platt, *Spondees in the fourth foot in Homer.* J. of Phil. 1889.

III. Scholia and Manuscripts.

J. Nicole, *Les scolies Génevoises de l'Iliade.* Paris 1891. [Cl. Rev. v. 413.] J. Nicole, *Zu den Genfer Scholien der Ilias.* Paris 1891. [Cl. Rev. v. 413.] J. Nicole, *Zu den Genfer Iliasscholien.* Hermes 1891. C. Wachsmuth, *Neue Bruchstücke aus den Schriften des Grammatikus Crates.* Rhein. Mus. 1891. On Φ 195 and 282 which both contain fragments of Crates. H. Pusch, *Quaestiones Zenodoteae.* Diss. Hal. 1890. Deals mostly with Z. apart from his work on Homer. A. Ludwich, *Aristarchs Homerische Textkritik.* Part ii. Leipzig 1885. A defence of Aristarchus. A. Schimberg, *Zur handschriftlichen Ueberlieferung der Scholia Didymi.* Part i. Philol. 1891. Part ii. Progr. Ratibor 1891. These essays lay a safe foundation for a new edition of these scholia, which is much needed. Fr. Kappe, *Der Bekkersche Paraphrast der Ilias und seine Bedeutung für die Textkritik.* Progr. Liegnitz 1892. Includes Α—Θ and Φ—Ω. E. Dittrich, Ἡ ἐκ Μουσείου. N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1892. This edition is only mentioned in ξ 204, and there in connexion with Crete. W. Leaf, *The manuscripts of the Iliad.* J. of Phil. 1890. Shows the need of a fresh collation of L. J. van Leeuwen, jr., *De Iliadis et Odysseae Codice Vindobonensi N.* 5. Mnemos. 1890. T. W. Allen, *Manuscripts of the Iliad in Rome.* Cl. Rev. 1890. T. W. Allen, *Palaeographica.* J. of Phil. 1891. Puts the Townley Homer in 12th or 13th cent. as against E. Maass, who dates it 1059. F. G. Kenyon, *Classical texts from Papyri in the British Museum.* London 1891. Contains passages from ΒΓΔΨΩ from late papyri. J. Douglas, *The Harris Papyri.* Athenaeum 1891. K. Häberlin, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des antiken Bibliothek und Buchwesens* (1889). Deals partly with pre-Alexandrian editions of Homer. Menrad, *Ein neuentdecktes Fragment einer voralexandrinischen Homerausgabe,* bayer. Akad. d. Wiss. 1891. A. Ludwick, *Die sogenannte voralexandrinische Ilias.* Ind. lect. Königsberg 1892. E. Meyer, *Homerische Parerga.* Hermes 1892. The first two of these seek to estimate the value of the fragment of a papyrus cod. of the Iliad published by Mahaffy for the pre-Alexandrian division of the history of the text. The third is divided as follows: (1) The oldest text of Homer, (2) Theseus in Homer, (3) Apollo's festival on the first of the month, (4) The contest between Homer and Hesiod. R. Peppmüller, *Ueber die incertae sedis fragmenta Homerica.* N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1891. The fragments 3, 4, 7, 8 and 9 under H.'s name in Kinkel's Epic. gr. fragmenta are only a freer handling of some passages in our text.

IV. Subject-matter. Homer as a teacher.

P. W. Forchhammer, *Die Kyanen und die Argonauten.* Kiel and Leipzig 1891. Contains also (1) Die Grotte auf Ithaka, (2) Dardania (on Χ 149), (3) νυκτὸς ἀμολγῷ. S. Butler, *The topography of the Odyssey.* Athen. 1892. C. Torr, *Mr. Gladstone's Appendix.* Cl. Rev. 1890. M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Die homerischen Schwerter auf Kypros.* Berl. Phil. WS. 1892. Explains ξίφος ἀργυρόηλον. H. Kluge, *Vorhomerische Abbildungen homerischer Kampfscenen.* N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1892. Certain battle scenes on seal rings, &c., are copied in Δ 517, Π 330, Λ 218. C. E. Haskins, *On Homeric fishing-tackle.* J. of Phil. 1891. κέρας in Ω 81 is an artificial bait of horn. Cl. Hultig, *Zur Frage nach der Naivetät Homers.* Progr. Züllichau 1891. His so-called *naïveté* is the result of art not of nature. H. Grimm, *Homer as Charakterdarsteller.* Deutsch-Rundsch. 1892. O. Sommerfeld, *Hülfsbuch zur Lektüre der Ilias.* Progr. Glogau 1891. The pupil does not need such an elaborate preparation before reading Homer.

R.C.S.

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

ENGLISH BOOKS.

Abbott (E. A.) Dux Latinus: a First Latin Construing Book. With Rules for Translation, Notes, and Vocabulary. Post 8vo. Pp. 198. Seeley. 2*s.*

Adversaria Critica Sacra. With a Short Explanatory Introduction by F. H. A. Scrivener, M.A., D.C.L., LL.D. 8vo. Cambridge University Press.

Bell (A. M.) Second Greek Reader: Selections from Herodotus, with Introductions, Notes, and Vocabulary. Second Edition. 12mo. Pp. 190. Macmillan. 3*s.*

Caesar. Tales from the Civil War. By C. H. Keene. Macmillan. 1*s.* 6*d.*

Dionysius the Areopagite: Celestial and Ecclesiastical Hierarchy. Now first translated into English from the original Greek by the Rev. John Parker. 8vo. Pp. 100. Skeffington. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Euripides in English Verse. By A. S. Way. I. Hecuba; II. Alcestis; III. Medea. Crown 8vo. Macmillan. Each part sewed, 1*s.* 6*d.*

Euripides. Hippolutos. Now first translated into English, in its original and identical metres, with stage directions, suggesting how it may have been performed; also with Preface and Notes. By H. B. L. 8vo. Pp. xviii, 116. Williams & Norgate. 3*s.*

Evans (M. M.) Chapters on Greek Dress. Illustrated. 8vo. Pp. xvii, 84. Macmillan. 5*s.* net.

Greek Vase Paintings: a Selection of Examples, with Preface, Introduction, and Descriptions. By J. E. Harrison and D. S. MacColl. Size of the book: 18 by 14 inches. Bound in strong cloth. Fisher Unwin. 31*s.* 6*d.* net.

Harrison (Jane E.) Introductory Studies in Greek Art. With Maps and Illustrations. Third Edition. 8vo. Pp. 314. Unwin. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Homer. Iliad, Book IX. From the story of Achilles. Edited, with Notes, by John Henry Pratt and Walter Leaf. 12mo. Pp. 84. Macmillan. 2*s.*

—— Iliad, Book XXIV. A Translation by R. M. Thomas. 12mo. Sewed. Clive. 1*s.* 6*d.*

Rooper (E. P.) and Herring (F.) Primary Latin Exercises. 12mo. Rivington, Percival, & Co. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Thomas (A. H.) The Junior Student's First Latin Translation Book, with a Preface. By J. Arnold Turner. Rivington, Percival, & Co. 1*s.* 4*d.* net.

FOREIGN BOOKS.

Blaufuss (J.) Ad Herodiani rerum Romanarum scriptoris libros V. et VI. observationes. Diss. 8vo. 68 pp. Erlangen.

Cauer (P.) Die Kunst des Uebersetzens. Ein Hilfsbuch für den lateinischen und griechischen Unterricht. 8vo. viii, 130 pp. Berlin, Weidmann. Mk. 2.40.

Commentarii notarum tironianarum cum prolegomenis adnotationibus criticis et exegeticis notarumque indice alphabetico edidit W. Schmitz. Folio. 117 pp. 132 Plates. Leipzig. Mk. 40.

Costantini (G.) Per qual valico alpino scese Annibale in Italia? Progr. 8vo. 99 pp. Triest.

Crämer (H.) Beiträge zur Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen. Diss. 8vo. 58 pp. Marburg.

Cucheval (V.) Histoire de l'éloquence romaine depuis la mort de Cicéron jusqu'à l'avènement de l'empereur Hadrian. Tome I.–II. 16mo. x, 370 and 397 pp. Paris, Hachette & Co. 7 fr.

Dissertationes philologicae Argentoratenses selectae. Vol. XI. 8vo. iii, 402 pp. Strassburg, Trübner. Mk. 7.

Forchhammer (P. W.) Homer. Seine Sprache. Die Kampfplätze seiner Heroen und Götter in der Troas. Ein letztes Wort zur Erklärung der Ilias. 4to. 42 pp. Map. Kiel, Lipsius & Tischer. Mk. 3.

Genius (A.) De L. Annaei Senecae poetae tragici usu praepositionum. Diss. 8vo. 51 pp. Münster.

Hauler (E.) Zur Geschichte des griechischen Mimus. Progr. 8vo. 19 pp. Wien.

Job (L.) De grammaticis vocabulis apud Latinos (Thèse). 8vo. 185 pp. Paris, Bouillon.

Jülg (K.) Schillers Abhandlung über die Gesetzgebung des Lykurg als Probe einer Uebersetzung aus dem classischen Deutsch in das classische Griechisch. 8vo. 31 pp. Trient.

Kalopothakes (D.) De Thracia provincia romana. Dissertatio. 8vo. 80 pp. Leipzig. Mk. 2.

Kappes (M.) Aristoteles-Lexikon. Erklärung der philosophischen termini technici des Aristoteles in alphabetischen Reihenfolge. 8vo. 70 pp. Paderborn, F. Schöningh. Mk. 1.50.

Philologus. Zeitschrift für das classische Altertum. Begründet von Schneidewin und Leutsch. Herausgegeben von Crusius. 6tes Suppl.-Band. 2te Hälfte. 8vo. iii, 401–777 pp. Göttingen, Dieterich. Mk. 9.

Placidus (V.) Liber glossarum, glossaria reliqua edidit G. Goetz. 8vo. xxxvi, 664 pp. Leipzig, Teubner. Mk. 22.

[Corpus glossariorum latinorum recensuit, edidit G. Goetz. Vol. V.]

Poppelreuter (J.) De comoediae atticae primordiis particulae duae. Dissertatio. 8vo. 45 pp. Berlin. Mk. 1.20.

Rybczuk (P.) Quibus grammaticis formis Horatius agentium fines in suis operibus expresserit? Progr. 8vo. 12 pp. Tarnopol.

Sanojca (J.) De comitiorum centuriatorum mutata ratione. Progr. 8vo. 35 pp. Lemberg.

Scherrans (W.) De poetarum comicorum atticorum studiis Homericis. Dissertatio. 8vo. 57 pp. Königsberg. Mk. 1.

Schubert (R.) Geschichte des Pyrrhus. Neu untersucht und nach den Quellen dargestellt. 8vo. iv, 288 pp. Königsberg, W. Koch. Mk. 7.

Sittl (Prof. D.) Klassische Kunstarchaeologie. Theil I. 8vo. 1–304 pp. München, Beck. Mk. 5.50.

[Müller's Handbuch der klassischen Altertums-Wissenschaft. Band VI. Teil I. (18ter Halbband.)]

Spika (J.) De usu praepositionum in L. Annaei Senecae tragoediis. Progr. 8vo. 32 pp. Wien.

Studien, Leipziger, zur classischen Philologie. Herausgegeben von O. Ribbeck, H. Lipsius, C. Wachsmuth. Band XV. Heft 1. 8vo. 274 pp. Leipzig, Hirzel. Mk. 7.

Swoboda (A.) Beiträge zur Beurtheilung des unechten Schlusses von Euripides Iphigenie in Aulis. Progr. 8vo. 24 pp. Karlsbad.

Thumser (V.) Aufgaben eines zukünftigen griechischen Staatsrechtes. Progr. 8vo. 13 pp. Wien.

Wackernagel (J.) Beiträge zur Lehre vom griechischen Akzent. 4to. 39 pp. Basel.

The Classical Review

APRIL 1894.

THE NEW THESAURUS LINGUAE LATINAE.

THE *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie* (viii 621–5, 1893) contains the definitive plan for this great work, adopted by the five Academies of Berlin, Göttingen, Leipzig, Munich and Vienna.

After a brief allusion to the Greek and Latin lexicons of Henry and Robert Estienne in the sixteenth century, and the works of Gesner and Forcellini in the eighteenth, mention is made of Friedrich Wolf's abortive plan at the beginning of this century, resumed by Ritschl, Halm and Fleckeisen in 1858. Bücheler was then selected as editor, and King Max II of Bavaria promised financial aid. Five and twenty years later Wölfflin, Halm's successor at Munich, with the help of the Bavarian Academy, founded 'The Archive for Latin Lexicography and Grammar, inclusive of the earlier Mediaeval Latin, as a preparation for a *Thesaurus linguae latinae*.' This serial, which has just completed its eighth volume, has trained a large number of readers, who have divided among them the whole range of Latin letters.

In 1889 Prof. Hertz read before the Congress of Philologists at Görlitz a paper which attracted the attention of the Prussian Government. After various conferences it was resolved at Berlin on the 21st and 22nd of last October: That Professors Bücheler, Wölfflin and Leo should direct the whole work. For a few writers the existing special lexicons are recognized as sufficient. For the remainder complete *indices omnium verborum et locorum*, on Meusel's system, are to be compiled. The archaic and golden Latin (and inscriptions) will be reduced to slips in its entirety, the silver Latin for the most part, the later Latin in a suitable selection. Readers will also ransack critical journals and *adversaria*.

When the special *indices* have been made, they will be sorted alphabetically, statistics taken of the frequency of occurrence of words and forms of words, the meanings arranged in groups. Thus the mass of material will be sifted by sub-editors before it comes under the hands of the editors in chief. The whole work will not exceed twelve volumes large 4to, containing on an average 1000 pages.

The publication is expected to occupy 20 years and to cost 605,000 marks. The copyright is calculated at 100,000 (or at the utmost 150,000) marks. The remaining 500,000 marks will be furnished by the five Academies, each contributing 5000 marks a year for the 20 years.

I take this opportunity of remonstrating against the neglect of the great storehouses of Latinity, known by the names of Gesner, Scheller, Forcellini. Fifty years ago, when I came up to Cambridge, my private tutor, the late Dr Bateson, rebuked me for not possessing a Forcellini. I had bought Riddle's Scheller at school. I have now had much experience in the market, and know that any one of the three great lexicons can be bought (not indeed the latest edition of Forcellini) for a lower price than Lewis-Short or Riddle-White. It is no less than a public calamity that Freund's lexicon, pretentious and untrustworthy as it is,[1] has for nearly half a century supplied our schools and universities with all that they care to know of Latin lexicography. Gesner summed up the work of a century; Scheller and Forcellini each devoted a life to perfecting their collections. I have Halm's copy of Gesner, Madvig's of Scheller,

[1] Georges, an excellent authority, supports my preference of Klotz to Freund.

and believe that those excellent scholars for long years needed no other guides. Freund was a young man when he brought out his book; after the first volume (A—C), he became weary and was content with a hasty extract from Forcellini. I shall be reminded that he gives definite statistics: 'only in the following examples'; 'only in Cicero,' etc. But these statements are made at random. If a word is marked 'rare,' it is probably very common (I have elsewhere commented on *adiutorium*, perhaps the very commonest word ending in *-orium*, of which I have noted some 500 examples, 124 from one author); if a single example is cited, and no note of rarity affixed, the word may very likely be ἅπαξ εἰρημένον.

I myself have two copies of Lewis-Short, and two of Riddle-White, but then I use them as convenient receptacles for marginal notes. I can make ten notes in a handy quarto in shorter time than I could make one in a large-paper folio of Robert Estienne. If I want to ascertain what the usage of the word is, so far as it is recorded, I consult perhaps a hundred volumes. Now young students ought to use a lexicon as a digest of evidence, in order to form an instinct for classical usage. For such a purpose the fuller the collection of examples, the better.

I could fill a large volume with proofs of the indictment against Freund and his followers, but a few specimens, taken at hap-hazard, must suffice.

coronatio Riddle-White 'late Lat.' the authority being William of Malmesbury. The word is omitted by Lewis-Short, who cannot know that it occurs, not only in glossaries, but in Aug. civ. Dei vii 27 and serm. 286 7f. It is true that Lewis-Short expunges many quotations that rest on the authority of John of Salisbury (see however *innominatus*, *innotescentia*) or later writers, but a constant recourse to Georges and Paucker would stay the rash sentence in many cases, cf. *irreparabiliter*, discarded by L.-S. as resting on the authority of John of Salisbury; but it has been found in Aug. c. Faust. xv 3. de virgin. 29: op. imperf. c. Iulian. vi 18 (x 2087[c] Gaume). [Aug.] ad fratr. erem. serm. 41 f. concil. Matiscon. A.D. 585. Vigil. Taps. c. Eutych. v 26.

inequito L.-S. 'with *dat.* horrenti fascino, Arn. 4 7. B. with *acc.* in mal. part. vestras matronas, Arn. 4 131.' Any one familiar with Arnobius would see at once that these two references are to one and the same passage, book and chapter being cited in the first case, book and page (ed. Leyden 1651, 4to) in the second. A reference to the author himself, or to Forcellini, would show that *matronas* is subject, and *fascino* object of the verb, and that superstition, not lust, is the fault imputed to the heathen by the apologist. Here L.-S. adds the right construction (c. dat.) and reference to the wrong one, but has not insight enough to strike out Freund's (and R.-W.'s) blunder. As for the confusion between chapter and page, Apuleius suffers rather worse treatment than his Christian countryman; for the page sometimes represents Oudendorp's, sometimes Hildebrand's, sometimes an earlier edition.

perrectio om. L.-S. see Arn. 7 24.

plasea om. L.-S. (though given under *palasea*) Arn. 7 24 *bis*. 25. It is not apparent on what authority the quantity of the word is given.

praesul = *praesultator* or *praesultor* occurs several times in the seventh book of Arnobius cc. 9. 39. 41f. 43 pr. 44. pp. 243 24. 272 16 24. 274 24. 275 28. 277 20. 278 4 ed. Reifferscheid.

JOHN E. B. MAYOR.

THE GENEVA FRAGMENTS OF HOMER.

THE *Revue de Philologie* for January contains the text of the fragments of Homer included among the papyri recently acquired by the Bibliothèque de Genève, the examination and editing of which has been placed in the hands of Prof. J. Nicole. These Homeric fragments are six in number, of which two belong to the same MS. Three of them are of little or no importance and may be briefly dismissed. M. Nicole's frag. iii. contains the ends of *Il.* i. 44—60, with no variation from the received text. Frag. iv. contains the latter halves of *Il.* iv. 82—95, carefully written on the *verso* of a business document, again without variation from the received text. Frag. v. contains *Il.* vi. 327—353, more or less mutilated, irregularly written on the *verso* of a business document, and differing only from the received text in having a great number of gross blunders. Fragments i. and ii. form part of a single MS., and are more interest-

ing. In the first place they are larger than the three above-mentioned; in the second, they contain part of the *Odyssey*, hitherto scantily represented among papyri; and in the third, they exhibit one or two interesting variants. The text included in them is that of *Od.* iii. 364—375 and 384—402, written in a very large and thick uncial. The noticeable variants are the following. In l. 372 θάμβησε δὲ λαὸς Ἀχαιῶν replaces θάμβος δ' ἕλε πάντας Ἀχαιούς (*al.* ἰδόντας), in which the word ἕλε is somewhat objectionable, since it is repeated two lines lower. In l. 373 the papyrus has θαύμασεν instead of the vulgate θαύμαζεν. Line 394 runs εὔχετ' ἀποσπένδων μελιηδέα οἶνον ἐρυθρόν in place of εὔχετ' ἀποσπένδων κούρῃ Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο. Finally in l. 400 the papyrus has πὰρ δέ οἱ, as in the MS. Vindobonensis 5, instead of the vulgate πὰρ δ' ἄρ'. M. Nicole's discovery raises the number of papyri of the *Odyssey* to three (exclusive of some unpublished fragments said to be in the Rainer collection at Vienna), the other two being respectively at Berlin and in the British Museum. The latter, by a coincidence, contains part of the same book as the Geneva papyrus, but is considerably larger in extent.

M. Nicole's remaining papyrus is far more curious than these, and belongs to the same class as the Petrie fragment which aroused such searchings of heart when published, a few years ago, by Prof. Mahaffy. Like that fragment, M. Nicole's frag. vi. contains several lines unknown to the received text, and consequently a more detailed description of its contents may be acceptable.

It begins with *Il.* xi. 788 and ends with xii. 9; but besides the 80 lines included in our texts within these limits, the MS. contained, when intact, 13 lines more, besides diverging more or less seriously from the vulgate in other respects. Lines 788—809 are preserved only as to their terminations; but the three lines after 795 are here represented as follows (dotted letters are doubtful):

ογεροντος
ῳνιθοαῳν
λαοτανωχθω
ιγενηαι

Hence M. Nicole reconstructs the passage:

795. καί τινά οἱ πὰρ Ζηνὸς ἐπέφραδε πότνια μήτηρ
795*a*. ἀργυρόπεζα Θέτις θυγάτηρ ἁλίοιο γέροντος (as in i. 538 etc.).
795*b*. αὐτὸς μὲν νηῶν μενέτω ἐν ἀγῶνι θοάων, (cf. xvi. 239),
796. ἀλλὰ σέ περ προέτω, τὸν δ' ἄλλον λαὸν ἀνώχθω (cf. xi. 189).
797. Μυρμιδόνων, κ.τ.λ.

Line 798 ends with ῃρηχθηναι, where M. Nicole proposes σοὶ δὲ δότω ὤμοις τὰ ἃ τεύχεα θωρηχθῆναι, or καὶ δότω ὤμοιϊν, after the model of xvi. 40. After 804 a line is interpolated, ending καχησεδεθυμο, for which M. Nicole suggests τεῖρε γὰρ αἰνὸν ἄχος κραδίην, ἀκάχησε δὲ θυμόν. After 805 is another interpolation, of which the editor prints only νο.....α..α.., restoring τὸν δ' εὗρε προπάροιθε νεῶν ὀρθοκραιράων, but this reconstruction seems a little doubtful (unless the traces in the papyrus support it more strongly than M. Nicole shows), since the final word undoubtedly recurs (MS. -οκραιραων) as the ending of another interpolated line which follows 807, where the editor reads καὶ κλισίαι, προπάροιθε νεῶν ὀρθοκραιράων, substituting ἦσαν for ἦην in the next line. One other variant remains to be mentioned in this column of the MS., viz. in l. 791, where the papyrus appears to have σον as the ending, instead of πίθηται. M. Nicole suggests, with some diffidence, ταῦτ' εἰπὼν Ἀχιλῆϊ δαΐφρονι δεῦρο κάλεσσον.

The next column, ll. 810—834, is preserved almost intact, and again there are several marked variations. In l. 811 ἀπὸ is read doubtfully for κατὰ: 814 ἀγλαὸς (as in schol. on MS. Vrat. b) for ἄλκιμος: 815 runs ἔν τ' ἄρα οἱ φῦ χειρί, ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν instead of καί ῥ' ὀλοφυρόμενος ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα: 822 τὸν δὴ ὕπ' for τὸν δ' αὖτ' and πεπνυμένος for βεβλημένος, as CL and schol. on A: 823 ἦμαρ for ἄλκαρ: 830 πάσσων for πάσσε. But the chief novelty is at l. 827, where the papyrus has

827. χερσὶν ὕπο Τρώων· τοῦ δὲ σθένος ἆεν (*sic*) ὄρωρε.
827*a*. Ἕκτορος, ὃς τάχα νῆας ἐνιπλείσῃ (*sic*) πυρὶ κηλείῳ
827*b*. δηιώσας Δαναοὺς παρὰ θῖν' ἁλὸς· αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς
827*c*. ἐσθλὸς ἐὼν Δαναῶν οὐ κήδεται οὐδ' ἐλεαίρει.
828. ἀλλ' ἐμὲ κ.τ.λ.

Of the third column nothing is left except a very few letters at the beginnings of the lines; but these are sufficient to establish, first, that six lines, instead of two, were written between ll. 834 and 837; and next, that an additional line followed 838. No letters however remain legible of any of these new lines, so our curiosity is baffled: and any restoration of the MS.

must be purely imaginary. It only remains to add that l. 848 begins with ἴσχ' instead of ἔσχ', and that no interval is marked between the end of book xi. and the beginning of xii.

These are the facts concerning this curious fragment, as reported by Prof. Nicole; space will not admit of much comment, even were it desirable. As to the date of the MS. he tells us nothing, and no facsimile has been published which would enable a judgment to be formed. In one place M. Nicole says he has hitherto found nothing among the Geneva papyri which bears a definite date earlier than the Roman period; on the other hand he states that the writing of frag. vi. much resembles that of the Petrie fragment, which is of the third cent. B.C. It is certainly a curious coincidence that both of these strange fragments belong to the same book of the *Iliad*, but, considering the manner in which the Petrie fragment was discovered, it is hardly possible that they can be parts of the same MS. A definite pronouncement as to the date of the new fragment will be awaited with much interest, and it will certainly be curious if the existence of such a divergent recension of the *Iliad* can be established much later than the great age of Alexandrian scholarship. As to the bearing of the discovery on Homeric criticism, Prof. Ludwich has shown that no exaggerated idea need be formed of the importance of the Petrie fragment. The appearance, after so short an interval, of another MS. of the same description is certainly remarkable; but the character of the added lines does not seem to be such as to disturb Ludwich's conclusions. On this point, however, it is the opinion of Homeric specialists alone that will carry much weight.

F. G. KENYON.

SLAVE TORTURE IN ATHENS.

AGAINST Mr. J. W. Headlam's proposition in the *Classical Review*, Feb. 1893, that the 'appeal to the Question [challenge to slave-torture] was not a means of collecting evidence for a jury,' but 'an alternative method of trial,' a 'kind of ordeal,' the following considerations may be urged:—

(1) The passages from Demosthenes *against Onetor* and Lysias *on the Sacred Olive* imply that if the challenges had been accepted the statements of the slaves would have been brought into court as evidence. In Dem. *Onetor* 35 the speaker says,—'I demanded of him three female slaves.....ἵνα μὴ λόγοι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βάσανοι περὶ αὐτῶν γίγνοιντο.' In Lysias vii. 37 the speaker does not imply that if the challenge had been accepted there would have been no trial, but says that if the test had gone against him he would have had no defence. But that he expected the statements of the slaves to be produced in court as evidence is clear from what he says at the end of the same section,—Ἐγὼ τοίνυν εἰς τοῦτο προθυμίας ἀφικόμην, ἡγούμενος μετ' ἐμοῦ εἶναι καὶ ἐκ βασάνων καὶ ἐκ μαρτύρων καὶ ἐκ τεκμηρίων ὑμᾶς περὶ τοῦ πράγματος τἀληθῆ πυθέσθαι.

(2) Two other passages imply the use, as evidence, of such statements. Isaeus viii. 10 βουλόμενος οὖν πρὸς τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι μάρτυσιν ἔλεγχον ἐκ βασάνων ποιήσασθαι περὶ αὐτῶν..... τούτους ἠξίουν ἐκδοῦναι τὰς θεραπαίνας, etc. Similarly Lycurgus *Leocrates* 28.

(3) That the statements of slaves under torture are not 'always spoken of as being the only absolutely certain way of discovering the truth about a disputed fact' is shown by Lysias vii. 35 οὗτος δ' οὐκ ἤθελεν, οὐδὲν φάσκων πιστὸν εἶναι τοῖς θεράπουσιν. Similarly Lysias iv. 16, Lycurg. *Leocr.* 30, and especially Antiphon vi. 31 f. Aristotle *Rhet.* i. 15 shows how one may claim slave testimony to be fallible or infallible according to one's interests. Challenges were refused from distrust of slave testimony, in spite of Isaeus viii. 12, and no one can greatly wonder that in the comparatively small body of speeches extant there is no instance of the acceptance of a challenge.

C. V. THOMPSON.

Yale University.

THE courtesy of the editor enables me to answer Mr. Thompson's criticism at once.

I attempted in my former article to show that there were several passages which seem to speak of the πρόκλησις εἰς βάσανον as an alternative procedure to trial before the jury, and that there were none which clearly stated that the statements of slaves under torture obtained in a πρόκλησις could be brought before the jury as evidence.

There are several passages which would be equally consistent with either explanation, passages in which the language used by the speaker is very vague. To this class as it seems to me belongs *Onetor* A. 35; at least I can find no words here which justify the statement that the *statements of the slaves would be brought into the court as evidence.* The words quoted certainly do not justify it.

As to Lysias vii. 37 I venture still to claim this passage as a strong case on my side; the speaker does not say 'I should have had no defence' had the question gone against me, but 'I should not even have been allowed to make a defence': *περὶ ἐμοῦ μὲν γὰρ εἰ ἤλεγχον, οὐδ' ἂν ἀπολογήσασθαί μοι ἐξεγένετο.* How could he have more clearly expressed the condition in which he would have found himself had he been defeated in a test, the result of which was that there would have been no further trial and therefore no opportunity for him to say anything to defend himself against the charge, or to plead in mitigation of the penalty?

The passages in Isaeus viii. 15 and in Lycurgus are very similar and must be considered together; the actual words are:

βουλόμενος οὖν πρὸς τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι μάρτυσιν ἔλεγχον ἐκ βασάνων ποιήσασθαι περὶ αὐτῶν, ἵνα μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς πιστεύητε μὴ μέλλουσι δώσειν ἔλεγχον, ἀλλ' ἤδη δεδωκόσι περὶ ὧν μαρτυροῦσι, τούτους ἠξίουν ἐκδοῦναι τὰς θεραπαίνας.

and

καὶ ταῦτα δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐμοῦ θεωρήσατε, ὡς δικαίαν τὴν ἐξέτασιν ποιουμένου περὶ τούτων. οὐ γὰρ οἶμαι δεῖν ὑμᾶς ὑπὲρ τηλικούτων ἀδικημάτων εἰκάζοντας ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν εἰδότας ψηφίζεσθαι, καὶ τοὺς μάρτυρας μὴ δώσοντας ἔλεγχον μαρτυρεῖν ἀλλὰ δεδωκότας.

In both the words *δώσειν ἔλεγχον* are used of the *μάρτυρες*; as the article shows in the one passage and *αὐτοῖς* in the other the *μάρτυρες* spoken of are those whose evidence is already before the jury; under no circumstances could they be subjected to the torture; the expression therefore can only mean 'to offer the test.' The statements of the witnesses are confirmed by the offer that has been made to subject the slaves to the torture.

It is noticeable that in both passages the speaker is referring to the effect on the jury under actual circumstances and not to what it would have been had the challenge been accepted; this is shown by the *πιστεύητε* and the *οἶμαι*; I should therefore translate:

'Wishing then in addition to the witnesses that I already had to have the test of the question about the matter, and I mention this in order that you may have the more confidence in witnesses who are not going to offer the test but have already done so about these matters on which they give evidence, I asked my adversary to surrender his slaves, etc.

he does not say, as on the ordinary theory we should expect:

'In order that you might trust other witnesses.'

and in the other passage:

'And see on this point, gentlemen, how fairly I carry on the investigations; for I do not think that on a charge of this magnitude you ought to give your vote by judging probabilities but with a knowledge of the truth, and I do not think that witnesses ought to give their evidence if they do not intend to put it to the test, but after having already done so.' The test they have given is the offer of the *πρόκλησις* and the *truth* is the assumption made from the refusal.'

In § 35 he confirms this interpretation by explaining that he could not be charged with bringing the *εἰσαγγελία* unjustly because he had wished to bring the matter to the test of the *βάσανος*:

ἐγὼ τοίνυν τοσοῦτων ἀφέστηκα τοῦ ἀδίκως τὴν εἰσαγγελίαν κατὰ Λεωκράτους ποιήσασθαι, ὅσον ἐγὼ μὲν ἐβουλόμην τοῖς ἰδίοις κινδύνοις ἐν τοῖς Λεωκράτους οἰκέταις καὶ θεραπαίναις βασανισθεῖσι τὸν ἔλεγχον γενέσθαι.

There would be no point in saying this, if, supposing the challenge had been accepted, the *εἰσαγγελία* would still have taken place.

My statement quoted by Mr. Thompson under (3) is certainly too strong; it is true that there are several passages in which the writers attempt to weaken the confidence assumed to be felt in the Question, when they have refused the challenge, and Aristotle gives directions for doing so, but it remains that the verdict of the *βάσανος* is often spoken of as giving absolute certainty in language quite different from that ever used of *μαρτυρίαι* however good. Could anything be stronger than the words of Isaeus viii. 12 which are repeated by Demosthenes *Onetor* A. 37?—

σύνιστε γὰρ ὅτι τῶν μὲν μαρτυρησάντων ἤδη τινὲς ἔδοξαν οὐ τἀληθῆ μαρτυρῆσαι, τῶν δε βασανισθέντων οὐδένες πώποτε ἠλέγχθησαν ὡς οὐκ ἀληθῆ ἐκ τῶν βασάνων εἰπόντες.

The absence of any single case in which the *πρόκλησις* became effective still seems to me to be very remarkable and to require explanation; even if that which I have hazarded is not the right one. J. W. HEADLAM.

COLLATION OF THE MADRID MS. OF MANILIUS (M. 31 BIBL. NAZION.) WITH THE TEXT OF JACOB, BERLIN, 1846.

(*Continued from page* 6.)

Book IV.

M · MILNILI ASTRONOMICON LIB · III · EXPLICIŪ · INCIP · IIII.

6 qui plura 12 curasque lauate 13 deflere que sellis 15 *marg.* aliter cursus (*later hand*) 18 creatis 21 uobis 22 /ua/uque ferenda *marg.* sortem (the second erased letter has perished by a worm, leaving a round hole: the top of the letter, seemingly c, remains) 23 Aduisi (*left marg.* At nisi) 24 aenean (rather than aeneam, but very difficult to be certain) troia sub d'no (domino) 25 statis 26 proiectus 28 auxissent flumina montis 29 Lucludiue (I think) 30 Captus et capitis 31 repetisset iuuenis orbem 35 ab uuo 36 iacebit 38 Varronemque pugum magnum quam uiuere possit 39 Postque tuos tharsymene lacus fauiumque morantem 40 uictae 41 hanibalem 42 rogi 43 Adde etiam italas acies 44 et *om.* 45 Et cimbirun inmario 46 quod exule 48 Seque trepidinibus que cepit carthaginis orbem 49 umquam 50 Quis tetulia co (attached so to a) eperiturum 51 Post raetas mundatis 52 tris emenso 53 posset coponere 55 Electaeque 58 uictorū uilibus armis 61 Iudicium 64 primumque trucum 68 qui 69 in *om.* 72 contingit 75 mora sepe malorum 76 Dant causas 77 Deuenerant 79 Exilio 80 transnare uertere 82 Alterius syons est 84 mouentur 86 nonmoue (? nonmone) 87 inuicta deuictum 88 uirem sed legere pugnat 90 inmensis 91 Sed rapit exceptos fumis fortuna superbos 96 causa 100 Attribuatque suo sex enascentibus 102 non sumius (?)[1] 104 inportent noxam 105 hora 106 Deneque 110 oderit 112 dulcior 113 non nulla 114 eritis sit 118 facile est sic ipsum 120 plexo 121 pendentem 127 cadit 128 In uulgumque 132 Nunc gemere uestes *om.* 136 Seque inarachneo magnam putat esse triumfum 138 figum 140 dotauit 141 Pacatque 145 signa 148 facesque per aura 152 Mollibus (*sic*) 153 hora 154 gracilis et ueruis (? uerius) in seta uerba 155 socium 157 in morte 158 munerisque 159 Consummant orbem postquam 162 metam[2] 163 Quam 166 Actribuit 169 opus orbisque orbi 171 nouas e. predas 172 cōponere census 173 celeris obtando 174 aequoque tempora 175 dubitit uasti 179 Apparet spolio uiuit pecorumque rapinis Hoc habet hac studium positis ornare superbis 182 uiuere uictor 183 frenis 184 pecudum grassentur 185 suspendat 186 Luxuriaeque parent caedem mortesque lucrentur 187 facilisque recensus 188 et puero 189 A quibus dixit (*looks rather like* theit) 190 Opta magisterio nudosque coercit auirgo 191 Ad studium ducit mores et 192 instituet 195 Atque oculos mentis qui possit 197 cui littera uerbum es 198 *om.* 200 Inuicio bonas utteneros 202 Nec fecundus erit quid mirum uirgine partus 203 Libantes 204 post annum baechi (*sic*) 205 Mensura et ac tempora rerum 206 Et pala medeis certante 207 numerus 209 tabolas et condita rura 211 sciet sequetur 214 Qui leges potius posuit cum iura retexit 215 Denique et in ambiguo 216 Et rectoris tegens 217 Scorpion armati uiolenta cuspide cauda 221 multum 223 perarant 224 uiolentia ferrum 225 finis harenae 227 simul aera 228 pugna est discūque per orna bellum 234 biforo *m. pr.* (afterwards the first o has had a line drawn through it, converting it into e) 232 molia 235 tigris 238 uere 239 Inpostumque 240 Quoque interna cornū 243 Restat uos ignes 244 trahit quidquid 246 Seruarique caecamet alla (so *m. pr.* then scru ari) 248 Materiam-

[1] Probably for simius.

[2] As Bentley conjectured.

que manu certa duplicari et arte 249 Quicquid fabricetur quicquid 250 calidis canunt (rather than camint) 251 Consumentque 253 Frigora 254 Quare trahis noctis 256 Hic mutuataque 257 iuncta sub pisce 258 Pars prior et uentri 259 proicit 261 unda sinducere 263 per luxam inludere pondo 264 uarios lacos 268 Sidera scaelumque 269 ueniunt operum pontisque sequentur 270 Mitte ad sidera 275 Credent et pupes aut pupibus 278 carina 280 Et pontum caelo uincit et nouerit orbem 281 mundum 282 Iamque huc adque huc caligine conuertere clauum 283 effundere 284 aggere edentas 286 Litor ibique suis 287 Aut iuncos 289 luctus 290 natis uoluntas 294 in totum semet 298 deganae decanica 299 Annumero numem 304 in caeco (seemingly with some marks of erasure about the first c) 306 oposita est et fallit 307 caelai 308 alia 311 Vel ateant alia euires 312 *inest* 314 inter denas dicitur 315 quodcumque 316 sub illa 318 erigonen 321 adiuncta partes 326 undis 328 partes perfundet 330 Ad leo 331 recepit 333 flexus 335 parte 336 nemee una est 337 Quae fastidito concessa est iure potiri 338 extemplo 340 uerbis 341 Hec autumnalis 342 trahitque sequenti 343, 344 *om.* 345 fecit cui nomen 347 Atque in contento After 348 follows 343 Vicinam partem centauri tertia summa est, then 344 Scorpios an prima c. p. l. 350 Nec manet ingrati capricornus et imine turpi 351 Sed inuinis (hardly iuuinis: the i is thrice dotted as I have written it) crancro 356 Haerentisque decem partis nota 361 sumunt quae orbe 363 re^tegit (*sic*) 364 Inplrurisque repetit atque 366 Nec tua sub utulis nodis 367 ostentur 368 annum (?) mittenda 369 Inque alio quaerendo mala quid 373 setus 374 animamtum (*sic*) milibus 376 E genus refererunt[1] 381 amauit (a dot over u, thus ú) 384 Centaurusque seri signi 385 Ipse tui 386 pluris 387 Vultu inquis 388 *om.* 393 nec sunt inmunia tanta 395 Admittit pocius sus-ar est sint After 396 follows 388 Rursus et inmagna mergis caligine mentem, then 397 Obstauitque suis usu per addita tellus 398 geminae transibunt 399 preuo 400 consument 401 Et quantae mercedis erunt sollacia rura 402 Quae renuis lucrum naues martemque sequuur (*sic*) 403 belle caduca 405 pereat 406 ueniat 410 quae sint insiqta cuique 412 uel quae sexus erat ignis 413 Et sceleris utroque tamen quas largior umor (*marg.* humor) 414 Quaque miuor ibi touit namque 417 partis 419 Sic sterilis terris leus interuenit aruis 420 fetus 421 pelaguam uasta charybdis 422 pont*y*(*sic*) 423 lauitur 424 a worm has eaten a round hole over the first part of *uritue* leaving *ıritue:* but it was no doubt *uritue* 425 Sic euam 426 Vt signum signo 427 usumque salubrem 429 mixtaque rellis 431 Sed quis tot numeros totiens sublegere ferre 432 Tot partes iterareque artot dicere summis 433 Per patris causas faciem mutare loquendi 434 Incidimus sic uerba piget sed gracia derit 435 Inuanumque labor cedit quem despicit auris 438 Nec fingenda monstrada 439 mnus rather than nimis: nothing indicates an i 440 ne fas est 442 cauenda 445 Septima pars illi ac decumaeque decu^m^ae secunda 447 pars laudet 448 Et quintam et duram consumat 449 similis quoteitua[2] 450 decu^m^am decu^m^ae 452 Quemque frauda duobus 453 et tritricesima summa est 454 Pestifeream geminis 455 quina et 456 breuios 459 inmunis 460 octabae similis secum seque peracta 461 rapit quintae clementior 462 Septimam 463 et *om.* septū a 464 contractu nemee 465 primis bis quinta salubris 467 adp. uictum est 468 Vltimam nec 469 Erigone 470 A decuma nec 471 et quarta timenda e After 472 follows as in Voss[2] Et septima et undecima est decimaeque et tercia iuncta est (474 Jacob) Et quinta in chaelis et septima inutilis aestu (473 Jacob) Then 475 but ambrae 476 cludunt nonet 477 pars est 478 et quater quinta notatur 479 Vndecima et q3 (que) 480 Octauoue manet numero nonumque capesit 481 se lege 482 octabam bis sex peractis 485 figurant 486 nouae 487 terna signat 490 succendens prima peracte 491 et quinta est numeroque condita uē 492 Et post uiginti quinta et uicesima noua est *Then* [b]Tertia per geminos et quinta et septima pisces [a]Cum illa quartam accumulat uicesima noua Vndecima et decimae m.e.s.i. 498 et frigori et igni 499 uel quod superauerit humor 500 Si rapidiss mauors signis iaculetur in illum 501 Saturnus fumet glaciem phoebus ueca labores

[3] Possibly from referent.

[2] Perhaps a corruption of *quoi tertia.*

ORIENTIA SIGNA QVID EFFICIANT

502 Nete 504 ultraque 505 ubi~~s~~se extollit 508 soluitque 509 Tantum audere iuuat 510 Et ruet ut uincat non ullus sedibus isdem 511 delectant 512 iubat orbes 514 tibi 515 findens per fata sori 517 Et Colchida tergo reuexit 518 Ad 519 Feminea iuceat 520 naturam serere fas est 522 Pleiadum paruo 523 et ruris opes iuuentum 524 Dote 525 cum profert unda tegitque 526 ductas 528 uecisque 529 et dotes salius 531 ex sutus phoebi signibus 532 Deficit 533 deficient arctus 535 Si qui 536 scandat 537 coeperit ipse 538 Non legauit opes censuque inmergit in ipso 539 sibi 541 reuocet 542 Erigonen 544 tribuit 547 antumnales ceperunt (the v over n is in a faded ink and probably later) chela 549 externea 550 rogabis (a later ink has written t in the margin) 551 notūque 553 Scorpius extraeme cum tollet lumina caude 554 susragantibus 555 iuueueis~~ſſ~~ (nc in fainter ink) 556 Moenisubcinctis (*in left marg.* Moenia) 557 orbes (v *coeval*) 558 reddit 560 arquitenens[1] prima cum ueste resurgit 563 statuit uertit 565 adsperrima fronti 566 treuiam cauasque lacumque 568 summos 569 Miliciae inponto dicat 570 minis~~ſ~~t eria 571 castumque probumbe 573 Neue sit et primus animus procedere pisces 575 imitantis (I think) ad auris 576 Crimina per polū populi ferre orbe biligro 577 nectis (I think) 579 cetherea notauit 580 Cum babiloniacas summersa 581 alatos umeros thypona 582 picibus 584 erit At the side of 585 in the right margin is written in vermilion

DE PARTIBVS TERRAE DESTRIBVTIS AD SIGNA FIDE UMUERSA TERRA ET MARI

586 Percipe sede summa est rerum r. figura 587 descr. 588 nascentem ipsumque 591 fugit ~~c~~urus (c struck through, but no e substituted) 592 zepyrusque 593 medios se 594 similis 595 nattat *m. pr.*, *now* natat 597 uespero ab astro 598 Atmissus 599 Aluit 601 ad nihilum derectis 602 Leua cedunt hyspanias (*not* hyspanas) 604 Italaeque sinuatis 605 adscillat uos 606 Hac ubi fudit (*the word after* fudit *is wanting*) 608 laeuas effundens 609 Italiam hadriam comitatus nomine ponto 610 bellum 611 Inliricum epirumque labat corintum 612 Et pelo ponens si 613 in laeuum 614 Thes alia et athica 615 Hic pontus 616 apto 617 iniungit 618 pontemque ministra 620 Heles ponti aces 621 Icarium aegeum qua 622 populus asia et 623 Quod loca gentes aurumque 624 siriam (*om.* que) 625 fugentis aequora terras 629 constringit harenis 631 Sardiniam inlibico 632 Triuacria 634 genetrixcreta 635 Aegiptia cipros omnis 636 Totque m. solo tamen e. ponto 637 Litora et aequalis ciclades deloque rhodonque 638 Aulidaque et tenedum uicina quae corsita terris 639 primumque intrantis in orbe 640 Oceani uictrice melius usum rura 641 In numerum 642 Nec tantum exima pontus sibi parte reclusus∧\. This v. ends f. 40ᵇ, and below the line on the right is a mark which looks as if it meant that something is lost. I have copied it, as above. 643 Faucibus abreptis 644 Inpulit~~t~~ (*sic*) oceano pocius 646 Namque inter borea uortū/~~est~~ (*sic*) que est at enitentes 649 exuini similis facit aequora ponti 650 duo bella per unde (*or rather perhaps* per imde)[2] 651 per sicca 653 Arua tenent predatur 653 Quae regat orbe 654 inmollis arabas 659 Al pinas contundit cum hanibal artes 661 libyam (m *altered into* n) infudet 662 Huc uarias pisces 665 partu 666 follows 667 in M 666 In poenas horrida bella 667 uastos *altered from* uastas 668 cecropum 669 Ae changed to Ac harenas 670 ponet colonis 673 odorata espirant medicamine siluae 674 uel orbis 675 Alter 676 diuiso 677 At tantam scycicas d. f. orbes 678 Moetisque sacus euxenique 679 et extremum propontidos helles pontum 680 Asiae metam (*om.* Hanc) pontentis 682 resoluit 683 Pondere passa suo sigmouerique iuuauit 684 puella ridouauit[3] 685 monumenta suititulo s. amoris 687 Orbibus 688 Thelias (? Thebas) diuis et 689 illa gracia 691 Illiris et rhece 693 G. per census hispania maexima belli 694 Italiam insumma 695 Inposuit 696 Hoc erit in fines orbis~~que~~ (*sic*) pontusque uocandus~~que~~ (*sic*) 697 et singula 698 tutela 700 adsererent prestantes 702 conmunis et tutela 703 artibus exit 704 Nanque aries ~~capitaurus~~ (*sic*) tapiti taurus 706 nemea euocant 707 colet 708 et femina arquitenens 710 Sic alias

[1] The superadded ne is later.

[2] Rossberg conj. *perinde.*

[3] Perhaps for *puellari dotauit.*

aliut 711 in uaria eleges 714 Materiamque 718 romani/s urbis (*m. pr.* romanus) 719 Gradiuumque genus temporat (*sic*) 721 Gimnasium uultus orti/sque, *m. pr.* ortusque 722 Cisyram 723 maculantur bem 724 Per fusas indicit ostis 726 Iam proprior 727 Imnis uirginis 728 Paenus harenosi safrorum p. terris 729 mauretanea 731 fouos (? fonos) 732 as Jac. 735 omnis 736 Nocte lae che pari 737 alis *m. pr.*, a later hand has added a second i 740 causas elephantas c. terrae 741 Quod 742 discripta nitent recionibus (*sic*) 743 aequore 744 sortitur 745 gelidumque per tempora uerxis 746 pontumque emuicerat 747 cum fratrem ad clitora 748 minuti dorsumlequari, × and again, more to the right, × (marking a difficulty) 750 E sire gentes 754 arabas 755 Enxinius (En rather than Eu) 756 Subgeministe phoebe colet bost 757 Vltimus et solidos ganges et transcolit india cancer 758 cancro cui 759 ne mee potiri 760 Idaœ (? Idace) regnique feroces 761 bithynia 763 castra terraque maiorisque 764 rectuare 765 Tuque 768 Areades celerebrataque 769 colat sisiligis 770 nouit 772 pedent 773 sua libra 774 Orbis et imperium 775 positas 776 Qua genitus caesarque meus nunc possidet orbem 777 uicibus 779 Et lybiam aegypta latus donat aquira (? aqiura) 780 Tyrrhenos l. radiat scorpius arces 781 Eruit 782 fusaque 783 centaure 784 minuis 785 celeris hinc (rather than huic) 787 adiura 788 Crentens 790 Ora paris rupta est 791 quidquid cadentem 792 Expositum helicem 793 et *om.* quod fert 795 ambiguam 796 Aestibus adsiduis 797 if the word after iuuenis is nudo it is not quite as usually written; it seems to be undo. melior actus 798 Ae. alepidam tiriasque recedit *cett. om.* 799 uicina et aquarius 800 euphrates pisces uruptor 803 Parthis et parthis 804 Bactraque ~~ete~~ (*sic*) aeterius babylone et susa apiniosque 806 litora 809 Namque ~~edair~~ (*sic*) eadem quae sunt signis cōmer^{ua} seruant (it ought to be ^{tia} or ^{cia} but is not) 812 Quaeque aliam uarios adfectus (*sic*) 813 Sic terra eterris 815 Sic erit et pentendaque euique 816 sic et m. pericula 818 egliptica On the right margin of 818 is written in vermilion DEF GLIPUCIS SIGNIS[1] 819 delas asta 820 Non umquam 821 inmenso 823 Mittantur changed to Mutantur diu 825 efeta 826 Rursusque fuerant 827 sufficium *m. pr.* 828 conp. heres 830 uenit resoluit 831 Nec se ipse urbe 834 temtauit Asserunt, rf later 837 Atque inio timent (uit later) sepulchro 838 Tempore 841 quo defecerit 842 inmersa 843 phobi 844 trathit ad coetum 845 languet 846 Incur ḃata uigori 847 phoben luc̣ent (g later) 848 titulos causae egliptica 849 pariter sed bina 851 luna|s uo|tum 854 affectus 855 lassat manent 856 Seceduntque suo phebea 858 Inplerūque suo 861 relinqunt (*sic*) 862 orbi 863 Sed qua indinet /t ipse (a worm has eaten away the lost letter) 864 Animasque 865 similis noxis After 865 in a new line Fatorum recionem perspici posse 868 prohibetque lumine 869 Conditur enim quid ~~f~~recessu (*sic*) 871 ~~post~~ potest (*sic*) facis 877 destendere 878 conponere 880 portum 882 racionem discerne noctis 889 terraque 890 Spiritum et totum rapido quae iussa gubernent 891 terraene 892 gubernat 893 Dispinsatque 894 in *om.* 896 celo 899 uenter censumque 900 Et qua 901 Vnus inspectus loquenda 902 ed/citur (worm-hole) 903 quicumque sic esset in orbes 904 Edomuit ad fruges 905 stent has perhaps been altered into stetit 906 Erectus (*sic*) captis 907 Siderosque (an e added in fainter ink) propriusque 910 sit quaerit 911 Huic *m. pr.*, afterwards changed to Hinc sepe 912 trepideque suo 913 Aumnnis (?) seems to have been barely intelligible to a reader of the MS., who wrote above in unusually distinct writing Ad minus. These two words are in a paler ink 914 auiumque adtendere cantis 916 reducit 917 Voluendo semper 918 posset uidendis 919 eat doceatque actendere 920 uocat nostros animos 922 putat 923 Nec (c has had a line drawn through it and × marked in the left margin) contempnet uas q asi 924 Quo pondere 925 Expuerant *m. pr.* 928 Quoque 929 colata 930 anguste rather than angusto 934 facis mittisque 935 et *om.*

EXPLICIT · LIBER · II · INCIPIT · LIBER · III.[2]

[1] For DE ECLIPTICIS SIGNIS, as in the Gemblacensis.

[2] So the MS. by some error.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

THE GREEK EVIDENCE FOR THE ORIGIN OF THE IMPERIAL APPEAL.

THERE are few questions in Roman constitutional law to which such different answers have been given as that of the origin of the appeal to Caesar. It is not proposed here to discuss in any way the nature of this appeal, nor the procedure connected with it, in the fully developed form in which they are described in the writings of the classical jurists; but simply to examine certain passages in historical writers—notably in Dio Cassius—which contain almost the sole evidence for the origin of this, the most singular because it is the most unrepublican, institution of the principate.

Dio Cassius has been supposed to give us the origin of the new appeal in his account of a plebiscitum passed in 30 B.C. It was decreed in that year *τὸν Καίσαρα τήν τε ἐξουσίαν τὴν τῶν δημάρχων διὰ βίου ἔχειν, καὶ τοῖς ἐπιβοωμένοις αὐτὸν, καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ πωμηρίου καὶ ἔξω μεχρὶ ὀγδόου ἡμισταδίου ἀμύνειν—ἔκκλητόν τε δικάζειν.* The chief question that has agitated modern jurists and historians with reference to this appeal is: 'Of what republican institution is it a development?' Is it an outcome of the 'appellatio' to the 'par maiorve potestas,' or is it a continuation of the 'provocatio ad populum'? Latin writers, whether jurists or historians, give, as is well known, no help. No distinction is drawn in the Latin literature of the Empire between 'appellatio' and 'provocatio,' as descriptive of the new appeal; but Dio's word *ἔκκλητος* (and its kindred *ἐκκαλεῖσθαι* and *ἐπικαλεῖσθαι*) may give the shade of meaning which will put us on the right track. J. Merkel, who has examined the question from this point of view in his work *über die Geschichte der Klassichen Appellation*, has no doubt as to what this shade of meaning is: *ἐκκαλεῖσθαι* is *provocare*; 'a direct translation of "provocare" is *ἐκκαλεῖσθαι*, which is found in a constitution of Hadrian's (*C. I. Gr.* ii. *n.* 355) and in constitutions of the beginning of the third century (*Dig.* 27, 1, 13 pr.; 49, 1, 5), answering to *ἐπικαλεῖσθαι* in a rescript of divus Pius (*Dig.* 49, 1, 1, 1), and in the Acts of the Apostles (xxv. 11), where the trial of St. Paul is described: it is to these words that the *δίκας ἐκκλήτους κρίνειν* and the *ἔκκλητον δικάζειν* of Dio Cassius (lii. 22, 5; li. 19, 7) answer' (p. 45); this 'provocatio' however is not that of the Republic: it is 'without its limitations': by which is apparently meant that it could be applied to civil as well as to criminal cases, and perhaps also that it was of a more thoroughly 'reformatory' character.

On the other hand he holds (*l.c.*) that the other words used by Dio Cassius to describe cases before the imperial courts have quite a different meaning; these are *ἐφέσιμοι* and *ἀναπόμπιμοι* (*δίκαι*): the former means cases 'remitted,' the latter cases 'sent up' to a higher court. I am not sure that the distinction between these words and *ἔκκλητος* is meant to be more than a distinction in the point of view from which the procedure is looked at; but, if it is meant to mark a distinction in procedure itself, then these two latter words ought to refer to the emperor as a court of first instance (a *cognitio extra ordinem*), not as a court of appeal.

It is in any case worth seeing whether this distinction will bear examination. The imperial appeal is the amendment of the decree of a magistrate; the essence of an appeal, if it is made to a court which possesses jurisdiction and is not merely a court of cassation, is a request for the reformation *of a judgment*. Where there has been no sentence there can be no appeal. But the Greek terms used do not mark clearly this essential of the appeal. In Greek international law the *ἔκκλητος πόλις* seems to have been usually, but we cannot say invariably, a court of second instance, and *ἔφεσις* in the treaty with Chalcis (*C.I.A. Suppl.* i. p. 10) means a 'remit' not an 'appeal' to Athens: but it is certain that no real distinction was drawn even in official documents between *ἔκκλητος* and *ἐφέσιμος*. As regards the rules about civil jurisdiction between Athens and her allies we cannot say that, wherever *ἔφεσις* is used, it means a denial of jurisdiction; wherever Athens is called an *ἔκκλητος πόλις*, it is a true case of appeal. (See instances in Gilbert, *Staatsalt.* i. p. 403, 1st ed.) But it is even more with the language of literature than of legal documents that we are here concerned. Plutarch has been pronounced wrong for applying the word *ἔφεσις* to the appeal instituted by Solon (*Sol.* 18), which he compares with the Roman 'provocatio' (*Comp. Sol. et Poplic.* 2): but the mistake, if it is one, is due to the author of the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* (9, cf. cc. 45 and 55). In the definition of *ἐφέται* given by Pollux

(viii. 125) it may be doubtful whether ἔφεσις means an 'appeal' or a 'remit': but in the cases of reference to a higher court which he enumerates (viii. 62, 63) ἐφέσιμος is equivalent to ἔκκλητος (δίκη).

As regards the usage of the words by Dio Cassius, ἔκκλητος may be illustrated from the following passages:

(i.) lii. 22 ὁ δ' οὖν ὑπατευκὼς ταῦτά τε καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰς δίκας τάς τε ἐκκλήτους καὶ τὰς ἀναπομπίμους τὰς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν αὐτοῦ φοιτώσας κρινέτω.

(ii.) lix. 8 ὁ μὲν γὰρ Τιβέριος οὕτως αὐτὸν (Silanus) ἐτίμησεν, ὥστε μήτε ἔκκλητόν ποτε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δικάσαι ἐθελῆσαι, ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ πάντα αὖθις τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐγχειρίσαι.

(iii.) lxxvii. 8 (of Antoninus Caracalla) ἕτερον δέ τινα—πολλὰ δὲ δεινὰ δεδρακότα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐξ ἐγκλήτου δίκης κρινόμενον.

In (i.) ἐκκλήτους does no doubt refer to the true appeal, *as developed at the end of the second century.* The reform advocated here was, so far as we know, never realized in the principate; the jurisdiction here described was in fact the appellate jurisdiction of the 'praefectus praetorio' of this period.

About (ii.), which is important as occurring so early in the principate, no definite opinion can be pronounced, because we do not know what position Silanus held when Tiberius adopted this procedure. If, as has generally been supposed, he was consul, ἔκκλητον might refer to the appeals from the civil jurisdiction—e.g. *fidei commissa*—delegated by the princeps to the consul.[1] On the other hand it might refer to a request (by *supplicatio*) for the 'cognitio' of the princeps from the directly competent authority, which the emperor refused to receive, remitting the case again to that authority.

(iii.) is a criminal case, the facts of which are unknown. It was perhaps a case of denial of competence of a magistrate coupled with a request (which by the time of Caracalla might have been a demand) to be tried before the princeps. In this case, though not strictly an appeal, it is a procedure evolved historically from the Republican 'provocatio,' and would be parallel to the appeal of St. Paul.

In a legal document of Hadrian's time (*C. I. Gr. n.* 355) the use of the word is important, on account of the curious nature of the jurisdiction disclosed by this inscription. In the rules made by Hadrian about the exportation of oil from Athens, a certain procedure is ordained for the trial of individuals violating these regulations. In some cases the βουλή alone, in others the βουλή and ἐκκλησία have jurisdiction: and the constitution ordains ἐὰν δὲ ἐκκαλέσηταί τις ἢ ἐμὲ ἢ τὸν ἀνθύπατον, χειροτονείτω συνδίκους ὁ δῆμος.

This may refer to either of two alternative modes of procedure; it may be (1) an appeal to the emperor *after* the sentence of the lower court; in this case there must have been delegation to the proconsul; or (2) it may be a request for the voluntary jurisdiction of the emperor *or* the proconsul *before* the trial by the lower court; in this case it would be parallel to the request for 'cognitio' which was made to Pliny when governor of Bithynia.[2] Although the first would agree best with the emperor's control of such *curae*, the objection to it is that here we have the choice between the two instances given to the accused. The first explanation would involve the view of the possibility of omitting a lower instance and going at once to a higher. The balance of probability is perhaps slightly in favour of regarding it as a case of request for a 'cognitio.'

As regards the use of the word ἐφέσιμος in Dio Cassius the following two citations make it clear that it has not any single legal meaning and does not denote any special form of procedure.

lii. 21 ἀλλ' ἵνα τά τε ἄλλα ἀεὶ τῆς πόλεως προστατῇ καὶ τὰς δίκας τάς τε παρὰ πάντων ὧν εἶπον ἀρχόντων ἐφεσίμους τε καὶ ἀναπομπίμους—κρίνῃ.

It is the appellate jurisdiction of the 'praefectus urbi' which is here descibed; ἐφεσίμους in this passage is equivalent to ἐκκλήτους in the next chapter (quoted above).

lii. 33 δίκαζε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ τά τε ἐφέσιμα καὶ τὰ ἀναπόμπιμα, ὅσα ἂν παρά τε τῶν μειζόνων ἀρχόντων κ.τ.λ.—μήτε γὰρ αὐτόδικος μήτ' αὐτοτελὴς οὕτω τις τὸ παράπαν ἔστω, ὥστε μὴ οὐκ ἐφέσιμον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δίκην γίγνεσθαι.

In this general summary of the emperor's jurisdiction the appeal is described: but other cases of extraordinary jurisdiction are no doubt implied as well.

It is sufficiently clear that Dio Cassius draws no real distinction between ἐφέσιμος and ἔκκλητος. These words are no key to what kind of jurisdiction is meant in either case. So far as language is concerned, he betrays the same incapacity as other Greek writers of drawing a distinction between an

[1] Even in this case it may not be an appeal because the emperor still continued to exercise this jurisdiction personally (*Vit. Hadriani* 22).

[2] Plin. (*ad Trai.* 81) says that he was '*appellatum*': and yet this was admittedly a case of first instance, arising from the request of the prosecutor 'ut cognoscerem pro tribunali.'

appeal proper on the one hand and a request or remit to a superior court on the other.

The results as to the general usage of these terms may be summed up as follows:

ἐφέσιμος δίκη may certainly mean two things—(i.) a suit on remit, either where there is lack of competence in the lower court, or where there is choice of jurisdiction: and (ii.) the appeal itself, looked at from the point of view of the *iudex a quo.*

ἔκκλητος δίκη often means the appeal; but probably it also means a case on remit, by *supplicatio* of the parties; the essential notion of the word is simply a claim or request for trial, which a lower court is bound to grant.

ἐπικαλεῖσθαι would more accurately be translated by *cognitionem poscere* or *postulare* than by *provocare.* In fact *appellare* is used in this sense by Plin. (*l.c.*), and requests for cognizance are perhaps all that is meant by the '*appellationes*' of Suetonius (*Aug.* 33).

ἀναπόμπιμος δίκη is a case 'sent up' by a judge—perhaps on appeal; but it no doubt also refers to cases referred to a higher court by *consultatio*, or even through lack of competence.

These conclusions may perhaps be so used as to throw some light on the origin of the imperial appeal. The important words ἔκκλητον δικάζειν in Dio's account of the 'plebiscitum' of 30 B.C. may only describe the establishment of the princeps as a high court of voluntary jurisdiction: and even if Dio meant to make the improbable statement that Augustus was made a court of appeal at that early date, his description may be influenced by the developed institution of his own times and may not reflect the original fact. If this 'plebiscitum' only recognized the future princeps as a high court of first instance, this recognition was sufficient to establish the new appeal. For the Republican 'intercessio,' with a 'cognitio' following it, which can lead to a new trial and give rise to a positive verdict, constitutes the appeal to the emperor. The possibility of the 'intercessio' did not, perhaps, depend wholly on the 'tribunicia potestas' conferred by this law of 30 B.C. If we grant that this theoretically enabled the princeps to control the magistrates of Rome and Italy, we may follow Savigny (*Syst.* vi., *Beil.* v.) in holding that the 'proconsulare imperium' gave him a similar control in the provinces; it gave him the veto by virtue of 'maius imperium' over his own legates, it rendered him at least the colleague of the proconsuls of the senatorial provinces.[1] The powers thus gained are merely negative; but the emperor is a high court of first instance, with technically unlimited powers of extraordinary jurisdiction. If the 'appellatio' was made for the emperor's 'auxilium' it would surely, under the new condition of things, have been accompanied by a request for a 'cognitio.' This appeal would have existed in the Republic if the vetoing magistrate had possessed competence to decide the question which he vetoed. The negative and positive powers could now be exercised *pari passu*, and these together constitute the imperial appeal.

The appeal to Caesar must have soon ceased to be the direct outcome either of the 'tribunicia potestas' or of the 'proconsulare imperium,' but it could reside in the princeps only because he possessed that 'potestas' and that 'imperium.' For the princeps is not a king, the fountain of justice and controlling all lower courts in this capacity; he is only a magistrate of the Republic and his control must be based on negative powers. Once gift him with these powers and the emperor's jurisdiction as a court of second instance springs naturally from the fact that he is a court of first instance.

The use of the negative and positive powers were not necessarily combined *de iure; de facto*, perhaps, they always were, except where the 'cognitio' of the emperor was improper: *e.g.* in cases meant to go before a iudex Tiberius vetoes without judging (Tac. *Ann.* i. 75); in criminal cases already before a high court, the Senate, the tribunician veto is interposed, also without a judgment (Tac. *Ann.* vi. 5).

It must be admitted that no certain conclusion can be come to on a question where our only guides are Latin terms used in a sense foreign to the legal terminology of the Republic, and Greek legal terms which were never thoroughly defined: but two tentative conclusions may be regarded as the result of this discussion:

(1) That it is not necessary to suppose that the radical reform of constituting a supreme court of appeal—an institution alien to Roman procedure in civil matters and which had almost disappeared in criminal—was actually made before the definite constitution of the principate; if such an artificial creation had been adopted, it is difficult to see why the reformers should have stopped at the point at which both the old 'appellatio' and the old 'provocatio'

[1] If we do not follow Dio's apparent statement that he had 'maius imperium' over these (liii. 32).

stopped—the decree of the magistrate; why, in short, the 'iudicia ordinaria' and the 'quaestiones' should have been exempted from its control.

(2) That the Republican theory was never so thoroughly reversed in the principate that the magistrate became the recipient of the 'provocatio' in the place of the people; the true magisterial power of the 'appellatio,' with the modification independently (almost accidentally) introduced, being quite sufficient to account for the new order of things.

A. H. GREENIDGE.

THE PROSPECTIVE SUBJUNCTIVE AND OPTATIVE.

MR. SONNENSCHEIN deserves thanks for his contribution to grammatical terminology in the shape of the word 'prospective.' In temporal clauses this term may be of great service to mark off the definite-time clause from the indefinite-time clause, present or past. Thus in the following sentences—

μάχης ἄρξονται ὁπότ' ἂν βούλωνται.
μάχης ἄρχεσθαι ἔμελλον ὁπότε βούλοιντο—

the former may be accurately described as 'prospective present,' the latter as 'prospective past' (prospective = relatively future). These are perhaps good substitutes for 'indefinite following on a primary' and 'indefinite following on an historic tense.'

It may be questioned however whether the extension of this term to other than temporal clauses will tend to clearness. Will not confusion ensue if it be applied indiscriminately, as it may be, to almost every species of subordinate clause? Thus for example in the sentence *misit milites qui victoriam nuntiarent,* we may say that *nuntiarent* is 'past prospective' or 'relatively future in the past.' For is not the announcement of victory relatively future to the despatch of soldiers? But every one sees that such a description of the mood in *nuntiarent* would be most inadequate; because futurity is not what is uppermost in the writer's mind, though it is necessarily attendant on the mode of expression. Mr. Sonnenschein is of course at liberty to call this 'a special kind of futurity'; but herein lies what would seem to be a flaw in the extended use of his term. Futurity—at least relative—will be found in many final, consecutive, causal and conditional clauses, but in distinguishing between these it is the 'special kind of futurity,' not the genus futurity, that will help. Thus as a criterion between the various classes of subordinate clauses the 'prospective' is practically valueless. To take another instance. In the passage quoted from Soph. (*Trach.* 903) *κρύψασ' ἑαυτὴν ἔνθα μή τις εἰσίδοι* it may be said that *εἰσίδοι* is 'prospective past,' inasmuch as the action of being withdrawn from view is relatively future to that of hiding. But surely it is not the idea of indefinite future *time* but rather of indefinite *place* to which expression is here primarily given, the idea of relative futurity being only concomitant. The place—and in so far the clause—may be said to be indefinite, inasmuch as it answers the general description of 'a place such as would secure the *result* or *end* of concealment.' In other words we have here that species of indefiniteness which grammarians term *consecutive* or *final* relative.

There is however another sense in which this clause may perhaps more appropriately be termed prospective. It describes a place '*in prospect,*' *i.e.* which offered the prospect of hiding. But that is only putting *objectively* the *subjective intention* of the speaker, and thus once more we are thrown back on finality. Hence a further danger of ambiguity in the extended use of the term prospective, unless its definition 'relatively future' be strictly adhered to and within the limits of the temporal clause.

J. DONOVAN.

CORRECTIONS FOR LIDDELL AND SCOTT'S LEXICON.

λυκοθαρσής in *Anth. Pal.* vii. 703 is wrongly translated 'bold as a wolf.' As the context shows, it is really 'not afraid of wolves': = ὁ τοὺς λύκους θαρσῶν.

χηρόω. In Aristotle's poem on the death of Hermeias (Bergk[4] ii. 361) there is no need to assign to ἀελίου χήρωσεν αὐγάς the unauthorized meaning 'left, forsook.' According to the usual sense and the analogy of other words in -όω, we may explain 'bereft the light of the sun,' *i.e.* left the world poorer by his loss. The thought may be paralleled from Voltaire's line on the death of Madame du Chatelet, ridiculed by Carlyle in his *Miscellanies*:

L'univers a perdu la sublime Émilie.

[The following corrections have been already discussed by the writer in the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities.*]

ἄζυξ, a 'blot' at backgammon, cf. H. Jackson in *Journ. of Philol.* vii. 238; *Dict.* s.v. *Duodecim Scripta.*

ἀμφισβήτησις. Not 'the act of claiming an inheritance,' but of 'disputing the title of the first claimant.' ἀμφίς of course implies that there are two sides to a question.

ἀνδροληψία, ἀνδρολήψιον should be distinguished. The right of reprisals is ἀνδρολήψιον (Dem. *c. Aristocr.* §§ 83, 84, 217); the act or process by which the right is enforced is ἀνδροληψία, usually in the plural (*ib.* §§ 82, 83; *de Cor. Trierch.* § 13).

ἄξονες. These were identical with the κύρβεις: the attempt to discriminate the two is now rightly rejected.

γελέοντες is referred by L. and S. to τελέοντες. The cross-reference should be the other way: inscriptions prove that γελέοντες, not τελέοντες, is the true form of the word.

δρύφακτοι, 'balconies': τὰ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων ἐξέχοντα ξύλα, Schol. Aristoph. *Eq.* 672, *Vesp.* 385, Heraclides Pont. iv. 10 with Müller's note in *F. H. G.* ii. 209. (*Dict.* s.v. *Cancelli.*)

ἑκτημόροι, ἑκτημόριοι. The text of Ἀθ. πολ. c. 2 (*pace* Dr. Sandys) supports the contention that these cultivators paid five-sixths of the produce and retained only one-sixth. This is also the common-sense view: if the proportions were reversed, it is difficult to see where the oppression came in.

ἐσθής. The accusative form ἐσθήν is quoted from an inscription in Myconos. (*Hermes* viii. l. 91 ff.; *Bull. de Corr. hellén.* vi. 590.)

ἥβη. The age denoted by ἥβη is explained rather vaguely. It is now agreed that ἥβη was at sixteen, τὸ ἐπὶ δίετες ἡβῆσαι at eighteen, on the authority of the writer in Bekk. *Anecd.* p. 255, 15.

ληξίαρχος. It does not appear that the ληξίαρχοι had anything to do with the ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον: their duties were confined to the Assembly. (*Dict.* s.v. *Ecclesia.*)

στροφεύς, στρόφιγξ. The distinction between στρόφιγξ 'pivot' and στροφεύς 'socket' is not without exceptions: in Sext. Emp. *adv. Math.* x. 54 ὁ κατὰ τοῦ ὁλμίσκου βεβηκὼς στροφεύς, ὁλμίσκος is the socket and στροφεύς the pivot.

W. Wayte.

SOPH. *TRACHIN.* 903.

Would not Professor Sonnenschein have done better to look for his 'parallel' to ἔνθα μή τις εἰσίδοι, not in ἔνθα μή τις ὄψεται, *Ai.* 659 (the historic oblique form of which is ἔνθα μή τις ὄψοιτο), but, two lines earlier in the same sentence, in μολών τε χῶρον ἔνθ' ἂν ἀστιβῆ κίχω?

If I were asked, What then is the difference between ἔνθ' ἂν μή τις ἴδῃ and ἔνθα μή τις ὄψεται? I should reply: The difference may often be unessential, and the two forms interchangeable, but the distinction is grammatically none the less real, and may sometimes be essential.

'Hide me *wherever* (*i.e.* in *any* hiding-place where) no one may see me'—ἔνθ' ἂν μή τις ἴδῃ—is not the same thing as 'Hide me in *this* hiding-place, where no one shall see me'—ἐνταῦθα κρύψον, ἔνθα μή τις ὄψεται—a 'generic' expression with a definite antecedent: neither is it the same thing as 'Hide me in *some* hiding-place where no one

shall see me,' which is also ἔνθα μή τις ὄψεται, this also being a 'generic' expression but without a definite antecedent.

'*Whoever* thinks this, is foolish'—ὅστις ἂν τοῦτο νομίζῃ, μάταιός ἐστιν—is not the same as 'He is foolish, since he (*i.e.* being *a man who*) thinks this'—οὗτος μάταιός ἐστιν, ὅστις νομίζει—nor even as 'A man who thinks this, is foolish'—ὅστις νομίζει, μάταιός ἐστιν.

Professor Jebb, in his note on ὅστις Ἅιδου φθίμενος οἰκήτωρ πέλοι, *Trachin.* 1161, says 'If Nessus was alive when Zeus spoke, this is oblique for ὅστις ἂν πέλῃ; but if Nessus was then dead, it is oblique for ὅστις πέλει.' But this ignores the difference between ὅστις = *quisquis* and ὅστις = *qui* generic. ὅστις ἂν πέλῃ = *quisquis est* or *quisquis erit* (in this case *quisquis erit*), and could not have been used of the individual Nessus.

'Miserum me, qui videam' is ὅστις ὁρῶ: 'Miserum hominem, qui videat' is ὅστις ὁρᾷ: the one definite, the other either definite or indefinite, but both individual and 'generic': the mood subjunctive in Latin, indicative in Greek. But 'Miserum hominem, quicumque videt' (or 'videbit') is ὅστις ἂν ἴδῃ: not individual, but 'comprehensive' of every man who sees: the mood indicative in Latin, subjunctive in Greek.

R. WHITELAW.

AUGUSTINE AND MILTON.

I DO not know whether any one has noticed a parallel to the famous words (*Par. Lost* I 254) 'The mind is its own place.'

Aug. enarr. in ps. vi 10 *ad fin.* saepe enim mens nitens pergere in Deum, concussa in ipso itinere trepidat: et plerumque propterea non implet bonum propositum, ne offendat eos cum quibus vivit, alia bona peritura et transeuntia diligentes atque sectantes. ab his separatus est omnis sanus, non locis, sed animo; nam locis corpora continentur, *animo autem locus est affectio sua.*

JOHN E. B. MAYOR.

ARCHILOCHUS 74 (Bergk), 5—9.

ἐκ δὲ τοῦ καὶ πιστὰ πάντα κἀπίελπτα γίγνεται
ἀνδράσιν· μηδεὶς ἔθ' ὑμῶν εἰσορῶν θαυμαζέτω,
μηδ' ὅταν δελφῖσι θῆρες ἀνταμείψωνται νομὸν
ἐνάλιον καί σφιν θαλάσσης ἠχέεντα κύματα
φίλτερ'· ἠπείρου γένηται, τοῖσι δ' ἡδὺ ἦν ὄρος.

For the corrupt words τοῖσι δ' ἡδὺ ἦν ὄρος various emendations have been proposed,—τοῖσιν ἥδιον δ' ὄρος Gaisford and Jacobs: τοῖσιν ἀνδάνῃ δ' Schneidewin: τοῖσι δ' οὖρος ἥδιον Emper: τοῖσι δ' ἡδονὴν ὄρος (δῷ) Hartung: τοῖσι δ' ᾗ δύῃ πόρος Haupt: τοῖσι δ' ἡδύνητ' ὄρος Tyrrell: τοῖσι δ' ὑλήειν ὄρος or τοῖς δ' ἄδῃ δύειν (δύπτειν) ὄρος Bergk.

I had thought of τοῖσι δ' ᾗ δύην ὄρος = '*while the mountain becomes the diving-ground of the dolphins.*' In favour of this it might be urged that, on the one hand, it is closer to the reading of the MSS., being in fact a redivision of the words rather than a textual change; and, on the other hand, it supplies an adequate cause for the present corruption, inasmuch as δύην (the regular Lesbian infinitive for δύειν) would to later transcribers be an unfamiliar form, likely enough to pass into ἡδὺ ἦν.

If however the occurrence of such a Lesbian form in Archilochian tetrameters be questioned, it is of course open to us to read τοῖσι δ' ᾗ δύειν ὄρος. The confusion of final ειν and ην, owing to the fact that a single minuscule compendium ʌ originally stood for both, is well known (cf. *e.g.* Gregorius *de dial. Dor.* ed Schaefer, p. 296 n. Bast *comment. palaeogr.* p. 761 § 7, 'causa cur syllabae ειν, ην, et ιν iisdem notis scribantur non alia est quam quod eodem sono pronuntiatae sunt').

63 (Bergk), 1—3.

Οὔ τις αἰδοῖος μετ' ἀστῶν κἀναρίθμιος θανὼν
γίγνεται· χάριν δὲ μᾶλλον τοῦ ζοοῦ διώκομεν
[ζωοί· κάκιστα δὲ τῷ θανόντι γίγνεται.]

Porson restored the third line as follows,—οἱ ζοοί· κάκιστα δ' αὐτῷ τῷ θανόντι (Schneidewin κατθανόντι) γίγνεται. Bergk

offers κακῶν κάκιστα τῷ θ.γ. or κάκιστα δ' ὦ παῖ τ.θ.γ., Hiller κάκιστα δ' αἰεὶ τῷ θ.γ.

Perhaps we should read οἱ ζοοί· κάκιστα δ' ἤδη τῷ θανόντι γίγνεται. The syllables δ' ἤδη would readily be simplified into δέ: and the word ἤδη suits the sense of the passage better than Porson's αὐτῷ.

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

MARTIAL II. 66.

'Unus de toto peccaverat orbe comarum
Anulus, incerta non bene fixus acu.
Hoc facinus Lalage speculo quo viderat ulta est,
Et cecidit saevis icta Plecusa comis, etc.'

The 'saevis comis' of v. 4 presents difficulties and is very curiously interpreted.

(1) Friedländer makes it = propter saevas comas, and compares *Liber Spectaculorum* i. 3, Nec Triviae templo molles laudentur Iones, where 'templo' undoubtedly = propter templum. But here *icta* seems to require an abl. of instrument and Friedländer's interpretation is forced.

(2) Stephenson says 'comis = the thongs of the bull's hide whip (*taurea*, Juv. vi. 492).' The passage from Juvenal is indeed a useful parallel to this epigram and illustrates the same phase of feminine cruelty to slaves. But the mention of *taurea* in Juvenal is not sufficient to justify the meaning adopted by Stephenson for *comis*. It is a meaning unsupported by any parallel and seems unnatural.

(3) Paley and Stone seem to waver between Friedländer's interpretation and the absurdity 'Plecusa fell with her hair (*i.e.* scalp) cut'! (Reading *sectis*.)

(4) If we remember that v. 3 has said that the instrument of vengeance used by the mistress was the mirror that showed her the errant curl, I think that *saevis comis* will be seen to refer to the image of the hair seen in the mirror. 'Lalage avenged the crime with the mirror that detected it and felled the tiring-woman with the (counterfeit presentment of the) cruel locks.' In this way the indefiniteness of 'speculo ulta est' in v. 3 is explained and amplified in v. 4 quite after the manner of Martial. The transference of epithet in *saevis* is paralleled by 'tristis capillos' in v. 5; and the metonymy in *comis* is not too harsh for Martial's style. These forced phrases are almost characteristic of his *serious* style when he wishes to display moral indignation. He is much more natural when he jests.

GEORGE SMITH.

GARDNER ON THE ORIGIN OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

The Origin of the Lord's Supper, by PERCY GARDNER, Litt. D. Macmillan. 22 pp. 1*s*. net.

THE pamphlet before us belongs to a class of writings which is perhaps less likely to receive fair and adequate criticism in England than elsewhere. It is the work of an expert in one province venturing into a province which is not strictly his own. The experts in the latter province are not unnaturally inclined to look with some suspicion on the intruder, especially if he ventures to challenge conclusions which they regard as authoritative. And this is still more the case when the points assailed appear to have any connexion with a subject of great practical importance, such as religion, which excites the strongest interest not merely amongst the few who are capable of following the steps of a scientific discussion, but amongst the many who care for the conclusions alone. Reviews which are written for the many, whether on the positive or the negative side, are alike impatient of discussion, and prefer to leave unnoticed books which might disturb the security of their readers; or if notice them they must, they occupy themselves for the most part in rhetoric, laudatory or denunciatory, as the conclusions arrived at are, or are not, in accordance with their own preconceived opinions.

And yet it cannot be doubted that, as regards any great and complex subject, it is necessary that it should be attacked from

various sides by minds of various quality and training, if real progress is to be made in the ascertainment of the truth; and that, however unwelcome negative criticism may be, it is an essential factor in the establishment of a body of truth which is to command the confidence of educated men. For these reasons I think it is well that a periodical like the *Classical Review*, while it holds aloof from religious or doctrinal discussion in the abstract, should not shrink from the treatment of religious questions, so far as they are involved in the criticism, interpretation and illustration of the language of the early Christian writers. Such a review must welcome every serious effort to throw new light on all subjects connected with Classical Antiquity, irrespective of the quarter from which it may proceed or the interest in which it may be used.

Professor Gardner's modest book, which has suggested these remarks, contains a hypothesis as to the Eucharist grounded upon two alleged facts:—

(1) The command to repeat the Lord's Supper as a memorial is not to be found in the original text of the Gospels, but only in 1 Cor. xi. 20 foll.

(2) St. Paul there professes to have received the command by immediate inspiration from Christ.

I will begin by examining the second point as the simpler of the two. The words are ἐγὼ γὰρ παρέλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου ὃ καὶ παρέδωκα ὑμῖν κ.τ.λ. (v. 23), which Prof. Gardner translates 'I myself received from the Lord that which I also delivered to you.'

In support of his view he refers to the many undoubted cases in which St. Paul claims to have received direct revelations from Christ; and though he allows that in 1 Cor. vii. 10 (παραγγέλλω οὐκ ἐγὼ ἀλλὰ ὁ Κύριος) it is the teaching of Christ as handed down in the Church, not as revealed to St. Paul by direct inspiration which is referred to; yet comparing it with Col. iii. 24 ἀπὸ Κυρίου ἀπολήψεσθε τὴν ἀνταπόδοσιν (which 'we must certainly render *ye shall receive direct from the Lord the reward*'), and the omission of the words ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου after παρέλαβον in 1 Cor. xv. 3 (where the reference is to mere human testimony), he thinks there can be no doubt that in our passage there is a claim to personal inspiration, which is further marked by the emphatic ἐγώ.

To deal first with this last point, I do not think there is any occasion to interpret ἐγώ 'I myself,' as Mr. Gardner does. It seems to me sufficiently explained by the antithesis to ὑμῖν, '*I* received from Christ what I handed on to *you*.' Otherwise why should not the emphatic αὐτὸς ἐγώ have been used, as in Rom. vii. 25, ix. 3, xv. 14, and elsewhere? Next as to the use of παραλαμβάνω. In the sense which it bears here it is regularly followed by the preposition παρά, as in Gal. 1. 12 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐγὼ παρ' ἀνθρώπου παρέλαβον αὐτό, 1 Th. ii. 13 παραλαβόντες λόγον ἀκοῆς παρ' ἡμῶν, *ib.* iv. 1 παρελάβετε παρ' ἡμῶν, 2 Th. iii. 6 κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν ἣν παρελάβετε παρ' ἡμῶν. This is in fact the only passage in the N.T. in which it is followed by ἀπό, and we naturally surmise that there must have been some reason for departing from the ordinary use. The difference between the two prepositions is that παρά implies the passing on of tradition from hand to hand, while ἀπό denotes simply the source, especially the ultimate source, just as, in contradistinction from ὑπό, it implies the remoter cause or agent (cf. James i. 13 ἀπὸ Θεοῦ πειράζομαι). I cannot therefore agree in the rendering of Col. iii. 24 'ye shall receive direct from the Lord the reward.' As contrasted with κομίσεται παρὰ Κυρίου 'at the Lord's hand' in the parallel passage of Eph. vi. 8, the suggestion would be just the other way. As to the passage under consideration, I agree with Winer that ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου παρέλαβον would be an inappropriate expression for 'the Lord has himself personally, as in an ἀποκάλυψις, revealed it to me.' Mr. Gardner however holds that the phrase 'I received from the Lord' 'can scarcely by fair criticism be regarded as equivalent to *I received from those who heard the Lord.*' Perhaps the use of the corresponding παραδίδωμι may help us to a decision on this point. In Acts vi. 14 we read τὰ ἔθη ἃ παρέδωκεν ἡμῖν Μωυσῆς, which might have been equally well expressed by the words ἃ παρελάβομεν ἀπὸ Μωυσέως. Plato (*Theaet.* 180 C) even uses the expression τὸ πρόβλημα παρειλήφαμεν παρὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων 'the question has come down to us by tradition from the ancients,' where παρά is used of the first link in the chain.

To leave the grammatical point, Mr. Gardner would make 'the tradition received from the Lord' cover all that follows to the end of the 25th verse; understanding St. Paul to have seen in a vision the whole scene of the Last Supper enacted before his eyes. But is it conceivable that, if this were intended, such an unsuitable word as παρέλαβον would have been used? Should we not have had ἐγένετο ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἔκστασις as in Acts x. 10, or ὅραμα ὤφθη as in Acts xvi.

9, or ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι as in Rev. i. 10? It seems to me far more natural to regard the παράδοσις as limited to the words of institution 'This is my body' &c., the rest being merely the circumstantial framework. Logically expressed it would run 'I received by tradition from the Lord the words spoken by him after the breaking of the Bread *This is my body given for you. Do this in remembrance of me.*'

I now turn to the first allegation. The words τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν are not found in the first two Gospels, and in St. Luke's they are bracketed by WH., along with other words supposed to be borrowed from 1 Cor. xi. 23 foll.

I will not venture here to oppose the verdict of our two greatest textual authorities given in the Appendix to their Greek Testament, 'there is no moral doubt that the words in question were absent from the original text of St. Luke' (p. 24), but I confess to considerable difficulty in accepting it. This is one of the very few cases in which they allow a preponderating weight to the Western tradition, represented by Codex Bezae, &c., in opposition to the Vatican, the Sinaitic, the Alexandrian and the other chief MSS. It would be out of place here to discuss the grounds of their conclusion, but I may mention one consideration which I think has weight on the other side. We are told by St. Paul that the account he gives of the Last Supper was that which he received from the Lord and which he imparted to his converts. Was it likely that St. Luke, the devoted friend and companion of St. Paul, should be ignorant of this account, or could knowingly have passed it over in his Gospel, written several years after the Epistle to the Corinthians? If the words 'this do in remembrance of me' were interpolated in order to give the story in full, why do we not find a similar interpolation in the other Gospels? Is it not conceivable at any rate that they were omitted, whether purposely or accidentally, from the text of St. Luke by some scribe who was familiar with the shorter form as given in St. Matthew and St. Mark?

I will not however press this. I will assume that WH. are right in bracketing the words. Does it follow that, because they are not recorded by the Evangelists, they were therefore not spoken by the Lord at the Last Supper? The most careless comparison of the Gospels shows how precarious such an inference would be. If we do not doubt that the Parable of the Prodigal Son was really spoken by Christ, though omitted in the first two Gospels; if we accept as true the narrative of our Lord's discourse with Thomas and with Peter after the Resurrection in spite of the silence of the Synoptists; if we believe St. John's statement that all that is written is but a small selection from the words and acts of Jesus; then the want of positive evidence is no proof that these words were not uttered upon earth, but only revealed in vision to St. Paul. Will it be said that they are of such transcendant importance that, if spoken, they must have been recorded? But the instances of omission we have noticed are sufficient to prove the fallaciousness of such reasoning; and further it may be doubted whether the words would have been felt to be so important at the time when the Gospels were written. By that time at any rate the command 'Do this in remembrance of me' was so universally obeyed, that it might seem to stand in less need of being reported than the other words which are said to have accompanied the first institution of the Sacrament.

Mr. Gardner however questions whether the existence of the Eucharist, as a commemorative feast, can be traced further back than St. Paul's visit to Corinth. He thinks that the κλάσις ἄρτου of which we read in the Acts implies nothing more than 'the Feast of Charity held daily or at set intervals, when all who professed the name of Christ ate and drank together'; and he explains this custom as an outgrowth of the common life of the Apostles, not necessarily connected with the Lord's Supper. It was St. Paul's influence, he thinks, which gave a sacramental and commemorative character to the Agape; and he suggests that the idea of this development may have come to him from his observation of certain rites of the Greek religion. The cultus of Heroes was a rallying point for the tribe, reminding the members of their relation to one another and to their invisible head. The Mysteries of Eleusis fostered a belief in immortality under the symbol of the buried corn. Might it not be possible in like manner to raise the Agape into a Communion, which should deepen the sense of the believer's union with Christ and also serve as a pledge of a joyful resurrection?

But was it really necessary that a Jew should be brought in contact with Pagan ceremonial before he could realize the religious importance of commemorative festivals? St. Paul's own language is opposed to this. He finds parallels for the Christian sacra-

ments in the past history of the Jews (1 Cor. x. 2, 3) and in their sacrificial feasts (*ib.* 18): and surely no Jew who had ever duly kept the Passover could have anything to learn from Eleusis or elsewhere as to the closeness of the tie which bound each Israelite to his brethren and to his God. To the disciples moreover the commemoration of the Passover had acquired a new and deeper meaning since the Last Supper. Christ himself was their Passover, their Paschal Lamb (Matt. xxvi. 17 foll., John xix. 36, 1 Cor. v. 7, xi. 24). And though the phrase *κλάσις ἄρτου* need not, of itself, imply a sacramental feast, yet when we find '*the* breaking of *the* bread' joined with '*the* prayers' and the attendance in the temple, as part of the religious life of the first converts (Acts ii. 42, 46); when we find the first day of the week celebrated, as it would seem, by the breaking of bread (Acts xx. 11); and the word *κλάσμα* used in the *Didaché* (ix. 3) as a technical word for the Sacramental Bread; I think we can hardly avoid the conclusion that the word and the act were associated in the minds of the disciples with the solemn scene of the Last Supper. St. Paul's own words in 1 Cor. x. 16 *τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας ὃ εὐλογοῦμεν...τὸν ἄρτον ὃν κλῶμεν* witness to the 'cup of blessing' as joined with 'the breaking of bread' in the same religious rite, and certainly seem to imply that this rite was known to all Christians, though the argument on the *κοινωνία* shows that its import as a bond of union was not fully recognized in Corinth. Moreover the words in xi. 2, introductory to the present discussion, *καθὼς παρέδωκα ὑμῖν τὰς παραδόσεις κατέχετε*, seem to appeal to the authority of the traditions as something independent of St. Paul, though communicated by him: and this is confirmed by v. 16 *εἰ δέ τις δοκεῖ φιλόνεικος εἶναι, ἡμεῖς τοιαύτην συνήθειαν οὐκ ἔχομεν, οὐδὲ αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τοῦ Θεοῦ*, where St. Paul appeals to the practice of other churches as confirming his own decision in regard to the position of women. Is it likely that he would appeal immediately afterwards to a private tradition, unknown to the other churches, on the subject of the Sacrament? Would not his injunction in xi. 20 foll. have more weight with the turbulent Corinthian converts if it appealed to a universally accepted tradition of the Christian Church, than if understood of a private revelation to St. Paul?

Prof. Gardner cites two passages as evidence that St. Paul's account of the Eucharist was not admitted by all his contemporaries. One is from the the *Didaché*, 'which,' he says, 'shows a noteworthy independence of the Pauline teaching.' The passage he quotes is the Eucharistic prayer in ch. ix., 'As this broken bread was scattered upon the mountains, and gathered together became one, so let thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into thy kingdom,' which he contrasts with St. Paul's words 'as often as ye eat this bread ye do show forth the Lord's death.' But though there is no resemblance between *Did.* ix. 4 and 1 Cor. xi. 26, yet there is a considerable resemblance between it and 1 Cor. x. 17 *εἷς ἄρτος, ἓν σῶμα οἱ πολλοί ἐσμεν*, as on the other hand there is a marked resemblance between the Pauline account of the Eucharist and *Did.* x. 2, 3 *εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι πάτερ ἅγιε...ὑπὲρ τῆς γνώσεως καὶ πίστεως καὶ ἀθανασίας ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου...Σύ, δέσποτα παντοκράτορ, ἔκτισας τὰ πάντα ἕνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματός σου, τροφήν τε καὶ ποτὸν ἔδωκας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν ἵνα σοι εὐχαριστήσωσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ ἐχαρίσω πνευματικὴν τροφὴν καὶ ποτὸν καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον διὰ τοῦ παιδός σου.*

I must own that Mr. Gardner's other reference is one that considerably surprises me. He describes the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel as 'an elaborate expansion of the phrases *I am the living bread* and *Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath eternal life*,' and he considers that, the writer could not have connected these phrases with the feeding of the multitude, 'if he had accepted their Pauline attachment to the Christian Sacrament.' Might it not with equal justice be alleged that because St. John records the words to Nicodemus 'Except a man be born of water and the Spirit he cannot enter into the kingdom of God' he must have therefore rejected the command given to the Apostles to baptize all nations? To me the argument lies just the other way. It was because of the danger of the misuse of the universally received Sacraments, that St. John was at such pains to record discourses which dwelt, not on the sign, but on the thing signified. The writer who lays such stress on the witness of the water and the blood (Joh. xix. 34, 35; 1 Joh. iv. 6—8) cannot have been ignorant of their sacramental use, any more than it was possible for one like St. Paul, familiar with the figurative use of the words 'bread' and 'food' in the O.T., to have limited the feeding on Christ to the actual participation of the Eucharist.

Those who are conscious of the deadening effects of familiarity will be grateful to Prof. Gardner for enabling them to look

with a fresher eye on the subject which he discusses, as well as for the interest of many of his incidental remarks; but I cannot think that he has succeeded in giving probability to any of the main points in his theory as to the origin of the Lord's Supper.

J. B. Mayor.

GOODHART'S THUCYDIDES VIII.

The Eighth Book of Thucydides, edited with Notes and Introduction by H. C. Goodhart. Macmillan & Co. 1893. Pp. xlii., 180. 9*s*.

For the editor of a library edition of Thucydides there is plenty of work ready to hand. Much remains to be done even after the labours of Poppo; and much has been rightly left undone by the producers of the modest school editions with which we are familiar. It would be for any scholar a laudable ambition to make some day a library edition of one of the latter books. At the same time the learning that is essential for the performance of the task, as I conceive it ought to be performed, is not to be acquired in a few years, but only by a laborious and often vexatious study of all the authors who have imitated or cited from Thucydides. It is only by such study that we can hope to settle the disputed question of the origin of the *Vatican* version of the text from vi. 92, 5[1] to the end. That the question will yet be settled is not improbable; and it is to be regretted that an editor in many respects so entirely competent as Prof. Goodhart did not set his hand to the plough instead of merely giving an able and useful summary of what has in the main been already done.

Prof. Goodhart's text is based upon sound principles of criticism: his introduction and commentary are throughout lucid and interesting: he expresses his thoughts with a clearness that may excite the envy of less gifted workers in the same field: he exercises an independent judgment that is not to be imposed upon by any authority. The results of these conspicuous merits are (1) that he has offered here and there explanations that are much better than those given by his predecessors; (2) that his book is the pleasantest and on the whole the most serviceable edition of the Eighth Book with which we are acquainted.

[1] Prof. Goodhart wrongly says vi. 94. This error had been corrected by Hude.

But alas! the mystery of the *Vatican* remains to be solved. Even a cursory glance through such authors as Denys, Josephus, Lucian, and Procopius—not to mention such servile followers as Dio Cassius and Aristides—would do something for the text, and much for the illustration of the use of words.[2] Thus, in the case of the text, it surely counts for something that the readings of C have the support of Plutarch against the *Vatican*. Again, in vii. 49 my school edition has ὄκνος τις καὶ μέλλησις ἐνεγένετο with *Vat.* But Bloomfield had already quoted Josephus *Arch.* 1, 2 ὄκνος μοι καὶ μέλλησις ἐγίνετο in support of C's ἐγένετο. I am not now concerned to point out my own blunders; but Bloomfield is scarcely right in saying that ἐνεγένετο 'elegantior est quam quae librariis originem debeat'; for some of the *Vatican* readings certainly owe their existence to the *elegantia* of the Atticists of our era.

Wide indeed is the gulf that separates the true scholar from the *vir doctissimus* who devours everything and digests nothing. But no available detail, however minute, should be omitted by the scholar who hopes to generalize from his accumulated knowledge. Prof. Goodhart might urge that a biologist who sets out to investigate the elephant disregards the parasites that live upon the great beast. But to this it may be replied that in this case the great beast's anatomy—*absit verbo invidia*—is here and there defective, and can only be reconstructed by studying the lesser organisms. The first page of the commentary will illustrate these remarks.

In a very good note on τοῖς πάνυ στρατιωτῶν the editor quotes parallels to show that the meaning is 'actual soldiers.' Now it has not been noticed that the imitators have their fads. Four phrases from the first section of this book reappear in Dio Cassius, and he

[2] As far as illustration goes, this has of course been done to some extent, especially by Bloomfield and by Hertlein (whose MS. notes passed through Krüger's hands into my possession). But nobody has perceived the full importance of the method in the latter books.

has a weakness for this use of πάνυ. All his instances (of which some, it is proper to add, are quoted by Prof. Goodhart), from τὸν πάνυ Κάτωνα ἐζήλου of 37, 32 to τοὺς πάνυ νοσοῦντας φίλους ἐπέσκεπτο of 69, 7, tend to show that πάνυ adds a kind of superlative force to words other than adjectives.[1] In the companion passage, c. 89, 2, Prof. Goodhart follows Stahl in reading καὶ ξυνίσταντό τε ἤδη καὶ τὰ πράγματα διεμέμφοντο, ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνας τῶν πάνυ [στρατηγῶν] τῶν ἐν τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ καὶ ἐν ἀρχαῖς ὄντων, οἷον Θηραμένη...καὶ Ἀριστοκράτη. The στρατηγῶν is considered spurious because Aristocrates was not now στρατηγός, but ταξίαρχος. It is true that Aristocrates is nowhere spoken of as being elected strategus by the Four Hundred, and that Thucydides himself calls him taxiarch. But Aristotle *Ath. Pol.* c. 31 in giving the details of the new constitution says that the Council was to appoint the strategi and the other magistrates for the year 411-410. It is surely remarkable that he does not mention taxiarchs among the officers to be so appointed. There are to be δέκα ἄνδρες αὐτοκράτορες (and these were, we know, duly appointed), and *one* hipparch and ten phylarchs. The term στρατηγοί is nowhere applied to these δέκα αὐτοκράτορες *as a whole;* and we may therefore conclude that the taxiarchs and strategi were amalgamated, just as one of the hipparchs was abolished. Thucydides does not give such minute details as Aristotle gives; and it is not at all improbable that he includes Aristocrates, though a taxiarch, in the expression τῶν πάνυ στρατηγῶν. The sentence therefore means, 'they (*i.e.* the rank and file of the moderate oligarchic party, as Prof. Goodhart explains) began to collect and had for their leaders men who were *really strategi* [though not necessarily called so] belonging to the oligarchy and in office, as Theramenes [who had been appointed strategus, or at least one of the joint board of ten] and Aristocrates.' Now I submit that this view gives a far better sense than can be got out of the sentence when deprived of στρατηγῶν. Without στρατηγῶν the words mean 'the rank and file of the oligarchic party . . . had for their leaders men who were actually members of the oligarchic party.' The reader may judge for himself.

Returning to the first page of the commentary, we find that the next note is on ἄγαν πανσυδί. Prof. Goodhart reads μὴ οὕτω γε ἄγαν πανσυδὶ διεφθάρθαι, whereas the *Vatican* (B) offers μὴ οὕτω γε ἄγαν πανσυδὶ πᾶν δ., and γρ. B has the μὴ οὕτω γε ἂν πανσυδὶ δ. of C. Surely ἄγαν should not be accepted without further investigation. The editor does not explain how it is appropriate with πανσυδί, *i.e.* παντελῶς; and though the passage is imitated again and again by Denys, Dio Cassius, Aristides, and Procopius, we may search in vain for any hint of this ἄγαν. On the other hand, ἄν appears very frequently in such expressions: in fact Dio Cassius—whether it be himself, or his copyist—actually presents us with κἂν πασσυδὶ ἂν ἀπώλεσαν (54, 33).

In his historical introduction Prof. Goodhart explains very clearly the causes that contributed to the Revolution of 411. He goes all the way with the modern German school in tracing the acceptance of Pisander's proposal to the action of 'the Moderate' or the 'Middle Party.' Few errors perhaps have tended more to obscure historical perspective than the free use of phrases; and though Prof. Goodhart rightly warns us that 'it would be too much to assert that they had a definite programme of their own,' he treats the μέσοι throughout as a political party acting in common. Yet neither by Thucydides nor in Aristotle is the Revolution attributed to any such party. Aristotle, who in the *Politics* says so much about μέσοι πολῖται, says in one place (*Ath. Pol.* 29) that the oligarchy was established συμπεισθέντων τῶν πολλῶν; in another (*Pol.* 1304b) he says τὸν δῆμον ἐξηπάτησαν. Again, Pisander, meeting with opposition in the Ecclesia, appeals to no party; he remonstrates with individuals. In this same year Lysistrata expounded from the comic stage her heroic plan for restoring peace. Not all her hearers were of steel; but she addressed her protests not to any party of μέσαι, but to individuals.

We are told by the new school, that the policy of 'the Moderate Party' since 412 was War. The πρόβουλος in Aristophanes, to be sure, conceives of no other σωτηρία but by war. But, if the μέσοι were a Party, how comes it that Aristophanes himself, who is supposed to represent the Party, is still staunch for peace in 411?

ἐν ἁπάσαις δὴ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἔστι τρία μέρη τῆς πόλεως (*Pol.* 1295 b). The μέσοι are not confined to Athens. Yet in no political commotion do we read that they acted as a Party. Indeed, the most definite statement that we have about them (Thuc. iii. 82, 8) is strongly against the new school. In speaking of the political convulsions of

[1] Prof. Tucker's conjecture in viii., 89 τῶν πάνυ κρατίστων for τῶν πάνυ στρατηγῶν is probably not Greek.

Greece Thucydides says: 'the citizens who were of neither party'—for so Jowett rightly renders *τὰ μέσα τῶν πολιτῶν*—'fell a prey to both.' The *μέσοι* were never organized; and could therefore be dealt with individually: *ὅπου πολὺ τὸ διὰ μέσου, ἥκιστα συστάσεις καὶ διαστάσεις γίνονται τῶν πολιτῶν* (*Pol.* 1296 a).

Thucydides attributes the Revolution entirely to the action of the oligarchs (c. 65, 66). A reign of terror was established, with the result that the democrats were reduced to a state of passivity. The oligarchs won over some *οὓς οὐκ ἄν ποτέ τις ᾤετο ἐς ὀλιγαρχίαν τραπέσθαι*, with the result that these latter 'caused [the oligarchs] to distrust the majority and at the same time secured the position of the oligarchs by producing suspicion among the democrats.' *τὸ ἄπιστον οὗτοι μέγιστον πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐποίησαν* (66, 4). Prof. Goodhart, indeed, finds difficulty in these words and proposes to substitute *ἄλλους* for *πολλούς*. But who were more likely to encourage the suspicious feeling of the oligarchs for the democrats than these new converts to oligarchy?

The above are some of the reasons why the statesmanlike account of Grote is preferable to the speculations of German *virtuosi*. The *μέσοι* are the persons who live quietly under any government that is based on reason, the men whose support the oligarchs might have retained; whereas it is impossible that they should long have kept the friendship of the extreme democrats, because—to adopt one of Machiavelli's maxims—'they had sided with them at first, and favoured their enterprise merely from discontent.' Among the *μέσοι* from the days of Solon (himself one of them) the common ideas were not, as we are told, limitation of the franchise and the abolition of pay, but much more whatever was meant for the the time being by certain catch-words like *ἡσυχία*, which they made a goddess, and *σωτηρία* and *σωφροσύνη*.

The following passages taken from Prof. Goodhart's commentary, in addition to two already noticed, are those which it did not seem right to pass over without remark.

C. 2, 3 *ἡ δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πόλις πᾶσί τε τούτοις ἐθάρσει καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι οἱ ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας αὐτοῖς ξύμμαχοι πολλῇ δυνάμει, κατ' ἀνάγκην ἤδη τοῦ ναυτικοῦ προσγεγενημένου, ἅμα τῷ ἦρι ὡς εἰκὸς παρέσεσθαι ἔμελλον.* Prof. Goodhart says that 'not being a naval power before the Athenian expedition, Syracuse was not likely to interfere in Greek quarrels. Now, however, Athenian aggression had compelled her to provide herself with a fleet, and she would be glad to use it against Athens.' Now (1) if Syracuse was not a naval power before 415, how comes it that in 427 she was able to keep the Chalcidian cities of Sicily and Rhegium off the seas (iv. 86)? (2) What is the meaning of the hundred Syracusan triremes mentioned by Herodotus (vii. 158)? (3) Where does Thucydides say that Athenian aggression had compelled Syracuse to provide herself with a fleet? That she had not ventured to oppose the Athenian fleet before 413 is surely no proof that she had not possessed a fleet. *ἠπειρῶται μᾶλλον τῶν Συρακοσίων ὄντες* in vii. 21 means that she had possessed a fleet, though it might not have been one of the three *λόγου ἄξια* (i. 36). (4) At the beginning of the war Sparta had hoped to obtain ships from Syracuse among other places (ii. 7). But none had hitherto been sent. Now, however, Syracuse was under an obligation (*ἀνάγκην*) to send a fleet to add (*προσγεγενημένου*) to the resources of Sparta.[1]

In c. 8, 4 to the statement that *ἀδυνασία* is an Ionic form, add that it is used by Dio Cassius and was probably used by Antiphon. In c. 13 Prof. Goodhart reads *ξυνδιαπολεμήσασαι* with B and the editors against *ξυνπολεμήσασαι*, of the rest. Hude says 'nullo fere sententiae damno praepositio abesse potest.' The *-δια-* is probably a conjecture made in our era, and due to a tendency to use elaborate compounds that may be noticed in some of the authors of the Empire. C. 25, 4 *Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ... τοῖς Μιλησίοις οὐ ξυμμίξαντες, ἀλλ' ὑποχωρησάντων αὐτῶν ... ὡς ἑώρων τὸ ἄλλο σφῶν ἡσσώμενον, πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν...τὰ ὅπλα τίθενται.* In support of *τὸ ἄλλο* with a genitive, Prof. Goodhart quotes vii. 2 *τῷ δὲ ἄλλῳ τοῦ κύκλου.* But grave doubt is cast on the reading and the construction in the latter passage. On c. 46, 5 there is a good note on the contrast between *ἰσχυρός* and *βραχύς*. Procopius, in so many respects an admirable scholar, has this contrast: *e.g. bel. Vand.* 2, 20 b *πυργὸν βραχὺν...καταφυγήν τε ἰσχυράν*, and *bel. Got.* 1, 1 d *ἥνικα βραχὺ φαίνεται τὸ τῆς σελήνης φῶς, οὐδὲ ἡ τῆς θαλάσσης πρόοδος ἰσχυρὰ γίνεται.*

C. 48, 7 has *οὔκουν ἑαυτῷ γε τῶν ἀπὸ Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι πρασσομένων ἀρέσκειν οὐδέν*, literally 'for his part he was entirely opposed to the intrigue got up by A. and *due to the exigencies of the moment*,' (cf. *λόγων ἐν τῷ παρόντι κόμπος* ii. 41). Two epithets applied to *τὰ πρασσόμενα* stamp

[1] I have before said that I agree in the main with Herbst on this passage.

them with a bad character. They are (1) ἀπὸ Ἀλκιβιάδου, who is not to be trusted; (2) ἐν τῷ παρόντι merely, not likely to lead to a permanent settlement. Prof. Goodwin finds a difficulty that I do not discover. He says that the two phrases joined by καί must be taken as distinct. Were we to regard them as one we should have the very awkward expression 'the intrigues set on foot by Alc. *and* at the present moment. In this case ἐν τῷ παρόντι would add nothing, and καὶ would be clearly superfluous.' He thinks that ἀπὸ Ἀλκ. is very probably spurious. But then everything depends on discovering the exact meaning of ἐν τῷ παρόντι. Now, c. 48, 4 has 'τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἐφαίνετο εὔπορα καὶ πιστά.' What Thuc. says in the sections that follow amounts to this, that, whereas most persons at Samos approved of the new designs, Phrynichus on the contrary considered Alcibiades ἄπιστος, and that the scheme, while it was ἄπορον to Persia, would not settle their own difficulties abroad.[1] Then the sentence under discussion—οὔκουν ἑαυτῷ κ.τ.λ.—is brought in to sum up the sentiments of Phrynichus. Is it not clear that ἀπὸ Ἀλκιβιάδου and ἐν τῷ παρόντι are alike indispensable, corresponding as they do in chiastic arrangement to εὔπορα and πιστά?

The note on c. 50, 1 ἐπὶ τοιόνδε τι. πέμπει ὡς κ.τ.λ., if it was wanted, should have been made clearer. 'This abrupt commencement without any conjunction is usual in Thuc. in a statement introduced by τοιόσδε.' Either the readers of Prof. Goodhart's book will know already that this idiom is neither confined to τοιόσδε, nor to Thuc., and so will hardly want the note, or they will be misled into supposing that this information is exhaustive. This point might have been investigated, as also might the double use of ἐτελεύτα in the formula with which the account of a year is closed. It is, for example, interesting that in the latter expression Procopius substitutes ἔληγε or ὑπέληγε for the first ἐτελεύτα. In c. 67, 2 the editor should have referred to Herbst's ingenious correction ἀνὰ πεντακισχιλίους εἰπεῖν. Again at the opening of c. 70 he should have mentioned that B reads ὥστε τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ for ὡς δὲ τ.τ.τ. of the rest. Prof. Goodhart follows other editors in bracketing a δέ in one sentence of this chapter, and reads τε for δέ with Classen in another. Though B's ὥστε τούτῳ may be a mere conjecture, it is perhaps right, and it has the advantage of necessitating no further change in the text (cf. Herod. vii. 233 ὥστε ταῦτα λέγοντες περιεγίγνοντο). The chapter would then run as follows: ὥστε τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἥ τε βουλὴ οὐδὲν ἀντειποῦσα ὑπεξῆλθε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι...ἡσύχαζον, οἱ δὲ τετρακόσιοι... πολὺ μεταλλάξαντες τῆς τοῦ δήμου διοικήσεως (πλὴν τοὺς φεύγοντας οὐ κατῆγον...) τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἔνεμον κατὰ κράτος τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἄνδρας κ.τ.λ. In c. 80, 3 the editor proposes to remove καί twice with Classen, and to insert ὁρμοῦσιν after ἐλθοῦσαι. An insertion which would not involve the removal of either καί would be αἱ μὲν...νῆες...χειμασθεῖσαι <ἔτυχον>, καὶ αἱ μὲν...ἐλθοῦσαι [*sc.* ἔτυχον] ἐς Μίλητον. The phrase ὁμόσε χωρεῖν τῷ ἔργῳ in c. 92, 10 should have been illustrated; *e.g.* by Joseph. *bel. Jud.* i. 2, 8 ὁμόσε χ. τῇ πράξει.

In c. 93, 3 Prof. Goodhart objects to τὸ δὲ πᾶν πλῆθος...ἐφοβεῖτο περὶ τοῦ παντὸς πολιτικοῦ, and brackets the last word. 'The Scholiast,' he says, 'explains ἤγουν περὶ τῆς πάσης πολιτείας, but a little consideration will show that both πολιτικόν and πολιτεία are singularly inappropriate words here, for the leading idea is exactly the same as in c. 53, 3 καὶ μὴ περὶ πολιτείας τὸ πλέον βουλεύσομεν...ἢ περὶ σωτηρίας.' The idea is no doubt the same. But surely σωτηρία is just what is meant by τὸ πᾶν πολιτικόν in this context. So Demosthenes 25, 21 asserts that he who contributes to the πολιτικὸς ἔρανος by obeying the laws φέρει τὴν τῆς σωτηρίας φορὰν πλήρη τῇ πατρίδι. In c. 94, 3 ὡς τοῦ ἰδίου πολέμου μείζονος [ἢ] ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων οὐχ ἑκὰς ἀλλὰ πρὸς τῷ λιμένι ὄντος, the editor says that 'the general meaning of these words is plain. The Athenians realized that the hostile movements of Agesandridas were a far more serious matter than their own internal dissensions.' To me it seems far plainer that the first business here is to investigate the meaning of ὁ ἴδιος πόλεμος, and on many grounds it is highly probable that the sense is not what Prof. Goodhart assumes it to be. C. 96, 2 the note on ξυρράξουσι merely serves up again the meagre information given in L. and S. on this interesting word. But ῥάσσω stands in need of further treatment. There appears to be some confusion between ῥάσσω and ἀράσσω. In vii. 6 we have κατηρ*άχθη, κατερράχθη and κατηρράχθη for variants: κατήραξαν is common in other authors. In the aorist forms however -ράξαι is often found, and this is doubtless the reason why Photius &c. give ῥάξαι, not ῥάσσειν; *e.g.* συρράξαντες Denys *Ant. R.* 9, 53; Plut. *Pelop.* 17; συνέρραξαν Diod. 16, 4; Dio Cas. 71, 7.

[1] For the sense of πόρος cf. Euripides, *Alcest.* 213 τίς ἂν πόρος κακῶν γένοιτο καὶ λύσις τύχας ἃ πάρεστι;

Xenophon has not *συρράσσειν*, as Prof. Goodhart says, but only *συνέρραξαν*. I know of no good prose instance of the present.

To sum up. Prof. Goodhart's edition contains very much that is good. As a school edition the book would have been perfect; as a library edition it is not perfect only because the editor has not undertaken the research that would have made it so.

E. C. MARCHANT.

GOODWIN'S HOMERIC HYMNS.

Hymni Homerici codicibus denuo collatis recensuit ALFREDUS GOODWIN, cum quattuor tabulis photographicis. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1893. £1 1*s*. net.

THE reproach on English scholarship, that it has of late years contributed little of importance to the study of the *Homeric Hymns*, has now been to some extent removed by the appearance of this critical edition. In Germany, since Baumeister's great work (1860), the literature on the subject has been fertile enough. In 1885 Fick applied to the *Hymns* his well-known method of investigating the original form of the Homeric and Hesiodean poems. In 1886 Abel and Gemoll produced editions of the collection. Abel attempted to restore the digamma in those hymns which seemed to observe it with most consistency. Gemoll's edition was remarkable for his excellent prolegomena and commentary as well as his careful recension of the text; and this work seems likely to remain for some time the standard book on the *Hymns*. Any new edition must therefore justify its existence, if not by superseding, at least by supplementing Gemoll's *Homerischen Hymnen*. The present edition does not challenge comparison with Gemoll in one important particular; the commentary which the late Professor Goodwin intended to form a second volume, as well as his emendations and conjectures on the text itself, have unfortunately been lost. Had the professor lived to complete his design, there seems no doubt, to judge from the results of his unfinished labour, that he would have produced a really fine edition. He had already, with the assistance of friends, collated the principal MSS., some of which were unknown to Gemoll and Abel; and he left critical notes on the fragmentary *Hymn to Dionysus*, and on parts of the *Hymns to Demeter* and *Apollo*. The task of completing the edition was undertaken by Mr. T. G. Allen, who modestly omits his own name from the title-page, although the preparation of the present volume must have involved considerable labour and research on his part.

Twenty-six manuscripts have been collated, of which five were not known to any previous editor. It is not claimed that any of these new MSS. belong to an archetype different from that which is the parent of all the rest; but at least three out of the five are important in correcting or confirming the readings of the other copies. It may be convenient to remind the reader that the MSS. have been divided, by general consent, into three classes: (1) represented by M, the celebrated Moscow Codex, now at Leyden, (2) the Paris class, consisting of numerous MSS., the best of which are cited as ABC, (3) several very important codices, *i.e.* E (Estensis), L (Laurentianus), and D (Ambrosianus). Gemoll and Abel have chiefly relied upon a comparison of M with ELD, especially EL, in settling the text. Of the new manuscripts the three most valuable are quoted as Π, Γ, and S. While Π agrees closely with L, both in the text and marginal notes, Γ (Brussels) belongs to the Parisian class, and is remarkable for corrections, made by a later hand, which are not found elsewhere. Whether these corrections are due to the conjectures of a learned man, or to comparison with a manuscript of a different family, Mr. Allen leaves an open question. The former hypothesis would seem to be the safer. The third codex, S (Vatican), collated by Mr. Allen, is akin to DELΠ, but shows considerable variations, as to the origin of which the editor prudently remarks 'ambiguum erat opinionem certam proferre.' In one or two instances S alone preserves the true reading, *e.g.* in the *Hymn to Apollo* l. 234. *κείν'*, for *κεῖν'*, which was evidently wrong, is found in S where all the rest have blundered. It will thus be seen that the *apparatus criticus* is fuller and more satisfactory than that of any former edition. Still, it must be acknowledged that the new

additions are of little or no help in elucidating the really corrupt passages in which the longer hymns abound. Probably these difficulties can never be solved until a manuscript descended from a new archetype is discovered.

With regard to the vexed question as to the value of M it is interesting to note that Prof. Goodwin laid great stress upon this manuscript; in deference to its authority, the fragment of the *Dionysiac Hymn* is given the first place in the collection, and is immediately followed by the *Hymn to Demeter*. In some places this deference strikes one as excessive. For instance, in iv. (iii.) 552, where M reads σεμναί, and the rest μοῖραι, σεμναί has been put in the text, while Hermann's certain emendation Θριαί is relegated to the foot-notes. σεμναί seems to be due to a scribe who saw that the common reading Μοῖραι was wrong, and adopted a correction on his own responsibility. Again, the consensus of manuscript authority is followed in preserving the unity of the *Hymn to Apollo*. Since Ruhnken, the editors, as is well known, have divided the poem into two, the second half being attributed to the Pythian Apollo. Gemoll was the first to uphold the manuscript tradition. The whole question is difficult; but in spite of Gemoll's contention that his view would be convincing 'dem blödesten Auge,' one may perhaps be permitted to think that Ruhnken's view is still tenable. It has already been seen that the editors have been cautious in their treatment of the text. As a rule only those emendations are mentioned in the critical notes which have been adopted in the text. The object, in fact, is merely to acknowledge their source. Occasionally, however, conjectures are put in the footnotes without being incorporated in the text. If this was done at all, it should have been done more completely and consistently. The choice of conjectural readings seems somewhat arbitrary. Mr. Allen gives many which are by no means convincing, and omits others which are more or less certain. For example, the line in the *Hymn to Hermes* (48)

πειρήνας διὰ νῶτα †δια ῥίνοιο χελώνης

is admittedly corrupt; but there are two excellent emendations, λιθορρίνοιο (Pierson) and ταλαρρίνοιο (M. Schmidt), one or the other being adopted by all recent editors. Mr. Allen takes no notice of either, and leaves the passage without comment. But at line 188, where κνώδαλον presents a difficulty, he mentions Prof. Ridgeway's νώδαλον and Rossbach's κώδαλον, neither of which can be said to be more than plausible suggestions. So again in the *Hymn to Demeter* (l. 64) θέας ὕπερ is corrected in the text to θεὰν σύ περ (Ludwich). This is attractive, but would certainly not command universal acceptance; yet a few lines below (l. 76), where μέγα σ' ἄζομαι is read for μέγα ἄζομαι by both Gemoll and Abel, and where sense and metre alike require the insertion of the pronoun, the correction is not even given a place at the foot of the page. On vii. 55, where the obscure and probably corrupt δῖε κάτωρ occurs, we find a note 'κάτωρ defendit Ridgeway.' Compare this with the editor's treatment of xix. 9. Here Mr. Allen marks ἐφελκόμενος as corrupt, and ignores Gemoll's successful defence of the manuscript reading. The German editor showed by a quotation of Thuc. i. 42, 4 that ἐφελκόμενος may very well stand in the sense of 'attracted by.' If (which is scarcely conceivable) Mr. Allen did not think this defence worth noting, he might at least have quoted Baumeister's correction ἐφεζόμενος.

Apart from the question of inconsistency, it is to be regretted that the *apparatus criticus* was not made more complete by the mention of emendations when they are really improvements. To give a single instance, taken at random, Bothe's brilliant ὀλοοῖσι for ὀλίγοισι (*Hymn to Hermes* l. 259), a correction adopted by Baumeister, Abel, and Gemoll, surely deserves to be recorded in an edition of this size and importance, even though the work is not primarily concerned with the preservation of such suggestions.

These are however merely faults of omission, which do not seriously detract from the value of an edition dealing with manuscript rather than editorial readings. The book is one-sided, it is true; but, as far as it goes, it is excellent; and, after all, one has no right to complain that it gives no more than it pretends to give. Considering the exceptional circumstances of its production, we may congratulate Mr. Allen on giving us so much.

The type and general appearance of the volume are all that could be desired, and the facsimiles (of leaves from M) are admirable.

E. E. Sikes.

TWO SCHOOL-EDITIONS OF PLAUTUS.

1. *T. Macci Plauti Stichus*, edited with Introduction and Notes by C. A. M. FENNELL, LITT. D. University Press, Cambridge, 1893 (Pitt Press Series). (Pp. xix. 55.)
2. *T. Macci Plauti Epidicus*, from the text of G. GOETZ, with an Introduction and Notes by J. H. GRAY, M.A. University Press, Cambridge, 1893 (Pitt Press Series). (Pp. xxxiii. 93.)

THESE two school-editions from the Cambridge University Press are very welcome. Nothing is more likely to advance Latin scholarship in England than the wider reading of Plautus at our schools. And surely the time has come when an author, whose pure Latinity won the enthusiastic praise of Cicero and Varro, may be admitted to a larger place in school study, now that the text of the plays has been fairly established by the critical edition of Goetz, Schoell and Loewe, and the difficulties of the prosody have received a thorough treatment from Prof. Klotz (*Grundzüge altrömischer Metrik*, Leipz. 1890). An English manual of Plautine Prosody (I am glad to hear that one is in preparation) will do much to remove the somewhat bewildering divergence in the accounts given in the introductions to our school-editions, which too often follow the older theories without regard to later research. The Law of the Brevis Brevians (*i.e.* brevis syllaba brevians sequentem syllabam), by which words like *ăve* (imper.), *căve, vŏlo, vŏluptatem, mĭnisterium* may be scanned with their second syllable short, seems still to be the great stumbling-block in Plautine scansion, and to receive a different enunciation from every new editor. For my own part, I believe that the only simple and correct way of explaining the usage is to regard it as reflecting the ordinary pronunciation of conversational Latin. Quintilian (i. 6, 21) tells us that in unconventional talk the second syllable of *ave* was shortened, only a few punctilious persons taking the trouble to give it its proper long sound; and the pronunciation *avĕ, cavĕ,* or *au(ĕ), cau(ĕ)*, is further proved by Cicero's story (*Div.* 2, 40) of Crassus mistaking a fig-seller's cry, *Cauneas! Cauneas!* (*sc.* ficus vendo), for *cave ne eas!*, by the fable of Phaedrus (*App.* 21) about a man who mistook the caw of a crow for the salutation *ave* (*have*), and by the spelling *causis* for *cave sis* in Juvenal 9, 120. Similarly Servius, in his note on Virgil *Aen.* 6, 779, says that *vidĕn*, not *vidēn*, was the current pronunciation of his time; and forms like *mi(n)sterium, perstroma* for *ministerium, peristroma* show that the second syllable of these words did not get its full weight in ordinary speech (cf. *citŏ, modŏ, mihĭ*, &c.).

Plautus, who, like the other dramatists, aims in his dialogue metres at reproducing the conversational Latin of the time, and who accordingly uses only the conversational form of such a word as *avonculus*, viz. *aunculus*, to the exclusion of the literary form (a quadrisyllable), confines himself to scansions like *cavĕ-faxis, volŏ-scire, volŭptas-mea, Philĭppus* (the coin), evidently because the second syllables of these words and word-groups had in the speech of his time a short sound. And the shortening of these syllables is clearly due to the nature of the Latin accent, which had the effect under certain circumstances of reducing a syllable long by nature or by position, when a short syllable preceded — *cavĕ-fáxis, volŏ-scíre, volŭptás-mea, Phílĭppus* (the last retaining the accent in the same position as the Greek Φίλιππος). What the precise conditions were under which this reduction was effected, I have tried to show in two articles in the *Journal of Philology* (vol. xxi. no. 42, and vol. xxii. no. 43), where I have defended two theses :—

(1) that no syllable was shortened in the metre of the dramatists which was not shortened (partially or completely) in the ordinary pronunciation of their time;

(2) that a naturally long vowel was never shortened by the Law of the Brevis Brevians, unless in a final syllable. If these two theses are right, scansions like *puĕlla* (*Epidicus* Intr. p. xviii.), *amăbo* (*Stichus* Intr. p. xv.), will be wrong.

The text of the *Stichus* offers a good many difficulties. Dr. Fennell makes a neat suggestion for *Stich.* 420, *mussaverim* instead of *mulcaverim* of the MSS., though the fact that both families of MSS. (the Ambrosian Palimpsest (A) as well as the Palatine group (P)), agree in the *mulcaverim* makes me disinclined to accept so great a departure from their reading. For I take it to be a cardinal point in Plautine textual criticism that when A and P agree, their reading must be accepted, or, if it cannot be

accepted, such an alternative reading must be proposed as can be imagined to have been corrupted in the same way by two scribes independently. *Mussaverim* does not seem to me to be a word which would be likely to be changed by two different copyists to *mulcaverim* in this context:

ere, si ego taceam seu loquar, scio scire te,
quam multas tecum miserias mulcaverim;

and the quotation (apparently from an old writer) in Placidus (p. 66, 22 Deuerl.), *mulcantem aerumnas*, which is glossed by 'misere viventem; aerumna est miseria,' seems to show that *mulcare* in Early Latin literature was capable of being used in this way.

The reading of AP should, I think, also be retained in *Stich.* 67, with iambic metre:

si quís me quaeret, índ(e) uocatote áliqui:
aut iam egomet híc ero

(on *ind(e)* see Skutsch *Forschungen* i. p. 80). In v. 71 I would retain the reading of A *per*, regarding the *a patre* of P as due to a confusion of *per* with *pe* the contracted symbol for *patre*:

éxorando, haud áduorsando, súmendam operam cénseo.
grátiam per sí petemus, spéro ab eo impetrássere.

In v. 326 the scansion *óbsecro hăs frángit*, with a Brevis Brevians operating through a mute and liquid is questionable, and it seems better to retain the reading of AP:

quisnam óbsecro has frangít foris? ubíst?
tun haéc facis? tun mi húc hostis uenís?

with two Iambic Trimeters Brachycatalectic, as in *Pers.* 1–2 we seem to have two Iambic Tetrameters Brachycatalectic:

qui amáns egens ingréssust princeps ín Amoris uiás,
superáuit aerumnís suis aerúmnas Herculí,

or with one Anapaestic Tetrameter (like the two following lines):

quisnam óbsecrŏ has frangít foris? úbist?
tun haec facis? tún mi huc hostis uenís?

In v. 354 the *pinge humum* of AP is perhaps as likely to be a corruption of *pinse humum* (cf. Ennius *Trag.* 396 R. cubitis pinsibant humum) as of *finge humum*. In v. 501, given by Ritschl as:

quaen eápse deciens ín die mutát locum,

can the QVAENEATEST of A and the *quaenetipsa* of P point to an original *eapte*,[1] a by-form of *eapse*, and in v. 620 the SATERISEST(?) of A and the *saterest* of P to an original *sate rest* (*re est*), with *sate*, the older form of *sat*? In v. 684 the *ómnibus módis* of AP is contrary to the metrical accentuation of this phrase in the dialogue metres of Plautus and Terence (*Omnĭbus modís Pseud.* 1074, *Rud.* 290, *Hec.* 701), and should be changed, with Goetz (and Fennell), to *omnimodis*, a change which may also be required in a line of the Canticum in the third scene of the fifth act of the *Casina* (v. 941):

<nam iam> ómnia palam súnt probra:
omnímodis occidí miser.

The beginning of v. 700 is very puzzling, but the *amica* of P, and the MATRICEM(?) of A may perhaps be referred to an original *mica* or *micem*, the Imperative or Dubitative Subjunctive of *micare*, to jerk one's fingers in the game of 'mora':

SAG. mícă uter utrubi áccumbamus. STI. ábi tu sane súperior,

or

SAG. mícĕm uter utrubi áccumbamus?

if we may suppose the *matri-*(?) of A to be an expansion of the supposed contraction MI. Scarcely less difficult is v. 713 where the Palatine MSS. (we have not the reading of A) offer:

bibe, tibicen: age si quid agis, bibendum hercle hoc est: ne nega,

and where neither Dr. Fennell's scansion *quíd agĭs bibéndum* nor Prof. Klotz's *bíbĕndum* are quite satisfactory; a less violent departure from the reading of the MSS. than Ritschl's *bibe si bibis*, for *age siquid agis*, would be the omission of *agis*:

bíbe tibicen: áge, siquid bibéndum, hercle hoc est: né nega,

for the collocation *age si quid* would in-

[1] Cf. *Corp. Gloss. Lat.* ii. 192. 39: *suapte* τῷ ἰδίῳ (MSS. *suate*).

evitably suggest to a copyist the usual phrase *age si quid agis,* which occurs two lines below, v. 715 age si quid agis, accipe inquam.

That a school-edition of a play of Plautus should take note of every pamphlet or magazine article bearing on the play is not to be expected. Still I cannot but think that it would be well to make a practice of reading through the annual or biennial notices of Plautine research which are to be found in Bursian's *Jahresbericht,* before writing even a school-edition. It seems hard that Prof. Buecheler's *sedutraque* in *Stich.* 106 (Wölfflin's *Archiv.* i.), *rem dinam Epid.* 316 (*Rhein. Mus.* xxxv.) should be ignored, with Dr. Skutsch's *redd(e) cantionem Stich.* 768, *differor difflagitor Epid.* 118, and Prof. Nettleship's *caperrat Epid.* 609 (*Contributions to Latin Lexicography* p. 403), and above all that Prof. Studemund's Apograph of the Ambrosian Palimpsest, the most important of all the recent contributions to the study of Plautus, should be treated as if it had never existed.

In the *Stichus,* vv. 441–2 are printed:

Sagarinu . . . . . .
seru . . . . . nam meae,

though almost the whole couplet has been deciphered in A through Prof. Studemund's unremitting labours:

Sagarinus scio iam hic a*de*rit cum domino suo,
seruos homo, qui *nisi temperi a*d cenam meat,

(similarly with vv. 427 *sqq.*, 590 *sqq.*). In the note on *Epidicus* v. 476 Mr. Gray gives TRIDIS as the reading of A, though the Apograph points to TRVDIS, and so on. Dr. Fennell however in his preface explicitly states that 'the text is based on the apparatus criticus of Ritschl'; while Mr. Gray, who avowedly follows the text of Goetz (ed. 1878), tells us at the end of his Introduction (p. xxxiii.) that 'questions of reading are only noticed in the notes where the text printed differs from Goetz's edition,' so that recent additions to our knowledge of the text of the plays are necessarily excluded. This is no doubt a common practice in our school-editions, but whether it is a wise one is doubtful.

W. M. LINDSAY.

KAIBEL ON ARISTOTLE'S *CONSTITUTION OF ATHENS.*

Stil und Text der Πολιτεία Ἀθηναίων des Aristoteles von G. KAIBEL. Berlin. 1893. 8 Mk.

LEAVING to Wilamowitz-Möllendorf the discussion of all the historical questions raised by the Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία, Kaibel addresses himself to the consideration of the style in which the treatise is written and to questions of textual criticism. The volume falls into two parts accordingly.

In the first part the writer is not concerned to vindicate the Aristotelian authorship of the Ἀθ. Π. On that point he and his colleague made up their minds as soon as the book was published (see the preface to their text, 1891) and he professes not to discuss any of the difficulties that have suggested themselves. It is easy to see, however, that he frequently has them in mind when writing. Many points on which he dwells are, though he does not say so, points to which attention has been called by other people, and he is really, though not avowedly, dealing with what they have said. If he had examined the various details of language which have been urged as *pro tanto* arguments against Aristotelian authorship in some more avowed and more systematic way, this part of his book would have gained considerably in thoroughness and interest. At present it is scrappy and imperfect. He dwells on some things and entirely passes over others, while the method and object of the discussion hardly appear. Another thing also strikes me as somewhat unsatisfactory. He points out various features of style in the book without indicating sufficiently how far they belong to the other Aristotelian writings that we possess. Apart from any question of authorship, and allowing for the fact that the Ἀθ. Π. is a treatise of a different kind from any other, it would still have been worth while to

compare it more fully and carefully with the rest in respect of the features on which he dwells.

Adhering to the high opinion of the book which was expressed in the preface above referred to, he holds that we can see in it 'in greater or less degree' the merits which the critics of antiquity discerned in Aristotle's more popular writings. The *flumen orationis aureum* is there: grace, copiousness, &c., are not wanting. Even into the second and descriptive part of the book he finds that the author has known how to breathe a sort of life, so that for instance the training of the ephebi and the examination of the horsemen have the liveliness of actions performed by individuals. He is indeed reminded by it (p. 63) of an economical but tasteful household, where the best use is made of rather scanty means, and a certain impression is conveyed of there even being something to spare. He considers, however, that in some places Aristotle had not put his finishing touches to the work, and was prevented by illness or death from publishing the book himself.

Some pages are given to an examination of the cases in which hiatus is admitted, but no reference is made to Mr. J. W. Headlam's article on the same subject in this *Review* (v. 270). There is a very incomplete notice of rare or late words and phrases occurring in the treatise. It has been observed that the author of the 'Αθ. Π. once or twice in referring to some fact that has been recorded by Herodotus makes use of Herodotean and un-Attic words that yet are not used by Herodotus in the passages in question. Kaibel has the strange theory that Aristotle did this to indicate that he was drawing from a foreign source. After dwelling on the simplicity of style with which the treatise is written and on the absence of metaphor, he goes on to examine in some detail the political language of the treatise, that is, the use of such terms as πλῆθος, δῆμος, δημαγωγεῖν, πλεονεξία, &c. (He points out incidentally that ὄχλος does not occur at all, nor ἐξουσία in the sense common in the *Politics*.) From this he passes to the structure of the sentences, showing them to be a mixture of the λέξις εἰρομένη and the λέξις κατεστραμμένη, such as Demetrius prescribes for historical writing, and examining here the use made of various conjunctions and particles. Finally he studies the extent to which symmetry is observed in the parts and clauses of sentences and the degree in which rhythm is regarded, maintaining on the latter point that the sentences are not constructed with anything like the minute and laborious attention to rhythmical laws which Blass discovers in them. After some remarks on the order of words, he concludes this part of the book by comparing the author in respect of style with Lysias and contrasting him with Ephorus and Theopompus.

The second part of the book is a collection of critical notes on the text, dealing with most of the passages where there can still be any doubt as to what should be read. So much has been written on the subject in former numbers of this *Review* that I will content myself with mentioning, as samples, a few things that have interested me in reading the book. But it should first be stated in general terms that all serious students of the 'Αθ. Π. will find much of interest and value in these notes. They are professedly critical, but necessarily deal from time to time with matters of interpretation and with history. Many things in them might perhaps be disputed, but the writer brings ample knowledge and generally good judgment to his work, and future editors and critics are bound to make considerable use of what he has written.

In dealing with ch. 3 he makes a thorough examination of the author's practice with regard to adding or not adding the definite article to official titles (θεσμοθέται &c.) and a few other words. In the same chapter he thinks that τὰ ὅρκια ποιήσειν may mean 'will keep their oaths,' while recognizing the difficulty of adapting this meaning to the context, and that δωρεῶν must be governed by παραχωρησάντων, in which case ἀντί must be wrong. In iv. 3 he considers πρὸ τοῦ πάντας ἐξελθεῖν to mean 'before the whole number had entered on office and gone out again.' In v. 2 he takes exception to καινομένην (which Blass now maintains to be legible in the papyrus, where Mr. Kenyon read καὶ γὰρ ἐπήλαυνεν), and suggests, what seems to me unlikely, καρφομένην. I am glad to find that he condemns ἐσορῶντ' αἶαν (Naber's suggestion, adopted in Hude's text, in place of ἐσορῶν γαῖαν) on exactly the same grounds on which I questioned it in this *Review* (vii. 212). At the beginning of Solon's lines in xii. 4 he would read ἀξονηλατῶν in the sense of 'guiding' the people as a driver his horses. In xvi. 10 he would alter καθήκων to ἀνήκων. No parallel for such a use of καθήκων has yet been produced, and in this as in a few

other cases (*e.g.* the repeated use of ἐπιλείπόμενος = ἀπολειπόμενος) we have to choose between emending the text and enlarging the list of strange words or strange uses that occur in it. In xvii. 4 for ἔγημεν γάρ he thinks ἐπέγημεν γάρ required, and in xxii. 8 would apparently rather read ἐντὸς Γεραιστοῦ καὶ Σκυλλαίου <μὴ> κατοικεῖν than alter ἐντός to ἐκτός. In xxvi. 1 he considers ἡγεμόνα to need no epithet, because a ἡγεμών is more than a προστάτης, but he admits νεώτερον to be untenable, and reads the unsatisfactory νωθρότερον. In xlviii. 4 he is content with ταῖς ἀγοραῖς, explaining it, as Dr. Sandys and Mr. Kenyon do, of tribal assemblies, though he quotes Blass's statement that the papyrus has something different (ταῖς ἀν....αις). In lxi. 1 he quarrels with πολεμεῖ, which, as I pointed out long ago, will hardly bear the meaning required, and which may be added to καθήκων and ἐπιλειπόμενος mentioned above. He boldly substitutes ἡγεῖται.

On many passages the last word is far from having been said in this book, but it is a useful contribution to the literature of the subject.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

NEW EDITION OF BRUNS' *FONTES IURIS ROMANI.*

Fontes Iuris Romani Antiqui ed. C. G. BRUNS. Editio sexta cura Th. MOMMSENI et O. GRADENWITZ. 1893. Mks. 7.

THE fifth edition of this admirable and most convenient work was noted in our first volume (p. 157) when it appeared about seven years ago. The new edition has retained the benefit of Mommsen's services and has gained those of a co-editor. Prof. Gradenwitz is specially known for the attention he has paid to the language of Roman law and his skill in detecting interpolations in the Pandects, or, in other words, in noting the alterations made by Justinian's digesters in the extracts from the old lawyers of the two first centuries, which they pieced together to make the manual for legal practitioners called Justinian's *Digest.*

In substance the new edition of Bruns' collection is the same as the old, but there are some additions, some changes of arrangement, and of course that general revision which is always present when Mommsen takes or retakes a work in hand. The book is now divided into two parts, separately procurable: the first containing the remains of laws and legal documents, which have come to us, chiefly in inscriptions, outside of Justinian's works; the second containing extracts of the like general character from Festus, Varro and other writers whose works we have. The new inscriptions are welcome, but are not very numerous or important. In the second part are added the legal formulae which occur in Cato's treatise *On Husbandry* extracted from Keil's new edition. Any one who wishes to measure the progress of the last sixty years in ascertaining the text of inscriptions and in collecting and arranging them with adequate insight and industry should compare with the present book the somewhat similar collection published by Spangenberg from Haubold's remains in 1830. The difference is due above all other things to Mommsen's marvellous energy, knowledge, and ordonnant faculty. He and his band of scholars and allies have sought out everywhere the best evidence and combined it on numberless tasks and problems of the highest interest in the language law and history of the Romans. This book is only a sample of what they have done in many other fields of antiquity.

H. J. ROBY.

BELOCH'S HISTORY OF GREECE.

Griechische Geschichte, von JULIUS BELOCH. Erster Band bis auf die sophistische Bewegung und den peloponnesischen Krieg. Strassburg: Verlag von Karl J. Trübner. 1893: pp. xii. 637. Mks. 7.50.

DR. BELOCH some years ago published a small instalment of a History of Greece in Italian: he has now returned to his native tongue, and in German has published the first volume of a new History. The whole work is to be completed in two volumes: the one now before us, which consists of rather over 600 pages, carries the narrative down to the middle of the Peloponnesian war. The book is therefore one of those 'middle' histories which have become so popular lately: one of the class to which Busolt's, Holm's or Mr. Abbott's belong; in which the author, without allowing himself the licence of length which the older historians usurped, aims at giving in a short space a really complete account of the whole development of the Greek nation; the kind of history, we may say in passing, which, if not the most valuable when written, is certainly the most difficult to write. The natural objection against a new book of this kind is that where we have so many a fresh one is superfluous. No one who has read the book will repeat the suggestion: Dr. Beloch's point of view is too original, his treatment is too novel and too vigorous; no one, even of those who disagree with him most, can read his work without learning much. In some ways it is a great advance on all previous histories.

There are two points that call for special notice: the treatment of what may be called 'prehistoric history' and the treatment of the intellectual and material side of Greek life. It is in the former that the innovations are boldest; they are partly positive and partly negative. He is the first historian who boldly accepts the position that history cannot begin until the time that writing was invented. He refuses to accept the conclusions which so many authors have tried to establish by a combined interpretation of myths, ritual, legend, mythology and archaeology. The whole story of the migrations he dismisses as unauthenticated; the attempt to build up the early history of Attica out of the legends of Theseus, the worship on the Acropolis, the story of Dionysus or Ion, he rejects. He is I think the first historian who has pointed out on what very unsatisfactory evidence is based the common view of the prevalence of the Phoenicians in some very early period; the arguments drawn from the names Phoenix and Kadmus he exposes, while he insists on the importance of the fact, too often underestimated, that neither Homer nor the Greek vocabulary give any support to the view that the Phoenicians had played any part in early Greek history more important than in later times. Those who know what confusion has been introduced by the Phoenician hypothesis will welcome this as a great and permanent improvement. It is in regard to the period of Mycenaean civilization and the origin of the Spartans however that he is most at variance with modern writers. Those who have read his article in the *Rheinisches Museum* will be aware that he holds that the builders of Mycenae were identical with the inhabitants of the Peloponnese in later times, that there was no great break in culture caused by an invasion from the North, that the Dorian invasion never took place, that in fact the Dorians as a tribal union never existed at all, and that the name was transported to Europe at the same time as the Homeric poems, having belonged originally to a small group of cities in Asia. This view he repeats in the book before us. It is impossible to discuss this theory here; it will be enough to point out that supposing he were right in tracing a continuity of life, unbroken by any serious invasion, from the period of Mycenae to the sixth century, it would then follow, as he says, that the Dorian invasion must be classed among unhistorical legends; for if this event took place before, not after, the building of Mycenae, it happened at a period so remote that no authentic record or tradition of it could have survived; and the evidence even of Tyrtaeus would be quite valueless. What he has omitted to consider is the peculiar nature of the Spartan institutions; he simply states that they probably had come from Crete, and does not consider the evidence they afford that their civilization was of very modern origin, nor has he in the least succeeded in proving his *dictum* that the origin of the name *Dorian* is to be found in

Asia Minor. It is indeed impossible in this part of the work to ignore a certain tendency to dogmatism, and the reader will find statements which are at best possible suggestions made with the same certainty as well known historical facts; *e.g.* (p. 300), speaking of the double kingship at Sparta, he says: 'at Sparta in the eighth century or earlier a compromise was made between nobility and monarchy; the race of the Eurypontidae was placed at the side of the old ruling house of the Agiadae, so that the heads of both families held the royal dignity together.' In this and other places he would have done better to have followed his own course and confessed to ignorance.

Passing to the later period, he has most valuable and instructive chapters on the development of trade and colonization, the progress of agriculture and the arts: to gain room for his full treatment of these matters, the political history is compressed, but the narrative is always clear and forcible, and critical as he is, he avoids the danger so common among modern writers; he lays stress always on what is known, not on what is unknown. I may mention that in dealing with early Athenian History he questions the authenticity of some of the Solonian laws quoted by Plutarch; against Wilamowitz-Moellendorf he rejects the Aristotelian account of Draco's legislation: like all modern writers he attaches great importance to Peisistratos.

His treatment of the fifth century is marked by the endeavour to bring into prominence the civilizing influences of the growth of science and popularization of knowledge; he lays much stress therefore on the teaching of the sophists and philosophers. In common with many modern writers, he is opposed to the view that the Periclean age was the highest point of Athens: he maintains that the Greeks were more civilized and more humane in the next century, and is even prepared to dispute Pericles' title to be considered a great statesman—'at least,' he says, 'we seek in vain for a single creative thought that is his'; a statement that is scarcely worth criticism. It seems as though the desire to break through the conventional treatment had at times led him to state an opinion simply because it is new and paradoxical. He attempts *e.g.* to show that the Attic Tragedy had no civilizing influences on life, while a few pages later he claims for the sophists what he denies to the poets: that the 'mob,' as he says, was not much affected by seeing a play of Sophocles is no doubt true, but what reason is there to believe that the 'mob' was much affected by the ethical teaching of Protagoras? He does full justice to the ethical importance of the sophists, both scientific and practical, but few will follow him when he places them 'in ethical matters *unendlich höher* than Socrates and his whole school.' These chapters deserve very careful study; here, as in the earlier parts of the book, he carries out with more consistency that independent criticism of traditional views which Grote began, and though as in these cases he is too apt to throw out as a challenge to the world an exaggerated statement, the greater part is full of most valuable and original matter. The account of the politics of the period seems to be identical with that given in his former work on the subject.

The book is written with singular clearness and vigour; it is scarcely necessary to say that his style is that of the new school of German writers, a matter of some importance to English readers; there are no involved or obscure periods; the book is also so admirably printed that reading is a pleasure. He has not that grace of language which makes Holm's History so agreeable, but on the other hand he is not like some of the modern books, bald and lifeless. As in the opinions so in the style we can see the constant endeavour to break through the cloud of romance which often obscures Greek history: in both he often goes beyond the line; he overdoes the attempt to deal with the Greeks as ordinary men; the language is not always dignified and refined, but this is easily excusable in a book where each word is carefully chosen; and if the perpetual succession of heavy-weighted sentences, each containing the uncompromising assertion of an unconventional opinion, often rouses in the reader the desire to disagree, the opinion is at least always fully thought out and stated with admirable precision.

J. W. Headlam.

ROHDE'S *PSYCHE*, PART II.

Psyche-Seelencult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen, von ERWIN ROHDE. Zweite Hälfte. Freiburg & Leipzig. 1894. 11 Mk.

BY an instructive coincidence Mr. Verrall's article on 'the problem of the *Bacchae*' in last month's issue appears almost at the same moment as the second part of Dr. Rohde's *Psyche*. Mr. Verrall is concerned of course primarily with the methods of Euripidean criticism, Dr. Rohde with a no less well worn subject, the belief of the Greeks as to the immortality of the soul; they meet and pass in the dark and, all unknowing, flash brilliant light each on the other's track.

The first part of Dr. Rohde's book was reviewed on its appearance (*Classical Review*, 1890, p. 376) and need not here be resumed —the writer sought and sought in vain, through an examination of Homer, of local cults, of burial rites, and even of the Eleusinian mysteries, for traces of anything that could fairly in the modern sense be called a belief in the immortality of the soul. Such a belief, in the days of the Orphics, of Plato, and later of Plutarch, unquestionably existed—where, when did it rise? The answer comes in the second part of the book just issued and comes as a surprise, almost a paradox. This tenet, the touchstone of any religion worth the name, the keystone of spirituality, was the main doctrine of the religion of—Bacchus. For his 'spiritual blindness,' for his misconception and persecution of this divine revelation, Pentheus died.

Examine the genesis of other Hellenic worships, of the rites of Athene, of Hera, of Apollo, even of Demeter, and we come on quite other, quite material beginnings—we come on ploughing ceremonies, seed-sowing ritual, sympathetic magic of every kind to secure practical well-being, the fulfilment of primitive needs, of the fertility of crops and herds and of man himself. Bacchus we think of perhaps as the wine-god; such an old Dendrites there certainly was, but the impulse of the Thracian god was, to begin with, quite other. The keynotes of his religion are two, *ecstacy* and its correlative *askesis*—its end and aim one, absolute communion, even identity with the divinity worshipped, and *thereby*—in the only possible way—attainment of eternal life. Here is the difference —no worshipper of Athene or Apollo or Hera seeks to be made one with his god, seeks by fasting, by dancing, by exhaustion, by intoxication, by any other form of *asceticism*, to stand out of his own nature and be made one with the god, to put off this corruptible and put on the incorruptible. The way is hard: '*πολλοὶ μὲν ναρθηκοφόροι, παῦροι δέ τε Βάκχοι..*' 'Many bear the narthex but few there be that are made one with Bacchus.' And what a madness it must have seemed! To the rational self-contained carefully poised Greek, what foolishness! And since we do not understand, let us condemn without delay, let us dub it dangerous, disreputable, immoral, a peril to hearth and home. So common sense, so the thoroughly British Pentheus, and yet—

> 'O blest who glad at heart has known
> The deep things of the god his own,
> And lifts up holy hands;
> And who with sacred cleansing rites
> Is one in soul upon the heights
> With Bacchus' sacred bands.'

To some their souls were more than their social status, and of these were honourable women not a few.

It has long been a puzzle whence the non-Hellenic, the spiritual, element in Greek religion came; it is so obviously un-Greek and yet so interpenetrates the Greek spirit. Some have attributed it to the East, some to the sub-stratum of a pre-Hellenic 'Pelasgian' population, some to Orphic sectaries. This last is in part, according to Dr. Rohde, true. The Orphic dogmas are a formulation and a reassertion of the old Thracian immigrant faith. And as such they become at once intelligible. How is it a man *can* become one with the god? By virtue of the fact that his soul is a particle of the divine nature. Dionysos Zagreus is torn to pieces; each of us has a fragment of him within us, and by virtue of this divine spark or atom each of us is a potential Bacchus. To dance till we are dizzy, to toss our heads in ecstasy, may not seem to us the best means of promoting spirituality, but to any one who has watched either the dancing or the howling dervishes at work the whole faith becomes historically intelligible. The dervish, by a process of rocking himself to and fro in a hideous and almost dislocating fashion to the music of a rude chant, or by

turning steadily on his own axis, becomes slowly possessed. That he is regarded as actually divine is shown by the fact that at the close of the dance he has miraculous powers, and is allowed to step upon sick children before him by way of healing them. Immortality is but one attribute of divinity. Mantic art is another; and here Dr. Rohde makes the interesting remark that oracular *possession*, as opposed to the mere Homeric soothsaying, is always of Dionysos, not of Apollo. Soothsaying is rational (or rather, which is for our purpose the same, irrational); oracular possession is non-rational, emotional, religious. Dionysos held Delphi and possessed the Delphic priestess — a priestess note, not a priest—before Apollo came and slew the dragon of superstition.

I have stated Dr. Rohde's view; the evidence will be found in the countless passages cited in his notes. It will not be forgotten that in Thrace dwelt the Getae who, Herodotos noted, held themselves to be immortal, and that the oracles of Dionysos were given among the Bessae exactly in the way that the Pythia prophesied at Delphi (Herod. vii. 11); and, to take but one other instance, when Plutarch writes to comfort his wife for the loss of their little daughter, he bids her remember *τὰ μυστικὰ σύμβολα τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ὀργιασμῶν ἃ σύνισμεν ἀλλήλοις οἱ κοινωνοῦντες.*

Well indeed might those honourable women, the Bacchae, goddesses themselves, one with the god, come to their high estate through *κάθαρσις* and *ἄσκησις*, inspired Sibylls of a new and higher religion, bid the mad fools forsake the revels of Aphrodite and seek austerer joys upon Olympian heights.

J. E. Harrison.

[*The following article arrived too late for insertion in its proper order at the beginning of this number.*]

THE 'PROSPECTIVE SUBJUNCTIVE' IN GREEK AND LATIN.

In the *Classical Review* for Feb. 1893, Professor Sonnenschein maintained a thesis, then of five or six years standing in his own teaching, that the subjunctive in a number of relative clauses in Latin is prospective, not, as generally held, final. His list includes clauses with *dum*, *donec* and *quoad*, clauses with *antequam* and *priusquam*, and clauses of result.

With regard to the two first sets of clauses, it gave me pleasure to learn that I could now appeal to Professor Sonnenschein's support for a doctrine which I also had long held. Notes taken by a student of mine in 1886 show that I was teaching it at that time, and I am sure that the notes of others would carry the teaching back a number of years further. From the beginning I gave the evidence which I am about to offer. Like Professor Sonnenschein, I have long meant to publish upon the question; but, since I was engaged upon a piece of work of larger range, in which I planned, by the comparative method, to lay the foundations for an intended treatment of the Latin Modes and Tenses, I withheld my view on this point, together with a number of other results to which I had been led. Accordingly, in my discussion of the force of the tense in clauses with *antequam*, *priusquam*, *dum*, *donec* and *quoad*, in my article on the Sequence of Tenses in Latin, published in 1887 in the *American Journal of Philology*, viii. 1, I contented myself with saying that the subjunctive represents the act as 'pictured,' as 'existing in somebody's brain at a certain time which the narrator has in mind,' which force I illustrated, *à propos* of Livy's *priusquam inde digrederentur* (i. 26, 1), by the phrase 'with that departure in view.' By 'in view' I meant the same thing that Professor Sonnenschein means by the phrase 'in prospect.' And similarly, in the concluding paper, in ix. 1 (1888), in dealing with the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctives to indicate how I should prepare the way for a doctrine of the 'Sequence of Tenses,' I contented myself with saying 'the imperfect subjunctive pictures an act as in process, or a state as existing, at a certain past time which the speaker or writer has in mind; and it also pictures an act or state as looked forward to from such a past time.' 'The pluperfect...also pictures a finished act looked forward to from such a time (a future perfect from a past point of view).' By 'looked forward to from a certain past time' I meant to cover, together

with something else, the same thing that Professor Sonnenschein means by the word 'prospective.'[1]

Professor Sonnenschein had apparently reached his idea by divination of the real feeling of the passages he was examining. My own idea, under the same dissatisfaction with the accepted theory of an origin in the final clause, was reached by the comparative study of Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin, and was the result of the new conception of method in syntactical investigation which came to me from reading Delbruck's 'Gebrauch des Conjunctivs und Optativs im Sanskrit und Griechischen,' a book which, though it contains no word upon Latin, I regard—*ut more Hibernico dicam*—as the most important treatise on the syntax of the Latin verb yet published. In Professor Sonnenschein's article referred to, though the doctrine of the existence of a subjunctive with future meaning is supported by a reference to Homer's ἐγὼ δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἕλωμαι, and to the Attic construction of the future indicative with ὅπως, corresponding to the Latin present and imperfect subjunctive, and to ἔνθα μή τις ὄψεται of *Ai.* 658 and ἔνθα μή τις εἰσίδοι of *Trach.* 903, nothing is said of the Greek constructions *exactly corresponding* to the Latin constructions with *dum, donec* and *quoad, antequam* and *priusquam*, namely, clauses with εἰς ὅ κε, ἕως ἄν, πρὶν ἄν and the subjunctive.

In the *Classical Review* for Feb. 1894, Professor Sonnenschein, discussing the 'Remote Deliberative and the Prospective Subjunctive and Optative,' suggests that the affinities of the 'extended subjunctive deliberatives' and the 'remote optative deliberatives,' so-called, 'are to be found, partly at any rate, in those clauses, chiefly temporal, in which the subjunctive (sometimes without ἄν) marks an action as in prospect in the present, and the optative (always, or nearly always, without ἄν) marks it as in prospect in the past.' My article, printed just above his, will show that I, for one, cannot accept his suggestion; for the prospective subjunctive generally has ἄν, while the subjunctive idiom which Goodwin, Sidgwick, and Tarbell have treated as an extension of the deliberative never has it. In this connexion, Professor Sonnenschein cites πρὶν μάθῃς (*Phil.* 917), ἕως μάθῃς (*Ai.* 555), and refers to the connectives ἐς ὅ and ἐς οὗ in Herodotus, and μέχρι or μέχρι οὗ in Thucydides. He also says: 'to my mind, "I am waiting till he come" (ordinarily μένω ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ) and "I was waiting till he should come" (ἔμενον ἕως ἔλθοι) are not equivalent to "I am (was) waiting in order that he may (might) come."' In so doing, he has touched upon the Greek constructions to which he did not refer before, but, in employing the vague phrase 'sometimes ἄν' instead of dealing historically with the question of its presence or absence (see footnotes in the present paper, under 7 (*a*) and (*b*)), and in citing examples of πρίν and ἕως without it, he seems to have failed to recognize the immense importance of this particle, and so to have overlooked the convincing proof which it might have afforded him for the view that the subjunctive after *dum, antequam*, etc., is prospective and not an expression of purpose.

My general conception of the question in its larger aspect (stated as briefly as I can put it) is as follows:

The Greek subjunctives fall into two families, the Subjunctives of Will (volitive) and the Subjunctives of Anticipation (anticipatory or prospective). The volitives never have ἄν; the prospectives sometimes do not have it, though they generally do, even in Homer and in the Attic plays, and always do in Attic prose. In Homer and the Attic plays, accordingly, the absence of ἄν proves nothing, though it creates a presumption in favour of the volitive; while the presence of ἄν is proof positive that we are dealing with a prospective subjunctive, not a volitive. This doctrine Delbrück holds for the independent sentence, but not for the dependent clause. In an article upon the 'Origin and Later History of the Clause of Purpose in Latin, Greek and Sanskrit,' in the *Proceedings of the American Philological Association* for July 1892, I have endeavoured to show that Delbrück is wrong as regards the dependent clause; that the presence of ἄν is sure evidence of the prospective idea, or at least of the overpowering influence of some related construction containing that idea; and that we accordingly must distinguish two kinds of final clauses, the volitive, as with ἵνα (κε occurs only once in Homer in 94 instances), and the prospective, as in the clause with ὅς κε,—a clause which betrays its force by

[1] It must have been a similar and still greater reserve that made Professor Sonnenschein, in his note on Plaut. *Rud.* 456 in his edition of 1891, go so far even as to seem to accept the traditional starting-point of the constructions in question, in the words 'so regularly with *antequam, priusquam, donec, quoad, dum*, when an action is to be marked as merely contemplated or in prospect (the original sense of *will* or *purpose* having been completely lost).' For myself, I do not believe that the subjunctive after *dum* ever expressed will or purpose.

finally going wholly over to the future indicative, and which is like an occasional future indicative clause in English (as in the sentence 'I will send you a plumber who will mend your pipes'). I refer to this article of mine in passing, in order that the authority of Delbrück may not be quoted against me on the supposition that I have not considered his view.

This test, once established, as I think it unquestionably can be, makes fairly easy the division of the Greek subjunctives into two groups of constructions, and throws into the dependent constructions of the second of these, the prospective, a number of kinds which I will briefly enumerate as they stand in my mind.

(1) Characterizing Clauses, expressing expected behaviour, experience, plight, &c. [clauses answering the question 'of *what kind of* a man, thing, &c., are you speaking?'], as in οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅς κέ σ' ἕλησι (Ψ 345; cf. Z 448, Δ 164, Φ 108, Θ 373).

(2) Clauses in which the idea of Character and the idea of Plan (Purpose) both exist; as in δῶρα δ' Ἀχιλλῆι φερέμεν, τά κε θυμὸν ἰήνῃ (Ω 119; cf. β 192, ν 400).

(3) Clauses of Plan (Purpose), with no such idea of character; as in ἡγεμόν' ἐσθλὸν ὄπασσον, ὅς κέ με κεῖσ' ἀγάγῃ (ο 310; cf. β 212), and the future indicative construction in Ω 152; also many clauses with ὡς ἄν (or κε), and ὄφρα ἄν (or κε).

(4) Dependent Questions of Expectation, as in τίς δ' οἶδ', εἴ κέ ποτέ σφι βίας ἀποτίσεται ἐλθών; (γ 216).

(5) Substantive Clauses (possibly or probably descended from Dependent Deliberatives) with ὡς ἄν (or κε) and ὅπως ἄν (or κε) after φράζομαι and the like.

(6) Clauses of Future Conditions.

(*a*) Clauses of General Condition in the Future, as in ὃν δέ κ' ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε μάχης ἐθελόντα νοήσω (B 391).

(*b*) Clauses of Particular Condition in the Future, as in εἰ δέ κ' ἔτι προτέρω παρανήξομαι (ε 417).

(7) Determining Clauses, or clauses answering the question '*what* man, *what* thing, *what* manner, *what* time, &c., are you speaking of?'

(*a*) Clauses of Exact Determination, as in κεῖνος δ' αὖ περὶ κῆρι μακάρτατος ἔξοχον ἄλλων, ὅς κέ σ' ἐέδνοισι βρίσας οἰκόνδ' ἀγάγηται (ζ 158), ὡς ἂν ἐγὼ εἴπω, πειθώμεθα πάντες (Ξ 74), ὁππότ' ἂν ἡβήσῃ (α 40), μάστιε νῦν, εἵως κε θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας ἵκηαι (P 622; a clause of anticipated limit,—'during all the time up to the time when'),[1] τόφρα γὰρ οὖν βίοτόν τε τεὸν καὶ κτήματ' ἔδονται, ὄφρα κε κείνη τοῦτον ἔχῃ νόον (β 123; a clause of anticipated duration of time,—'during all the time during which').

(*b*) Clause of Less Exact Determination, as in μή ποτ' ἐπαινήσῃς πρὶν ἂν εἰδῇς ἄνδρα σαφηνέως (Theog. 963,—at any time before an anticipated limit[2]).

Now no one who should look at a scheme of this general sort, and at the same time at a scheme of the volitive subjunctives,—which would include, *e.g.*, prohibitions, exhortations, deliberations, purpose clauses with ἵνα, etc.,—would hesitate, in making out his scheme for the Latin conglomerate called the subjunctive, to put the clauses with *dum*, *antequam*, and the like into the company of clauses with ἕως ἄν and πρὶν ἄν, rather than refer it, as everybody before Professor Sonnenschein has, to the final[3] clauses, and so put it into the company of prohibitions, exhortations, concessions, and the like. Of so much importance to the Latinist is the little Greek particle ἄν.

But its importance goes much further. The schemes for the volitive and the prospective in Greek being made out, I should, in making up comparative schemes for Greek and Latin together, confidently put many Latin constructions which have heretofore been regarded as 'final,' *e.g.* hortatory or volitive, into the prospective family, and should suggest a number of other examples which I suspect will, with equal confidence, ultimately be so placed. Some of these follow, arranged by the same numbering as above.

(1) Characterizing Clauses, expressing expected behaviour, experience, plight, etc., as in *nascetur...Caesar*, *imperium Oceano*,

[1] Ἕως and εἰς ὅ always take κε in Homer, and, according to Dindorf's *Lexicon*, always take ἄν in Aeschylus, as they do in Attic prose. The occasional omission of ἄν in Sophocles is accordingly simply an intentional archaism.

[2] The subjunctive with πρίν first takes ἄν in Theognis and Solon (see Sturm in Schanz's *Beiträge*). (They stand without it in Homer's six examples, in Hesiod's two, and in a hexameter of unknown origin given in the *Pseudophocylidea*, 87—examples which I plan to discuss in a later publication.) They take it in Aeschylus' six examples, in the larger part of the twenty-two of Sophocles and the nineteen of Euripides, and in all of the twenty-four of Aristophanes, and always in Attic prose. It is evident, then, that the subjunctive is the prospective, and that Sophocles and Euripides are archaizing.

[3] The word 'final,' as it has been universally used, has had the idea of purpose, aim, &c., associated with it, and the *dum* and *antequam* constructions have been classed with the *ut* and *ne* constructions.

famam qui terminet astris (*Aen.* 1, 286; cf. *Ecl.* 4, 34; Sen. *Ep.* 10, 2; 4, 7; 8, 11; *venient saecula...quibus...ingens pateat tellus*, Sen. *Med.* 378).

(2) A few dependent Questions of Expectation, expressed by the present subjunctive, or, after a past tense, by the imperfect.

(3) All Clauses of Future Conditions from a past point of view.

(4) Determining Clauses.

(*a*) Clauses of Exact Determination, as in *hic est ille dies, quom gloria maxuma sese nobis ostendat, seu vivimus sive morimur* (Enn. *Ann.* 414; cf., as probable examples, Iuv. 16, 42, Liv. 8, 7, 7, Verg. *Ecl.* 8, 7); *aderat iam annus quo...sortiretur* (Tac. *Agric.* 42; so in a great quantity of examples after secondary tenses; cf. *cum cresceret*, Plin. *Ep.* 6, 16, 12); also after a past tense, clauses with *dum*, *donec*, and *quoad*, in the sense of 'so long as.' After primary tenses, on the other hand, the clauses last named have already gone over into the future indicative (like the ὅς-clause of purpose in Greek) before the time of the earliest literature.

(*b*) Clauses of Less Exact Determination. The subjunctive clauses with *antequam* and *priusquam*, *dum*, *donec* and *quoad*, as already said.

As for the constructions of purpose, I am inclined to think, for reasons given in the article upon the purpose clause cited above, that the prospective plays no important part in the formation of the Latin apparatus for the expression of this idea, while on the other hand I believe that the prospective subjunctive was one of the factors (volitive, prospective, true optative, and true potential) that combined to establish the subjunctive condition in Latin (from the present point of view as well as from the past).

With another of the opinions expressed by Professor Sonnenschein in the article first named I am not in harmony, namely, that the 'consecutive' clause is probably a development of the final. According to what I have already said, I should divide a part of the Latin conglomerate mode into the volitive subjunctive and the prospective subjunctive. The remainder, which corresponds to the Greek optative, I should divide into the subjunctive of wish [true optative in Greek], the potential subjunctive or expression of that which may happen [optative with ἄν in Greek], and the subjunctive of ideal certainty, as in conclusions, softened assertions, and the like [optative with ἄν in Greek], a measurably different thing from the potential or expression of an ideal *possibility*, though the grammars have but the one word 'potential' and make no distinction. Now, as I have tried to show in the same number of the *American Journal of Philology* by a comparison with the Greek, the starting point of the Latin consecutive subjunctive is in the last named modal power, the subjunctive of ideal certainty [Greek optative with ἄν]—a very different thing from the final subjunctive, which seems in Latin to be a volitive. As for one particular idiom, referred to by Professor Sonnenschein, the one seen in sentences like *nec quod* (*quid*) *sperarat habebat*, it is, as I have said in an article on the 'Extended and Remote Deliberatives in Greek' [*Transactions of the American Philological Association* for 1893, now in the press], a question whether it is to be regarded as a construction parallel to the extended subjunctive in Greek, or as a case of the (true) potential expressing capacity, serviceableness, adaptability, etc.,— a construction briefly discussed in my *Cum-Constructions*, p. 107, and made the easier to believe in on account of frequent Homeric examples like οὐ γάρ οἱ πάρα νῆες ἐπήρετμοι καὶ ἑταῖροι, οἵ κέν μιν πέμποιεν (ε 16). In the former case, which is what Professor Sonnenschein seems to have in mind, the prospective subjunctive is not concerned, since the universal absence of ἄν in the Greek construction of the extended deliberative shows the latter to be of volitive origin.

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ARCHAEOLOGY.

Meisterwerke der Griechischen Plastik. Kunstgeschichtliche Untersuchungen von Adolf Furtwängler. With 140 illustrations in the text, and an atlas of 32 plates. Giesecke and Devrient: Berlin and Leipzig. 1893. 85 marks.

Every student of archaeology must be aware of the need for a new gathering together of the scattered material of Greek art, for a large reconstruction in place of the isolated examination of individual monuments. To quote Prof. Furtwängler's

words, in a preface which is not the least valuable portion of his new work: 'Any one who tests with unprejudiced mind the state of our knowledge of Greek art, as exhibited in the ordinary text-books, must be ashamed to see how much less we appear to know the monuments, or to profit by them, than did Winckelmann in his day. Winckelmann's history of art is entirely based upon his own personal observation, availing himself continually as he did of a wide range of examples. Our modern histories of art habitually draw from one little group of monuments—a tiny and trivial fragment cut off from the great body of extant works. Ever since Brunn indicated with broad touch the characteristics of the artists, and laid down the main lines of their history—so far as these can be gathered from the writings of the ancients—we have practically been content to repeat what he built up, merely decorating here and there with some "selected" monument the fabric that he built.' While admitting that this modesty and caution have had considerable justification, Furtwängler maintains that the time has now come when, by the application of the comparative method, a picture of Greek art may be given 'very different from the pale and meagre image we have hitherto possessed.' The achievements of Furtwängler in every branch of archaeological research have already won him a European reputation, and any work from his pen would naturally be awaited with interest and a confident expectation of thoroughness and suggestiveness. But in the present book not only has Furtwängler surpassed himself, but he has produced a work as far above the timid trifling, at which he so justly cavils, as are the works of Winckelmann or of Brunn. This is none the less true because he has embodied his researches in the modest form of separate essays, without attempting an exhaustive history. He has been content for the present to break with the old routine, to lay down a solid substructure and to indicate the lines which future historians of Greek art must follow.

Needless to say that in his reconstructions Furtwängler makes great use of those Graeco-Roman copies which are almost all that is left to us as a record of the masterpieces of ancient statuary. Of late years, attention had naturally been somewhat diverted from these copies by the excavations carried on in Greece; archaeologists, lured on by the hope of finding originals, have a little forgotten that the *greatest* originals—with few exceptions—had been carried away long ago by their Roman admirers, and that it is still to Italy and to the galleries containing works found on Italian soil that they must turn in order to get some knowledge of the celebrated statues 'that once marked an epoch or initiated a new era.' But the book is not only concerned, as its title implies, with *Meisterwerke.* One important chapter is given to the temples on the Athenian Akropolis, and the book closes (perhaps a little irrelevantly) with an essay concerned with Aeginetan art, with the throne of Apollo at Amyklae, and the chest of Kypselos. It seems so necessary to call attention to the rich and new material of the book, that in the following remarks I shall attempt not so much a 'review,' as an analysis of the contents of each chapter.

1. *Pheidias.* At the beginning of the chapter Furtwängler brings before us the important contribution he has made to our knowledge of Greek sculpture,—*the discovery of a copy of the Lemnian Athena.* On the tale of its disguise (for years it had been exposed to the scrutiny of every passing archaeologist), and ultimate recognition, hangs many a moral; for our purpose it is sufficient to signalize the skill and acumen of the discoverer. The Dresden Museum had long possessed two statues with identical torsos, but different heads. The head of the one was foreign to it,[1] and the helmet of the other was a modern plaster addition. Some little while ago, when the statues of the Dresden Museum were being freed of their restorations, the head from which the helmet was removed turned out, to every one's surprise, to be a replica of the beautiful Bologna head, that has passed for the head now of an Amazon, now of an ephebe; it was therefore hastily assumed that this type of head could never have belonged to a torso of Athena; colour was given to the assumption by the evident signs of breakage in the neck; this second head was therefore also removed, and the two Athenas were left headless until Prof. Furtwängler visited Dresden. On examining the torsos and the head, he first made the startling discovery that this replica of the Bologna head did actually and unmistakably belong to the body from which it had been removed (proving his point by the likeness of the marble, by the correspondence of the old marks of breakage and of the muscles); then, looking at the second torso (like so many antique statues, it was constructed to have the head

[1] It is a replica of the head of the Farnese Athena (Naples).

let into it), he tried the simple experiment of adjusting to it a cast of the Bologna head. It fitted with the utmost accuracy *et voilà tout!* It had long been acknowledged (by Michaelis, Puchstein, etc.) that the Dresden torsos were Pheidian in character, while the fifth century characteristics of the head are obvious to all. The statue, as now reconstructed, Furtwängler proves by a long analysis of its artistic qualities, of its dress, of its pose, of analogies to be found to it on vases or on coins, to be a copy in marble of the bronze Athena, executed by Pheidias about B.C. 440 for the Athenian *cleruchs* of Lemnos. The goddess was represented clad in the simple Doric tunic, bareheaded, holding her helmet in her left hand and grasping her spear in her right, her head slightly turned towards the Propylaea as if to bless the departing colonists. According to Furtwängler, the Lemnian stood on the way from the great bronze Athena 'Promachos' to the Propylaea.

The elaborate criticism by which Furtwängler shows the relation of the 'Lemnian' to previous, to contemporary, and to later works, forms the basis of a chapter that gives individual substance to a great artist,—an artist whose name had hitherto been more typical of a famous epoch than suggestive of a distinct personality. The 'Lemnian recalls in scheme and construction a group of statues the best known of which is the Apollo of Mantua. But this Apollo is itself closely connected with the works of that first Argive school that centred round Hagelaïdas. In the artist of the Apollo Furtwängler would recognize Hegias, the master of Pheidias. And thus, more satisfactorily than has been done hitherto, he reconciles the two conflicting traditions by which Pheidias has been made the pupil now of Hegias, now of Hagelaïdas. For the art of Hegias is so closely connected with that of the old Argive master as to suggest that he was his pupil. Hegias transmitted the canons of the first Argive school to his own pupil Pheidias; and it would be an easy mistake for a critic more observant in style than learned in dates to call Pheidias a pupil of Hagelaïdas.[1]

A young Pheidias, even more closely connected with the Hagelaïdas school than when he executed the Lemnian, is revealed to us in the charming Apollo discovered in 1885 in the Tiber, and now in the *Terme* Museum at Rome.[2] To the same period of the artist's career may be attributed a fine head in the Palazzo Barberini (Fig. 5).

In a few vigorous pages Furtwängler vindicates for Pheidias the authorship of the sculptured decorations of the Parthenon (of the pediments and the frieze and of the more advanced metopes). He well points out the strong analogies that exist between the Parthenon sculptures and the figures on the Strangford shield and on the basis of the Lenormant Parthenos: 'it is on these for instance that the striding Poseidon and the Hermes have their closest parallels. The pictorial trait that finds expression on the pediments, in the rocky seats and the waves of Okeanos, corresponds to the traces of undulating ground on the shield. The rising Helios with the sinking figure of Night are genuinely Pheidian in their spirit, and could be presented on the pediments in an abbreviated form, because they had already been expressed elsewhere in full' (*i.e.* on the basis of the Parthenos). In the fine Anakreon Borghese (now in the Jacobsen collection) Furtwängler sees the copy of a statue executed by Pheidias in his Parthenon period; the original would be identical with the Anakreon on the Akropolis (Paus. i. 25). Pheidian also are a superb bearded head of the Museo Torlonia (Mus. Torl. No. 50) another of the Museo Chiaramonti (Fig. 10),

[1] In the February number of this *Review* Mr. Ernest Gardner has endeavoured to do away altogether with the Hegias tradition by proposing to force Hageladas, or more possibly Ἡγελάδας, out of the ΗΠΟΥ or ΙΠΠΟΥ of our MSS. of Dio Chrysostom (instead of the perfectly satisfactory ΗΓΙΟΥ of K. O. Müller). As Mr. Gardner merely suggests that the three letters ΛΑΔ 'might easily lead to the contraction of the name,' and as he does not give the palaeographic form of the emendation he proposes, it is somewhat difficult to judge of its soundness. For the present Furtwängler's explanation seems simpler than a violent textual emendation.

[2] On the other hand F. thinks that works like the the Vatican 'Aktaion,' a head in Munich (Fig. 21) and one in the Capitol (Fig. 4), though of the same period as the *Terme* Apollo, are not to be attributed to Pheidias but to some contemporary. This may be Praxias the pupil of Kalamis. To this same Praxias F. inclines to attribute the Athena with the wolf helmet of the Villa Albani and the 'Lysias' in the same collection. For Kalamis he claims the Hestia Giustiniani, the Apollo on the Omphalos, the charioteer of the Capitol, the so-called Aspasia, etc. A number of Apollos that have generally been roughly classed under Overbeck's 'Cassel type' are apportioned by F., after a minute analysis of their stylistic qualities, among the following different artists: Hegias—Apollo of Mantua, Kritios—Apollo Pitti (in the private apartments of the palace; it is astonishing that this exquisite statue should have passed unperceived until now); Kalamis—Apollo on the Omphalos; Myron—Cassel Apollo; Pheidias—Apollo of the Terme; the Apollo of the Capitol (Helbig, *Führer* 500) F. attributes to a sixth artist whom he leaves unnamed.

finally an Aphrodite and Eros (?) from a double term in Madrid.

When Pheidias was at the height of his fame the Eleians invited him to make the ivory and gold Zeus for the temple at Olympia, whither he took Kolotes and Panainos to help him in his task. Nor is there any reason to suppose, says Furtwängler, that his intercourse with Athens was interrupted, for in B.C. 432 occurred at Athens the famous trial and condemnation of the artist, followed by his death in prison. In this point Furtwängler adheres rigidly to the ancient tradition, as against the opinion, put forward lastly with much force by Dr. Loeschcke, that the Olympian Zeus was made before the Athena Parthenos. It had been understood from Plutarch (*Pericles*, 31) that Pheidias was tried immediately after the completion of the Parthenos. But, as Furtwängler well points out, there is nothing in Plutarch's narrative to imply this directly or indirectly. The whole context on the contrary shows that Plutarch imagined the trial of Pheidias to have taken place about the same time as that of Aspasia, that is immediately before the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. The interval between this date and the completion of the Parthenos allows sufficient time for the erection of the Zeus. There is therefore no reason to refuse acceptance to the perfectly clear literary tradition that makes the Zeus posterior to the Parthenos in date. As to the Eleian trial it is admitted on all parts to be a mere clumsy double of the Athenian one, but Furtwängler points out very justly that the story of an Eleian process could never have grown up at all had it not been an undisputed and well known fact that the Zeus was executed after the Parthenos.

It will be seen that in this career of Pheidias there is no room for that phantom of modern archaeology, the 'Kimonian Pheidias.' The theory that the artist had a first public career under Kimon is based on two passages of Pausanias attributing to him the authorship of the votive offering for Marathon set up at Delphi, and that of the Athena Promachos at Athens. But, Furtwängler observes, the Delphic offering must have been put up like all other votive monuments of the kind, directly after the event it was intended to commemorate, at a date too early even for a 'Kimonian Pheidias.' It is evident that in the eyes of Pausanias, Pheidias had become the Marathon artist κατ' ἐξοχήν—this probably because of the attribution to him of the Athena Promachos, which Pausanias (like others of his day) believed to be a votive offering for Marathon. However, as Pausanias, who had been careful to state that an inscription on the Delphic offering described it as a δεκάτη of the spoils of Marathon, mentions no such inscription in the case of the 'Promachos,'—further, as in the oldest mention of the Promachos (Dem. *F. L.* 272) she is only alluded to as the 'great bronze Athena,' Furtwängler inclines to deny altogether any connection with Marathon. He further disputes the Pheidian authorship of the statue; Pausanias, the only authority for the attribution, is notoriously ill informed on the subject of Pheidias; passages from other writers prove him to have been mistaken in at least three of the works he put down to this artist (the Nemesis of Rhamnus, the Mother of the Gods at Athens, an Athena in Elis). No need therefore, says Furtwängler, to prefer the testimony of Pausanias to that of a scholion to Aristeides (Overbeck, *S.Q.* 640), where a certain Praxiteles is named as the artist of the Promachos. So far so good. When however Furtwängler (further developing a theory of K. Lange's) proposes to recognize this Praxitelean 'Promachos' in the Medici torso, and proceeds to reconstruct an Elder Praxiteles whose works bear such strong stylistic resemblance to those of Pheidias that it is hard to tell them apart, it becomes more difficult to follow him. True, the Medici torso is somewhat more advanced in treatment than the Parthenos; but Furtwängler himself compares the draperies to those of the Mattei Amazons which he subsequently claims for Pheidias, and he nowhere succeeds in establishing strong enough reasons to warrant our attributing to any artist but Pheidias a work so distinctly Pheidian in character as the torso. Nor is there anything convincing in the analysis by which Furtwängler claims for this same Elder Praxiteles the Jacobsen head, Fig. 25 (in which he inclines to see a copy of the head of the Promachos), the head of Iacchos (Fig. 26), or the Petworth head of Apollo (Fig. 27). The slightly emotional character which he notes in these heads, the open mouth, and a certain pictorial *asymmetria*—are precisely characteristic of Pheidias, who began life as a painter, and who so constantly betrays his pictorial tendencies in the Parthenon sculptures. But even if there were an artist—*not* Pheidias and yet closely related to him—to whom the works just noted should be attributed, this artist could hardly be the Elder Praxiteles who,

if Pliny's story about the charioteer made for a chariot by Kalamis can be trusted, belonged rather to the artists of the Kalamis group. If a Praxiteles made the 'Promachos,' which is highly probable, then the conclusions lately put forward by Dr. Gurlitt (*Anal. Graeciensia*, Graz, 1893) as to the archaic character of this statue cannot perhaps be as summarily disposed of as Furtwängler assumes in his appendix (p. 739). It is true that the inscription attributing to a Praxiteles one of the Monte Cavallo *colossi*—in which Furtwängler is undoubtedly right in seeing copies of works of the Pheidian epoch—is difficult to reconcile with the theory of an archaic Praxiteles. But much stress cannot be laid upon inscriptions that do not date from further than the fourth century A.D. (cf. Loewy, *Inschr. Gr. Bildh.* No. 494).

Furtwängler's reconstruction of the Elder Praxiteles seems somewhat fantastic; on the other hand he has succeeded in accentuating the artistic personalities of the pupils of Pheidias, Agorakritos and Alkamenes. Especially happy is the recovery of the Hephaistos of Alkamenes in a torso at Cassel (Fig. 22) and the identification of the colossal 'Ceres' of the Vatican Rotonda as a copy of the Nemesis which Agorakritos made for Rhamnus.

Furtwängler closes his truly admirable chapter on Pheidias by following the traces of the great master's influence, far from Greece out in the cities of Sicily and Magna Graecia. There are Pheidian characteristics in the head of Athena on the coinage of the Athenian Thurii,—in the lovely Victories of Terina,—in the Arethusa of Kimon from that famous series of 'Syracusan medallions' which Mr. Arthur Evans' charming pages have lately called into such deserved prominence. The same Pheidian influence makes itself felt in the vases of the Magna Graecia workshops—but it is scarcely possible even to indicate the numerous *parerga* with which Professor Furtwängler enriches his book.

2. *The Temples of Athena on the Akropolis.* In order clearly to understand even the sculptures of the Parthenon, it is necessary to establish the mutual relations of the various temples on the Athenian Akropolis. A considerable portion of this second chapter is naturally devoted to a discussion of that 'old temple' discovered in 1885 by Dr. Dörpfeld, immediately to the south of the Erechtheion, which has been acknowledged on all hands to be identical with the Hekatompedon burnt down by the Persians in B.C. 480; in addition Dr. Dörpfeld has repeatedly and vigorously maintained that the temple (without its outer colonnade) was restored after the Persian invasion, and that it continued in existence down to the days of Pausanias or even later. However, this contention has failed to satisfy most archaeologists; it is now discussed at great length not only by Prof. Furtwängler in the present work, but by Mr. J. G. Frazer in a recent paper contributed to the *Hellenic Journal* (vol. xiii. pp. 153–187). The points of agreement and of disagreement between Furtwängler and Frazer may be briefly noted: both writers dispute (as we think successfully) Dörpfeld's contention, that *opisthodomos* in inscriptions of the fifth and fourth centuries refers to the western cella of the 'old temple'; both deny the possibility of the existence of the 'old temple,' when once the Erechtheion with the caryatid porch had been built: and both maintain, in accordance with E. Petersen, that in the most ancient times there were *not* (as Dörpfeld asserts) two separate temples of Athena and of Erechtheus, but that these two divinities were worshipped in a single joint temple (Homer, *Il.* ii. 546 &c.). Furtwängler considers this to have been the 'old temple,' which he believes was the sole temple on the Akropolis previous to the Persian wars; Mr. Frazer on the other hand sees the ancient temple of Athena and Erechtheus in an old Erechtheion occupying the site of the later Erechtheion; he further thinks that the 'old temple' (*i.e.* the old *Hekatompedon*) was erected subsequently to the original 'Erechtheion' at a date impossible to determine at present; and he sees no evidence whatsoever for its restoration after the Persian invasion. Furtwängler however considers that the 'old temple' was rebuilt—temporarily—after the Persian wars to accommodate Erechtheus, and that it was only destroyed and completely levelled when the Erechtheion with its caryatid porch was built. The divergences in the results arrived at by Prof. Furtwängler and Mr. Frazer show that the question of the 'old temple' is yet far from settled, and archaeologists will await with eagerness Dr. Dörpfeld's answer to the objections raised against his views.

Meanwhile Furtwängler settles finally a number of other points. Very interesting is the light he throws on the meaning of the name Parthenon, which at first only belonged to the western cella of the Periklean temple: ὁ παρθενών (on the analogy

of ὁ ἀνδρῶν, ὁ γυναικῶν, ὁ ἱππῶν, &c.) means the *chamber of the maidens* ('das Jungfern-gemach'). These παρθένοι or κόραι are familiar figures in the Akropolis rituals: the daughters of Kekrops like those of Erechtheus are worshipped as παρθένοι, and these mythical attendants are the counterpart of the living *personnel* of the goddess,—of those Arrhephoroi who had their playground near the temple of the Polias, of those Ἐργαστῖναι who embroidered her *peplos*. Certainly the western cella of the new temple could not be more fitly dedicated than to these, the chosen company of the goddess, among whom she appears as an elder sister, herself the most august of the παρθένοι. Furtwängler has, it would seem, succeeded in solving the central slab of the Parthenon frieze. He has no doubt that the *delivery of the peplos* is represented in the much disputed group of the priest and the boy. It has however often been urged that the *peplos* would be useless to the gold and ivory Athena of the Parthenon; on the other hand there was a clumsiness in the supposition that although the delivery of the peplos was represented on the Parthenon, the peplos itself was intended for the old wooden *Polias* of the 'old temple.' But, says Furtwängler in a sentence that betrays the most acute understanding of the history of Periklean Athens, 'the frieze can only bear witness to the intentions of the man who built the temple, and not to what actually came to pass.' Perikles had no doubt intended to transfer the old Polias to the Parthenon; but he was thwarted in this,—even as he was prevented from finishing the Propylaea according to the splendid designs of Mnesikles,—by the conservative and religious party. Equally convincing is the explanation of the left-hand group of the central slab. The maidens bringing stools to the priestess are certainly διφροφόροι (two only are actually represented, but more are imagined in the background); but the stools they carry are no ordinary 'sacred utensils,' they are similar to those on which the gods of the frieze are seated, *and are destined for the banquet of the gods*, who according to the most ancient usage are imagined to sit at the meal instead of reclining. By showing that the group of the priestess and attendants equals in dignity and importance the group of the priest and the boy, Furtwängler has removed what was perhaps the worst *crux* in the interpretation of the central slab.

The peace of Nikias (B.C. 421) marked the definite triumph of the conservative party. Furtwängler follows Michaelis in thinking that the Erechtheion was begun about that time. It was planned in that spirit of religious conservatism which was characteristic of Nikias. From the close correspondence between its divisions and those of the 'old temple,' Furtwängler argues that the Erechtheion was intended to receive cults which must previously have had their home in the various chambers of the 'old temple.' Thus the eastern cella of the Erechtheion was dedicated to Athena, and received the old image of the Polias; the northern division of the middle cella was given to Poseidon-Erechtheus, the southern to Butes and Hephaistos; the western cella was given to Kekrops. Then it is that, according to Furtwängler, the 'old temple' finally disappears; it is levelled to the ground, only its stylobate being retained to form the terrace to the south of the Erechtheion: even its name passes to its successor: inscriptions and authors call the new Erechtheion 'the old temple of the Polias,' 'the temple with the ancient image,' &c.

The artist of the temple Furtwängler assumes to have been the Kallimachos who made the gold lamp with the palm-tree over it for the interior of the temple; the somewhat finicking beauty of the Erechtheion decorations are characteristic of an artist who was celebrated for the *elegantia ac subtilitas* of his sculpture. This Kallimachos Furtwängler pictures as a sort of fifth century Pre-Raphaelite; to the inventiveness and curiosity of the Periklean period he brought another note—that of conservatism, of return to the delicate ways and hieratic forms of archaic art, to the λεπτότης and the χάρις of Kalamis and his school. These tendencies would exactly suit the conservative and pious Nikias. Of the *Saltantes Lacaenae* by Kallimachos, Furtwängler has reminiscences in the 'Kalathiskos dancers' represented on gems or reliefs of a later age. To Kallimachos or his school he further attributes the original of an Artemis at Munich, the so-called 'altar of the four gods' on the Akropolis, the lost Corinthian puteal, the original of the Capitoline puteal, the original (bronze) of the famous 'tripod basis' at Dresden, and lastly the charming marble chair found in front of the pronaos of the Parthenon. Even Alkamenes was, according to Furtwängler, 'bitten' with the archaistic fashion—to wit, when he executed his triple Hekate. This recognition of a conscious return to archaism in artists of the fifth

century is no less significant than the attack which is being carried on by the best archaeologists against that dismal refuge of unclaimed statues—the 'archaistic school' of Hellenistic or Roman times.

The little temple of Wingless Victory was probably erected in honour of the successes of Nikias and Demosthenes in B.C 426–425. The image within the temple Furtwängler proves to have been fashioned like a *ξόανον*; possibly therefore Kallimachos was the artist. The frieze of the temple is further shown to represent the battle of Plataea; on the south side we have the engagement in which the Persian general Masistius lost his life (Herod. ix. 20–24); on the west the battle between the Athenians and the Greeks of the Persian side; on the north was probably depicted the battle between the Lacedaemonians and the men of Tegea; the gods of the eastern frieze are present as protectors of Hellas. This selection of the battle of Plataea, where Athenians and Lacedaemonians had fought side by side, is characteristic once more of Nikias and his peace party. Rarely has archaeology confirmed and illustrated history more brilliantly than in these pages of Furtwängler on the Athenian Akropolis.

In a long *excursus* Prof. Furtwängler returns to the Parthenon and discusses the interpretation of the pediments. He proves that there were ten figures in each half of the western pediment, and that we must assume the loss of a figure not only at A', between A ('River God') and B (Kekrops), but at U', between U and V, where a figure must have been lost that corresponded to B. The interpretation proposed for the various groups on either side of the central scene is as follows:[1] Bouzyges and his wife (A and the lost A') in the north angle, corresponding to the wife of Boutes and Boutes himself (W and V) in the south angle; Kekrops (B) and his three daughters with Erysichthon (C to F) answering to Erechtheus (the lost U') and his three daughters with their children (P to U), *i.e.* the *παρθένοι Ἀγλαυρίδες* balancing the *ζεῦγος τριπάρθενον*. The central scene is not one of contest or of rivalry, but Athena and Poseidon have come down to take possession of the land, and in token thereof have produced the well and the olive. In the east pediment, Furtwängler interprets the charioteer goddess of the north angle to be *Nyx*, and not *Selene*. The three figures next to her are, as Visconti showed long ago, the Moirai, (the *εὐώλενοι κοῦραι Νυκτός*). On the south side the 'Iris' is probably a Hebe, the figures next to her are the *Horai*, the 'Theseus' is the young huntsman Kephalos; the whole scene is laid in Olympos. Furtwängler however scarcely succeeds as yet in proving for the eastern pediment that unity of conception which makes his theory on the western pediment so convincing.

A second shorter *excursus* is concerned with figured *akroteria*,[2] such as those of the temple of Delos. This really astonishing chapter closes with a third and last *excursus* in which Furtwängler publishes an interesting Attic seal representing a female figure half emerging from a chariot or cart, and raising her hand in supplication. We probably have here an echo of the image of Ge praying to Zeus for rain, on the Akropolis (the inscription in front of the statue is still to be read on the Akropolis rock, *Γῆς καρποφόρου κατὰ μαντείαν*, cf. Paus. i. 24, 3). The chariot is admirably explained by reference to the practice prevalent in other parts of Greece (Krannon), and in different countries of Europe, of rolling a chariot about as a rain charm. We may doubt however the explanation of the chariot as a *reines Symbol* of the storm cloud. Surely we have here a simple case of sympathetic magic: the rumbling of the chariot being intended to imitate the desired phenomenon of real thunder.

EUGÉNIE SELLERS.

Paris, Feb. 1894.

(*To be continued.*)

[1] Cf. *Arch. Anzeiger* for 1891 p. 70, where Furtwängler had indicated the main lines of his present theory, and my note in the *Class. Rev.* vi. (1892) p. 369.

[2] The terra-cotta antefix from Lanuvium, fig. 32, has now been published more accurately by Mr. A. S. Murray (*J.H.S.* vol. xiii. p. 316).

BODENSTEINER ON THE GREEK STAGE.

Scenische Fragen über den Ort des Auftretens und Abgehens von Schauspielern und Chor im griechischen Drama: von ERNST BODENSTEINER. Reprinted from the *Jährbuch für classische Philologie* (Supplementbande xix.). Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. 1893. Pp. 639-808. 4 Mk.

THIS interesting treatise, which was written in competition for a prize offered by the University of Munich, is a valuable addition to the literature on the subject of Greek theatrical performances. While professing

to deal merely with the exits and the entrances of actors and chorus, it really covers a very considerable field, and discusses in an elaborate manner the various devices for revealing interiors, or for producing supernatural apparitions, the character of the scenic background, the number and position of the doors and passages used by the different performers, and the question as to the existence or non-existence of a raised stage. The appendix contains an exhaustive list, drawn from the forty-four extant dramas, of every occasion on which any performer enters or leaves the scene; together with a full quotation of all the passages in the text, and all the notices in the scholia which bear upon the subject.

In discussing these questions the author confines himself almost exclusively to the evidence supplied by the existing dramas themselves. His desire is to discover how plays were acted during the fifth century; and he considers that, for this purpose, the text of the plays is the only safe and reliable guide (p. 641). No doubt there is much truth in his view of the matter. Until recent years scholars were apt to forget that the fifth century, in the history of the Greek drama, was a period of growth and development. They assumed that the early theatrical performances were nearly identical, in external character, with those of later times which the grammarians have described. Bodensteiner is careful to avoid this error. But in placing his reliance solely on the testimony of the plays themselves, he is sometimes in danger of being led away by over-confidence, and appears to hardly realize the extreme difficulty of founding certain conclusions on such evidence. This difficulty arises from the fact that, in the case of all early dramas, when the art of scenic decoration is still in its infancy, much is always left to the imagination of the spectators. Hence it is hardly possible to determine, from the mere words of a play, whether a thing was visibly represented, or whether it was not. Take, for example, the dramas of Shakespeare. Few people would imagine, on reading his works, that they were acted originally without any scenery in the background. On the contrary, if there had been no contemporary evidence, it would have been easy for a scholar to prove, by numerous quotations, that the scenic art had been brought to high perfection in Shakespeare's time. This instance is sufficient to warn us that, in dealing with early periods of dramatic history, it is dangerous to found too much upon the mere language of a play. If local surroundings are frequently alluded to, it by no means follows that they were exhibited to the eyes of the spectators. And it is equally unsafe to argue that they were not exhibited, because of the absence of any allusion to them. Hence when Bodensteiner (p. 649) takes it for granted that there was no painted scenery in the *Septem*, merely because Eteocles never specially mentions the building from which he has come, the inference is hardly justified. A much stronger argument might have been adduced from external sources. Aristotle (*Poet.* c. 4) tells us that painted scenery was the invention of Sophocles. Now the *Septem* was produced only one year after the first appearance of Sophocles. If, therefore, the tradition recorded by Aristotle is to be accepted, it is almost decisive against the existence of painted scenery at the time of the production of the *Septem*.

Sometimes, again, the author is inclined to be too subtle and minute in his inferences, and appears to ignore the simple and conventional character of the early drama. Thus he cites several instances in which, when a person enters from the background, five or ten lines intervene between the first announcement of his approach, and the moment when he begins to join in the dialogue. Hence he argues (p. 715) that the action must have taken place at a considerable distance from the background, and somewhere near the middle of the orchestra; and that the intervening lines were spoken while the actor was moving slowly forward. Now if this kind of argument is admissible, it might be used with equal facility to prove the reverse proposition. It would be easy to show that the action took place in close proximity to the background, by adducing numerous examples (such as Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 531, and Eur. *Hipp.* 900) in which there is no interval between the announcement of a person's entrance and his participation in the dialogue. But such inferences are of little value one way or the other. It is hardly to be supposed that the ancient poets composed their dramas with this laborious accuracy, carefully calculating the number of steps which an actor had to take, and measuring out the length of the speeches in proportion. If occasionally a character, on making his entrance, was allowed more time than was necessary, any actor of ordinary experience would know how to fill up the interval.

But though the author occasionally endeavours to draw larger inferences from

the text of the plays than can be fairly defended, the greater part of his treatise is written with much judgment and common sense. His remarks on the 'eccyclêma' (p. 659 foll.) are especially admirable. He has no difficulty in disproving the recent theory that this contrivance was of comparatively late origin, and was first employed by Euripides and his contemporaries. He throws just ridicule on the argument that, because it is parodied in Aristophanes, it cannot have been used by Aeschylus and Sophocles. He maintains that a rude device of this kind, so far from being 'unworthy' of the grandeur of the Aeschylean drama, is in reality far more in keeping with its naive simplicity than with the conscious art of Euripides. In this view he is fully justified. Nothing can be more unreasonable than to argue that the sublimity of the older tragedies must have been accompanied by a corresponding impressiveness in the external means of representation. The history of the modern stage shows that the very reverse is often the case. The plays of Corneille and Racine, as we learn from Voltaire, were originally exhibited in a tennis-court, with scenery of the most meagre character, and on a stage crowded with aristocratic spectators. Yet these tragedies have never been equalled, in dignity and artistic finish, by the more elaborate performances of the later French drama.

His observations on the 'mêchanê' are equally convincing. Wilamowitz has a singular theory that the 'mêchanê' was an old-fashioned piece of machinery, superseded in the course of the fifth century by the 'theologeion'; and that the scene in the *Medea* was one of the latest instances of its employment. Bodensteiner, on the other hand, shows (p. 667 foll.) that there are few, if any, certain examples of its introduction before the time of the *Medea*; and he quotes numerous passages from Euripides to prove that it was constantly used in later times. If he had cared to turn his attention to external evidence, he might have fortified his conclusions by various additional testimonies. Thus Plato (*Crat.* 455 D) speaks of the 'mêchanê' as a favourite device among contemporary dramatists. Antiphanes, the writer of the Middle Comedy, tells us that when the tragic poet is brought to a standstill, he merely raises the 'mêchanê,' and all comes right again (Meineke, *Frag. Com. Graec.* iii. p. 106). And Aristotle, whose disregard for the old Aeschylean drama is conspicuous, would hardly have spoken in such emphatic terms about the proper employment of the *deus ex machina*, if this device, at the time he was writing, had already been disused for nearly a hundred years (*Poet.* c. 15).

But the reader will naturally turn with most interest to the discussion about the raised stage (p. 681 foll.). On this point, as elsewhere, the author confines his attention mainly to the fifth century and to the evidence derivable from the existing dramas. The facts on which he lays most emphasis are the three following. In the first place, out of the forty-four tragedies and comedies which still survive, he cites fourteen cases where the actors and the chorus appear to come into such close physical contact that they must have stood upon the same level and occupied the same ground. Secondly, he adduces seven cases where the chorus enter or disappear through the background. Thirdly, he points out that on twenty-one occasions chorus and actors enter or leave the scene by the same passage.

Some of these examples are undoubtedly open to question. Thus the altercation at the end of the *Agamemnon* (1649-1673) never advances beyond mere threats, and it is unnecessary to suppose that Aegisthus and the Argive Elders ever come into actual contact with one another. Again, in the *Supplices* of Aeschylus, there is nothing to prove that Danaus and the chorus depart by the same exit. If one left by the side-wings and the other by the orchestra, such a mode of departure, though both are going to the same place, would be in no way inconsistent with the conventional character of the ancient drama.

But assuming that all his examples are certain and reliable, the question is, What do they prove? Müller, who quotes most of the cases cited by Bodensteiner, dwells on the comparative rarity of such cases, as a proof that there was some obstacle in the way of free communication between actors and chorus, and makes this an argument in favour of the existence of a raised stage for the actors. Bodensteiner thinks that these instances prove that there was no stage, and that actors and chorus performed together in the orchestra. The variety of the conclusions drawn from the same premises is at any rate a proof of the uncertainty attending this kind of evidence. Certainly, at first sight, it is difficult to see how the cases mentioned by Bodensteiner justify the conclusions at which he arrives. In fact, in order to establish his thesis, he has to make two assumptions, which are not warranted by the

evidence. He assumes, in the first place (p. 701), that if there was any stage at all during the fifth century, it must have been a stage of the Vitruvian type, twelve feet high and ten deep. In the second place, he assumes (pp. 689, 704) that if there was a stage for the actors and an orchestra for the chorus, then the actors must have been confined 'exclusively' to the stage and the chorus 'exclusively' to the orchestra.

Neither of these suppositions are probable in themselves, or consistent with the ancient evidence. Vitruvius, in describing the height and depth of the Greek stage, is merely describing the practice of his own time. And although, in all the recently excavated theatres, stages have been found corresponding exactly to his account, they are subsequent in date to the original stage-buildings, and none of them earlier than the second century B.C. The inference, therefore, is that the primitive stage was of a different character. Moreover, the statement of Horace, that the stage first erected by Aeschylus was only of 'moderate dimensions' (*Ars Poet.* 279 modicis instruxit pulpita tignis), seems to imply that the primitive stage was less lofty than that of later times. Again, as to the communication between stage and orchestra. Both Pollux (4, 127) and Athenaeus (*de Machinis* p. 29) expressly state that such communication was effected by means of steps; and steps of this kind are actually found in numerous vase-paintings. The Scholiasts, also, in their notes on the plays, though assuming throughout that the usual place for actors and chorus was on the stage and in the orchestra respectively, nevertheless frequently suggest that in such and such cases the actors descended into the orchestra, or the chorus mounted on to the stage (*e.g.* Schol. Aristoph. *Ran.* 181, 297; *Pax* 727).

If then we follow natural probability as well as ancient testimonies, and assume that the stage of the fifth century was only a few feet above the level of the orchestra, and was connected with the orchestra by an easy means of communication, such as a flight of steps, then the conclusions of Bodensteiner fall to the ground. There is nothing in the extant dramas which in any way conflicts with the supposition that the actors performed upon a stage of this character. Those who have seen the performances at Bradfield, where the theatre was constructed in the way described, will remember the facility with which chorus and actors were enabled to commingle with one another, and the picturesqueness of the general effect.

It appears then that the evidence of the surviving dramas is no proof against the existence of a stage. On the contrary, it rather tends to support the opposite theory. The most precise and definite piece of testimony is the use of the words ἀναβαίνειν and καταβαίνειν in Aristophanes, apparently in the sense of 'coming' and 'going' (*Equit.* 149, *Vesp.* 1342, 1514, *Eccles.* 1152). This usage seems to have arisen, as the Scholiast declares, from the elevated position of the actors (Schol. *Equit.* 149). Various novel interpretations have been suggested by the supporters of the new hypothesis, in order to get rid of the difficulty. But Bodensteiner, while mentioning these interpretations, confesses that he is dissatisfied with them, and suggests that in comedy there was a sort of terrace in front of the houses which formed the background (p. 699). But this practically amounts to the admission of the existence of a stage. If it is once conceded that the actors stood on elevated ground, no one will quarrel about its name, or care whether it is called a 'stage' or a 'terrace.'

As to the period subsequent to the fifth century, Bodensteiner accepts without discussion the views of Dörpfeld. He believes that throughout the whole duration of the Greek drama, from its commencement down to the third century A.D., there was no such thing as a stage for the actors in any theatre of purely Greek construction. It is unfortunate that he refrains from discussing the theory, as it would be interesting to know how he proposes to meet the difficulties with which it is attended. The principal objection to Dörpfeld's views is that they conflict with the unanimous testimony of antiquity. Even if we omit all those passages of which the meaning has been disputed, a sufficient number still remain to constitute a formidable body of evidence. Athenaeus (*de Machinis* p. 29), Polybius (30, 13), Horace (*Ars Poet.* 279), Vitruvius (5, 6 and 7), Plutarch (*Dem.* 34, *Thes.* 16), Pollux (4, 123), Phrynichus (p. 163 Lobeck), the Scholiasts (*e.g.* Plat. *Symp.* 175 E; Aristoph. *Ran.* 181, 297, *Pax* 234, 727, *Lys.* 321, *Equit.* 149), Hesychius and Suidas and Photius (v. ὄκριβας)—all these writers either directly assert, or use language which implies beyond reach of doubt, that the actors in a Greek theatre performed upon an elevated stage. They range in date from the third century B.C. downwards. Most of them lived at a time when Greek plays were still performed in Greek theatres. Even

those of a later period, such as the Scholiasts, derived their information directly from the Alexandrian grammarians.

How then are we to account for this unanimous tradition? How are we to explain the fact that if, as Dörpfeld supposes, the Greek actors performed in the orchestra, not a single trace of any statement to that effect is to be found in any ancient author? It is useless to suggest that these successive generations of poets, historians, architects, and grammarians were all mistaken. If the fact had been one which required accurate and scientific investigation, this view might have been maintained with some show of reason. But in a matter of the most ordinary and everyday observation, such as the position of the actors in a theatre, it is incredible that a long line of writers should have all committed the same obvious blunder. Nor can it be maintained that they were misled by the analogy of the Roman theatre. Had they told us that all the performers, chorus as well as actors, appeared upon the stage, the case would have been different. But they tell us that the actors were upon the stage, the chorus in the orchestra. Now in Roman theatres the orchestra was occupied by the senators. If we suppose, then, that they were thinking of the Roman practice, we shall have to conclude that they confused a Greek chorus with an audience of Roman senators. Such a mistake, even if made by a single writer, would be almost inexplicable. But that the same confusion should be made century after century, by successive authors, passes the bounds of credibility.

There is also the fact that the statements of the ancients are confirmed by the vase-paintings of Magna Graecia, belonging to the third century B.C., which depict the actors upon a stage, with steps leading down into the orchestra. Further than this, a stage exactly similar to that described by Vitruvius is found in all the theatres which have been newly excavated. Dörpfeld supposes that this stage was really part of the background. Let us try to imagine how it would serve the purpose. According to his views, the greater part of the background must have represented the sky; and at the bottom there would be a projection twelve feet high, ten feet deep, and about fifty feet long. It is true that in comedy this projection might serve for a row of private houses. But in tragedy it would have to stand for a palace or a temple. What then would have been the appearance of a temple twelve feet high, and fifty feet long, stretching along the bottom of the orchestra? The proportions seem altogether unsuitable.

Until these various difficulties, which have just been enumerated, are satisfactorily solved, the new theory can hardly find general acceptance. It is to be hoped therefore, that Bodensteiner will supplement the present treatise by another in which this particular question is considered. His careful and scientific methods of investigation would give interest and value to anything which he might write upon the subject.

A. E. Haigh.

Philostrati Maioris Imagines recensuerunt Seminariorum Vindobonensium Sodales. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. 1893. 2 Mk. 8.

An author like Philostratos stands on a different footing to most classical writers, in that mere scholarship is not sufficient to do justice even to a critical edition; archaeological knowledge is indispensable. It is therefore greatly to the credit of the Teubner firm that they have sought the aid of such a recognized archaeological authority as Prof. Benndorf in the revised and enlarged edition of the *Imagines* which forms the most recent addition to their world-famed classical series.

The present volume, which only contains the *Imagines*, is almost equal in bulk to Kayser's 1871 edition in this series, which included several other works of Philostratos the elder; this is accounted for partly by the more widely spaced type of more recent Teubner editions, but at the same time points to a greater fulness of critical and explanatory notes. In a purely critical edition the latter must of necessity be kept within due bounds, but at the same time they could hardly be dispensed with.

A new edition of the text of Philostratos has been for some time urgently required, as Kayser's text, though carefully compiled, was yet remarkable for a singular lack of discrimination, while, as Schanz points out (*Rhein. Mus.* xxxviii. p. 305), he shows a marvellous uncertainty in weighing the testimony of the MSS. It is generally recognized now by scholars that the two most important and trustworthy MSS. are the Laurentian (*F*), and the Parisian (*P*), whereas Kayser appears to have pinned his faith too much upon the Vatican MS. known as V^2 and the *Epitome Vossiana* (*E*). It has been laid down as a canon by Schenkel and his colleagues in this edition that in most

cases *F* and *P* alone have preserved the correct reading, and accordingly it is on these two MSS. that their text is based. *P* however is not altogether free from defect.

Up till 600 A.D. or thereabouts the *Imagines* appear to have existed in two forms, one divided into two books, and free from interpolations and corruptions, which is the original of the Laurentian MS., the other divided into four books and beset with numerous corrections, lacunae, and various embellishments of Byzantine grammarians. It is evident that the task of the critical editor is hereby greatly simplified.

The much-debated question as to whether the *Imagines* is purely the product of Philostratos' fancy or an actual account of pictures preserved in a gallery at Naples is briefly touched upon in the introduction; the editors adhere to Brunn's now generally received opinion that the latter version of the case is the true one. It is however strange that scarcely any mention has been made of the excellent contributions of two French scholars to this subject, namely MM. Bougot and Bertrand. The latter's *Un critique d'art dans l'antiquité* contains an excellent summary of the various opinions, while M. Bougot in his *Philostrate l'ancien. Une galerie antique,* points out that the traces of improvisation and abruptness of style in Philostratos clearly point to lectures delivered on the spot in a gallery of existing pictures. It may also be mentioned that M. Bougot has made a laudable though insufficient attempt to illustrate the subjects by reference to existing works of art.

It is perhaps to be regretted that in this text Kayser's system of paragraphs (from 762 onwards) has been ignored, especially as, *e.g.* in Liddell and Scott's Lexicon, references are made solely to those numbers. At the same time the pagination of Kayser's edition is noted throughout in the margin.

We proceed to note a few of the principal instances in which the testimony of the MSS. has led the compilers to differ from Kayser's version. In the first place Kayser's heading to the introduction Προοίμιον [ἢ λαλιά] is supplanted by *βιβλίον πρῶτον* (*F* reads Εἰκόνες Φιλοστράτου simply; *P* and others the curious title *προοίμιον ἑλλαδία*). Page 10, line 18 *εὐβαφέσι* with *F* and V^2, though Kayser's *εὐαφέσι* seems more natural and intelligible. P. 21, l. 2 om. *δύο φοίνικας* (bracketed by Kayser). P. 22, l. 1 *ὀφθαλμοῖς*—Kayser *ὀμφαλοῖς*. Here the reading of *V* is rightly adopted; *ὀμφαλοῖς* seems to have crept in from the following line. P. 39, l. 11 *τὰ μὲν ἄλλα † πέτρᾳ μοι διείκασται*—Kayser add. *δοκεῖ*; the text here appears very corrupt. P. 42, l. 1 *ὑπάσεται*—Kayser *ὑποέσται*. P. 52, l. 22 for Kayser's title *Ξυοθήραι* read *Θηρευταί*. P. 54, l. 10 *<ὁ δὲ καὶ τὰς κνήμας, ὁ δὲ>* where Kayser has a lacuna. P. 60, l. 2 *ἐσθὴς <χειρί, ἐσθὴς> αὐτῇ καὶ κνήμῃ*; there appears to be no justification for the insertion of the words in angular brackets. P. 66, l. 3 *θέων ὅσα,* seems a doubtful reading; better with Westermann and Kayser *θεὸν ὅσα καί σε ἐκφεύγοντας*.

Some valuable archaeological notes and illustrations are contributed by Professor Benndorf, *e.g.* p. 39 l. 21, p. 43 l. 14, p. 52 l. 22, p. 67 l. 16, p. 81 l. 23, p. 87 l. 6, and p. 121 l. 19. It is to be hoped that we may yet see an archaeological edition of Philostratos on the lines of M. Bougot's work, especially as the pictures described in the *Imagines* have many features in common with Pompeian and other wall-paintings which have come down to us, while there are not a few among the painted vases from Southern Italy which might well be utilized in illustration. We may instance the krater in the British Museum with the death of Hippolytos, a comparison of which with Philostratos' description (Book ii. no. 4) is interesting, though it is doubtful whether the pictures that Philostratos saw represent a contemporaneous period of art.

There are two valuable and copious indices, the first a carefully compiled list of *loci classici* illustrating the descriptions, the second a very full vocabulary.

H. B. WALTERS.

HETTNER ON THE MONUMENTS OF TRÈVES.

Die Römischen Steindenkmäler des Provinzialmuseums zu Trier, von Prof. Dr. FELIX HETTNER. Mit 375 Textabbildungen. Trier. 1893. 4 Mk.

THE study of Roman monuments is not one which appeals very strongly to the archaeologist as a rule; such interest as they possess is of course almost entirely historical. Still it is much to be regretted that more is not done in England towards the investigation of remains of the Roman occupation, for at present the student of these matters has little

material at his command, with the exception of scattered papers in archaeological or historical journals; at the same time we must not ignore the excellent work that has been done in this line by such scholars as Mr. F. Haverfield and Mr. Pelham. To judge by the catalogue before us, the Germans are not inclined to neglect the subject, and in Trèves we have a city that has been exceptionally favoured in the discovery of Roman remains, as might be expected from its important position in the days of the Roman Empire. In this catalogue some eight hundred monuments and inscriptions have been described by Dr. Hettner with exemplary care and fulness, and copiously illustrated in the praiseworthy fashion that is becoming common with German catalogues. The plan of inserting a sketch of each monument by the side of the description is earnestly to be commended in a catalogue of this kind, and such sketches are really of more use than a few elaborate and costly plates would be.

Among the more interesting sculptures, we may note an inscribed pedestal representing Minerva, Ceres, Mercury, and Hercules (No 25); Jupiter riding over a Giant (No. 32); a torso of Mercury with the infant Bacchus, evidently a reminiscence of the statue by Praxiteles (No. 68); a cinerary cista on which a shoemaker's tools are represented (No. 192); an unfinished sepulchral monument with Cupids, &c. (No. 232); a relief representing a shop (No. 244); all in sandstone and other local materials. Among the marbles, a good group representing Diana with two hounds (No. 654), and a torso of an Amazon apparently derived from the Mattei Amazon in the Vatican. We may also mention a collection of sixty-nine Hermae found at Welschbillig, which had apparently formed the decoration of a large fish-pond; they represent Romans, Greeks, barbarians and ideal figures.

The collection is made up by a considerable number of Christian inscriptions and a few of Imperial Roman times, of which the most interesting are Nos. 7, 57, 60, and 73. Taken as a whole it is as representative and interesting a series of Roman antiquities as could be found anywhere outside Italy, and Dr. Hettner's valuable catalogue should earn the gratitude of all who are interested in this subject.

H. B. Walters.

Archäologisches Jahrbuch. 1893. Part 2. Berlin.

1. Körte: archaeological studies on the Old Comedy: it has been shown that the Aristophanic actor's dress was not that of the Phlyakes; discusses its character in an examination of the literary evidence and the monuments (list of terracottas, pp. 77–86): he concludes that the grotesque figures on the Attic stage came originally from Peloponnesian influence, and are antitypes of the Dionysiac rout. Comedy thus followed the same course as Tragedy: eight cuts. 2. Hauser: publishes a 'Tyrrhenian' amphora with the sacrifice of Polyxena, in the Bourguignon collection: it confirms the fact of the connection between this fabric and Korinthian: and suggests points of connection with Chalcidian and generally with the Ionian styles of vases: plate and three cuts. 3. Kuhnert: discusses the scenes from the Nekyia on vases of Lower Italian style. 4. Gercke: attacks Six's explanation of Pliny's 'vulneratum deficientem' as applied to the statue of Diitrephes (*Jahrb.* vii. p. 185).

Anzeiger. Annual report of the work of the Institute. Report of the meeting of philologists at Vienna on May 23 and following days. Meetings of the Institute: including a paper by Steindorff on archaic Egyptian statues, with notice of Petrie's work at Tell el Amarna. Acquisitions of the Berlin Museum in 1892. News. Bibliography.

The same. 1893. Part 3. Berlin.

1. Michaelis: discusses the creator of the Attalic battle compositions: with eight cuts. 2. Winter: discusses the numerous archaic statues of riding figures found in the Acropolis excavations: they show a remarkable progressive development of execution, corresponding with that of the series of female figures from the same finds and with vase-painting. He gives reasons for doubting Studniczka's identification of the 'Persian rider' statue with the monument of Miltiades: and thinks that it is the statue of an Athenian in Thracian dress, possibly resulting from the Athenian relations with the Chersonese before B.C. 514: fourteen cuts. 3. Hartwig: discusses the two known examples of red-figured vases showing the adventure of Herakles with Kerberos: and publishes a third newly acquired by Berlin, with Epidromos καλός: four cuts and plate. 4. Wolters: identifies the bust of 'Vesta' from the large villa at Herculaneum as the Athena of Kephisodotos: plate and cuts. 5. Pernice: publishes two vase-paintings illustrating the form and use of a σίφων (= καλαμίσκος), a tube used for tasting wine in wine-shops: three cuts. 6. Furtwängler: publishes the Stosch glass paste inscribed with the name of Skopas as genuine: he formerly (*Arch. Jahrb.* iv. p. 72) thought it modern.

Anzeiger. Meetings of the Institute: among other papers is one by Winter, reviewing the find of terracottas on the Athenian acropolis, with 30 illustrations. News. Bibliography.

Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique. May—July, 1893.

1. Pottier: 'Documents céramiques du Musée du Louvre': publishes a series of notes on vases in the Louvre which are too full to be included in the catalogue now in preparation: seven cuts. 2. Legrand and Chamonard: publish a hundred and five inscriptions from Phrygia. 3. Collignon: publishes the marble head which Mr. Webb presented to the British Museum in 1892: he places it at about 510 B.C., between the Jacobsen head and the head published Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1888, pl. 3. 4. Bérard: nineteen inscriptions from Dinair (Apamea). 5. Kambanis: the draining of the Copaic lake by the ancients (continued).

Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχαιολογική. 1893. Part 3.

1. Skias: publishes twenty-seven inscriptions from Corinth. 2. Kavvadias: a marble relief dedicated to Hermes and the Nymphs, found on the old railway line from Athens to Peiraeus: discussing the subject and date: two plates. 3. Svoronos: types of coins of ancient Crete. 4. Mylonas: publishes a bronze folding mirror from Corinth with the head of a woman in relief (plate 11), comparing it with coin types. Miscellaneous notes, excavations at Athens, Mycenae, Thorikos. C. S.

Numismatic Chronicle. Part iv. 1893.

'The initial coinage of Athens.' This controversy as to the earliest coinage of Athens is continued from Part iii. by Sir H. Howorth and Mr. Barclay Head, and a good note on the subject is contributed by Mr. G. F. Hill. Mr. Head appears to us to have completely answered the main objections brought forward by Sir H. Howorth and to have successfully maintained the view set forth in his *Attica* and now generally accepted by numismatists.—*Review* of Babelon's *Perses Achéménides* &c. by B. V. Head.

Zeitschrift für Numismatik. Berlin. Vol. xix. Part 3, 1893.

E. J. Seltmann. 'Ueber einige seltene Münzen von Himera.' Describes specimens examined by him from a hoard discovered in Sicily in 1890. The hoard contained about 200 early tetradrachms and drachms of Acragas, Gela, Leontini, Messana, Segesta, Syracuse and Himera. The coins of Himera are the most interesting and are described in detail. Among them is a specimen of the rare coin with the inscription ΠΕΛΟΥ and the nymph Himera. On another is the inscription ΣΟΤΗΡ beside the nymph. A study of the contents of the hoard leads Mr. Seltmann to suggest that the archaic or rather 'transitional' period of Sicilian coinage came to an end *circ.* B.C. 450 and thus later than is usually supposed.—F. L. Ganter. 'Die Diktaturen Caesar's und die Münzen der fünf ersten IIII. Viri a. a. f. f.' —A. Lambropoulos. 'Beiträge zur griechischen Numismatik.' 1. On a very interesting early coin of Elis in the Berlin Museum: *obv.* Eagle devouring a tortoise (cp. the story of the death of Aeschylus); *rev.* Naked figure of Zeus holding fulmen and eagle, and the inscription ΟΛΥΝΠΙΚΟΝ which Lambropoulos, who discusses similar legends on coins, supposes to mean Ὀλυμπικῶν ἀγώνων (or ἄθλων) εἰμὶ σῆμα (or κόμμα). 2. Discusses the inscriptions ΑΛ and ΠΟ on Elian coins. Lambropoulos maintains that ΑΛ and not ΔΑ is the true reading. He conjectures that ΑΛ may be the artist Alcamenes. Prof. P. Gardner (Cat. *Pelop.* p. xxxvi.) suggested, with some hesitation, that ΔΑ (?) stood for the name of the sculptor Daedalus of Sicyon. Lambropoulos thinks that ΠΟ is the name of the celebrated Polycleitus and assigns the coins to *circ.* B.C. 418. Gardner suggested Polycleitus the younger. 3. On various symbols on Corinthian coins.

W. W.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

American Journal of Philology. Whole No. 56. Dec. 1893.

The Third Class of Weak Verbs in Primitive Teutonic, by M. Sweet. *On the Judaeo-German spoken by the Russian Jews* II., by L. Wiener. *Notes on the use of Gerund and Gerundive in Plautus and Terence*, by S. B. Platner. Even in Pl. most of the later constructions and idioms of the gerund and gerundive had already been developed to a considerable extent. In early Latin the gerund is commoner than the gerundive. Then follows an analysis and classification of all the examples. With the gerund the great infrequency of prepositions except *ad* and *in* is noticeable. Mr. Bloomfield reviews *Vedische Mythologie* by A. Hillebrandt, vol. i. *Soma und verwandte Götter*, and Prof. Gildersleeve J. Van Leeuwen's edition of the *Wasps*. Van L. maintains a double recension as in the *Clouds*. He has paid too little attention to contemporary literature on the subject. Prof. G. also sharply criticizes Dr. Fennell's new edition of *Pindar's Olympian and Pythian Odes*, which is substantially a new work. Briefly mentioned are Schmid's *Atticismus*, vol. ii. on *Aelian*, and Dr. H. Schmidt's paper *De duali graecorum et emoriente et reviviscente*, a contribution to the Breslauer Philologische Abhandlungen.

Jahresberichte des Philologischen Vereins zu Berlin. March, April, 1893.

VIRGIL, by P. Denticke.

I. On the country poems. *Virgil als bukolischer Dichter*, by M. Sonntag. Leipzig 1891. No ground for believing in a double edition as S. does. [Cl. Rev. vi. 450.] E. Bethe, *Vergilstudien* II. *Zur ersten neunten und achten Ekloge.* Rh. Mus. 47 and on it O. Ribbeck's *Epikritische Bemerkungen*. B. denies the usually-admitted connexion between Eclogues 1, 9 and 8. H. T. Karsten, *Ad Vergilii eclogas iii. et vii.* Mnemos. N.S. xix. On iii. 110 and vii. 19. C. Pascal, *Adversaria Vergiliana.* Riv. di fil. 1892. In iv. 8 *nascens*=modo natus. O. Crusius, Rh. Mus. 47. The proverbial verse G. i. 53 quoted by Macrob. v. 16. 7 perhaps goes back to Cato. H. Richards, Cl. Rev. v. 232, reads *verrit* for *ferret* in G. i. 321. J. Geffcken, *Saturnia tellus.* Hermes 27. Traces the origin of the hymn to Italy (G. ii. 136 foll.). A. Oltramare, *Étude sur l'épisode d'Aristée dans les Géorgiques de Virgile.* Paris 1892. Seeks to show that the episode is closely connected with the rest of the poem.

II. On the Aeneid. A. Editions. *Vergil's Aeneis.* In shorter form, by J. Werra. Münster 1892, and *Auswahl aus Vergil's Aeneis*, by A. Lange. Berlin, 1892. These two books collect the most poetical passages. Out of the 9896 verses W. gives 5457 and L. above 4500. *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneis*, by O. Brosin. Vol. ii. books iii. iv., vol. iii. books v. vi. 3rd edition, by L. Heitkamp. Gotha 1892. This excellent revision is worthy of the original edition. B. Origin and sources. F. Noack, *Die erste Aeneis Vergils.* Hermes 27. The first sketch of the Aeneid was books i. ii. iv. vi., completed before 25 B.C., they contain no contradictions, imitate the Odyssey and follow Naevius. E. Bethe, *Vergilstudien* I. *Die Laokoonepisode.* Rh. Mus. 46. V. mixes up two different versions. F. Noack in the Götting. Gel. Anzeigen Nr. 20 1892 modifies the results of F. Kehmptzow, *De Quinti Smyrnaei fontibus ac mytho-*

poeia. Diss. Kiel 1891. V. was a constant source for Quintus, especially to be seen in the Laocoon episode. G. Ettig, *Acheruntica sive descensuum apud veteres enarratio.* Leipz. Stud 1891. V. is incomparable in selection of materials and execution, but not great in invention. The subject is pursued down to Lucian and Ausonius. K. Baur, *Homerische Gleichnisse in Vergil's Aeneide.* Part I. Progr. Freising 1891. About twenty comparisons in books i.—ix. are discussed and the differences of treatment between H. and V. pointed out. C. Remarks on single passages. Jan. Kvíčala, *Nové Kritické a exegetické příspěvky k. Vergiliově Aeneidě.* Prag. 1892. A German summary of the chief results is also published. Deserves careful attention. P. Weizsäcker, *Zu Vergil.* Aen. i. 75–80. Korr. Bl. f. d. Gel. u. Realsch. Württ. 1891. P. Weyland, *Vergil's Beschreibung des libyschen Hafens* (Aen. i. 159–169). Progr. Gartz 1891. Schlenger, *Erklärende Bemerkungen und Verbesserungsvorschläge zu einigen Stellen unserer Schulklassiker.* Progr. Mainz 1890. Notices i. 403 and ix. 448. M. T. Tatham, Clas. Rev. vi. 124. In i. 455 reads *mirantur.* J. S. Speijer, *Observationes et emendationes.* Groningen 1891. On iii. 329 and iv. 383. P. Simpson and T. E. Page. Clas. Rev. vi. 366 and 414. On iii. 510 *sortiti remos.* E. Eichler, Zeitschr. f. d. öst. Gymn. 1889. On iii. 684 foll. O. Linsenbarth, N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1891. On iv. 402 foll. Th. Berndt, *Kritische Bemerkungen zu Griechischen und Römischen Schriftstellern.* Herford 1891. Rewrites v. 290. A. Kornitzer, *Zur Wanderung des Aeneas durch die Unterwelt.* Zeitschr. f. d. öst. Gymn. 1891. Considers V. here as a mechanical imitator of Homer. G. Landgraf, *Conjectanea.* München 1891. In vi. 463 recommends *tuis* for *suis,* appealing to Brosin. Reichenhart, *Zur Erklärung einiger Vergilstellen.* Zeitschr. f. d. öst. Gymn. 1892. On vi. 474, 548 and viii. 143. G. McN. R. and A. Platt, Clas. Rev. v. 232 and 337 on vi. 567 [see also Cl. Rev. iv. 465 and v. 64]. Ed. Norden, N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1891. On vi. 605 foll. R. Whitelaw, Clas. Rev. v. 186. On vi. 743. W. Gemoll, Kritische Bemerkungen zu lateinischen Schriftstellern. Progr. Liegnitz 1890. In ix. 579 recommends *eminus* for *manus.* W. J. Evans, Clas. Rev. v. 128. On x. 1. J. Henry, *Aeneidea.* Vol. iv. Dublin 1891. On books x.—xii. Much shorter than the other vols. A remarkable memorial of the writer, but as the latest notes are 1870, the work is rather out of date. Vol. iii. On metre and language. W. Meyer, *Ueber die weibliche Cäsur des klassischen lateinischen Hexameters.* München 1889. Gradually the feminine caesura lost its prestige and remained only *honoris causa* because of the Greek precedent. J. Oertner, N. Jahrb. f. Päd. 1890. Defines the caesura as a musical pause. Joh. Rönström, *Metri Vergiliani recensio.* Lund 1892. Out of V.'s 14072 lines (incl. Culex, Ciris, Copa, Moretum and Catalecta) 94 end with one-syllabled words, 76 with four-syllabled, 23 with five-syllabled, and 32 with spondee in the 5th foot [see Clas. Rev. vii. 219]. A. Platt, Clas. Rev. v. 337. Sees in *fluvii* iii. 702 a spondee and in *fluviorum* G. i. 482 a molossus. But we certainly have an uncontracted genitive in *Dardanii* iv. 640. B. Gerathewohl, *Grundzüge für lateinische Allitterationsforschung.* Leipzig 1892, and *Allitteration tontragender Silben an den beiden letzten Arsen des Hexameters in Vergils Aeneis.* München 1891. Every rhyme is for the ear, not the eye. Diligent and sensible investigations, but sometimes fanciful. F. Seitz, *De fixis poetarum latinorum epithetis.* Part I. Progr. Elberfeld 1890. Many of the epithets of the Augustan literature passed into the current speech. J. L. Moore, *Servius on the tropes and figures of Vergil.* Amer. Jour. Phil. xii. (1891). Two papers. A useful piece of work carefully done. A. Nehring, Ueber *bidens hostia.* N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1893. M. Bonnet, *Tiberis, Thybris, Thymbris.* Rev. de Phil. 1892. Believes that in V. as well as in Statius and Claudian traces of the Greek form *Thymbris* are to be found. IV. Educational use. F. Ehrlich, *Mittelitalien, Land und Leute, in der Aeneide Vergils.* Progr. Eichstädt 1892. Collects the scattered etymological, archaeological and historical notices by the poet.

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

ENGLISH BOOKS.

Aeschylus. Eumenides. Translation by F. G. Plaistowe. Cr. 8vo. Clive. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius. Long's translation, edited by Edwin Ginn. 12mo. xxiii, 213 pp. Boston, Ginn & Co. 45 c. 1893.

Appleton (W. H.) Greek poets in English verse, by various translators; edited with introduction and notes. 12mo. xlvi, 360 pp. Boston, Houghton Mifflin & Co. 1 dol. 50 c.

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Conder (René F. R.) The Catholic's Latin primer; an elementary grammar for English-speaking Catholics. 12mo. N.Y., Benziger Bros. 55 c.

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Harvard Studies in classical philology. Vol. IV. Boston, Ginn & Co. 1 dol. 50 c.

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Horace. Translations of the Odes of Horace, by J. O. Sargent, with an introduction by O. W. Holmes. 12mo. xx, 240 pp. Boston, Houghton Mifflin & Co. 1 dol. 50 c.

—— Satires and Epistles edited on the basis of Kiessling's edition by J. H. Kirkland. 16mo. xxiii, 399 pp. Boston, Leach, Shewell & Sanborn. 1 dol. 20 c. 1893.

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Virgil. Aeneid. Book I. Edited by Alfred J. Church. 12mo. Blackie. 1*s.*

—— The seventh book of Vergil's *Aeneid,* edited for the use of schools, with texts, notes and vocabulary by W. C. Collar. 16mo. xviii, 96 pp. Boston, Ginn & Co. 50 c. 1893.

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[Berliner Studien für class. Philologie. Band 15. Heft 1.]

—— De fontibus Vellei Paterculi. (I.) Diss. 8vo. 36 pp. Halle 93. 36 S. 8vo.

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Fügner (F.) Lexicon Livianum. Fasciculus VI. Composuit F. Schmidt. 8vo. Columns 993—1184. Leipzig, Teubner. 2 Mk. 40.

Gimborn (E. v.) Bemerkungen zum Proömium der Theogonie des Hesiod. Progr. 4to. 14 pp. Sigmaringen.

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Gomperz (Th.) Griechische Denker. Eine Geschichte der antiken Philosophie. Lieferung 2. 8vo. Band I. 97—192 pp. Leipzig, Veit & Co. 2 Mk.

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Hartmann (J. J.) De M. Tullio Cicerone. Allocutio ad studiosos qua mense Septembri a 1893 scholas de literis latinis et antiquitatibus romanis instauravit. 8vo. 27 pp. Leiden, van Doesbargh. 1 Mk.

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The Classical Review

MAY 1894.

ARISTOTLE'S SUBDIVISIONS OF 'PARTICULAR JUSTICE.'

On the initial distinction made in *Eth. Nic.* v. between 'General' and 'Particular' Justice there is no dispute. General Justice is Righteousness or Rightness of conduct; it is the fulfilling of the whole law, written and unwritten. We call virtuous conduct 'just' in this wide sense when we look at it in relation to its effect on others (c. 1 § 20, 1130*a* 12): the coward or the debauchee may be called, in this wide sense, 'unjust,' when we consider how his conduct affects others. Particular Justice, on the other hand, is a special virtue alongside of such virtues as Courage and Temperance: there may be unjust acts which are not acts of cowardice or debauchery or of any of the special vices. Of Particular Justice we are told (c. 2 § 12, 1130*b* 30) that there are two species—'one which is exhibited in distributions of honour, property or anything else which is divisible among those who share in the commonwealth, another which is corrective in the case of contracts (*τὸ ἐν τοῖς συναλλάγμασι διορθωτικόν*). Of this latter there are two divisions; for of contracts some are voluntary, and some are involuntary. Voluntary contracts are *e.g.* buying, selling, lending at interest, pledging, lending without interest, depositing, letting for hire: and they are called voluntary, because they rise out of voluntary acts [*i.e.* voluntary on the part of *both* the parties to the contract]. Of involuntary contracts some are furtive (*λαθραῖα*), *e.g.* theft, adultery, poisoning, procuring, enticement of slaves, assassination, false witness; others violent (*βίαια*), *e.g.* assault, imprisonment, murder, rape, maiming, slander, contumelious treatment.' I have followed Mr. Jackson's translation of the names of the various voluntary and involuntary contracts.

In passing from the discussion of Distributive to that of Corrective Justice (c. 4 § 1, 1131*b* 25) Aristotle speaks of the latter as the *one* remaining kind—*τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἓν*[1] *τὸ διορθωτικὸν, ὃ γίνεται ἐν τοῖς συναλλάγμασι καὶ τοῖς ἑκουσίοις καὶ τοῖς ἀκουσίοις.* In chapter 5, Aristotle applies the conception of *τὸ ἀντιπεπονθός* (which the Pythagoreans had used as their one formula for Justice) to the case of commercial exchanges. Hence it has sometimes been assumed that chapter 5 deals with that subdivision of Corrective Justice which is concerned with voluntary contracts, of which buying and selling are conspicuous examples, chapter 4 being held to treat only of that subdivision of Corrective Justice which is concerned with involuntary contracts, *i.e.* with the remedying of wrongs arising out of fraud or force. Against this view I think the words of c. 5 § 2, 1132*b* 23 are decisive: it is there explicitly said that the conception of *ἀντιπεπονθός* does not suit either Distributive or Corrective Justice. It may be objected that in c. 5 § 2 Aristotle only says that *τὸ ἀντιπεπονθὸς κατ' ἰσότητα* is inapplicable either in Distributive or in Corrective Justice; but I think the obvious interpretation of his words is to take the denial as

[1] Michael of Ephesus appears to have read *τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν εἶδος*; this would make no difference in the sense.

affecting τὸ ἀντιπεπονθος generally. The distinction between equal and proportionate reciprocity is not introduced until § 6, 1132*b* 33. The inappropriateness of the conception of τὸ ἀντιπεπονθός to Distributive Justice seems to be assumed without proof. As applied to Corrective Justice, it would mean 'Retaliation'—the term often used, inaccurately I think, to translate τὸ ἀντιπεπονθός throughout this chapter. The theory that Corrective Justice is the *lex talionis* Aristotle rejects. The conception of Reciprocity (Requital, Mutuality of conditions, or however it is to be translated) Aristotle admits only in associations of exchange—ἐν ταῖς κοινωνίαις ταῖς ἀλλακτικαῖς—and then only if we apply the conception of Reciprocity proportionately and not accordingly to strict equality (κατ' ἀναλογίαν καὶ μὴ κατ' ἰσότητα).

In spite of Euclid's use of τὸ ἀντιπεπονθέναι for 'reciprocal proportion' it may perhaps be thought rash to translate τὸ ἀντιπεπονθὸς κατ' ἀναλογίαν by 'reciprocal proportion,' especially since in Aristotle's illustrations of just or fair exchanges the formula of reciprocal proportion is not applied with quite the same strictness as is the formula of direct geometrical proportion in Distributive Justice or the formula of the arithmetical mean in Corrective Justice. In § 8 the reciprocity only comes in in the sense that, after the products of the builder and the shoemaker have been equalized, the exchange implies a cross-movement (ἡ κατὰ διάμετρον σύζευξις).[1] To produce the equalization necessary before a fair exchange can take place, a formula of proportion is used, but it is direct proportion: ἐὰν οὖν πρῶτον ᾖ τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν ἴσον, εἶτα τὸ ἀντιπεπονθὸς γένηται etc. (1133*a* 10). I feel no doubt—in spite of what has been said by good authorities to the contrary—that Aristotle *does* think of different kinds of producers having different social values: and we can easily give an economic meaning to what he says by understanding the ratio between two producers A and B to mean the ratio between the value of an hour of A's labour and the value of an hour of B's labour. As A is to B (in this sense), then, so is a unit of A's product to a unit of B's in value for purposes of exchange. For convenience let us call the products of A and B, α and β respectively, rather than C and D, as Aristotle calls them. Then suppose that $A = 3B$, $\alpha = 3\beta$ in value. This equalization is arrived at by a direct proportion; and when it has once been effected, exchange must take place 'crosswise,' A receiving 3β, while B receives 1α; but there must now be no further talk of proportion, else one of the two parties, the one already favoured in the process of equalization, would be having his superiority counted over again. This is the only intelligible interpretation I can see for c. 5 § 12, 1133*a* 33—*b* 5 (εἰς σχῆμα δ' ἀναλογίας οὐ δεῖ ἄγειν etc.).

An explicit reference to the geometrical formula of reciprocal proportion is however suggested by the first sentence of § 12, 1133*a* 31: 'Reciprocity will be produced, when the parties have been equalized, so that as farmer to shoemaker, so is the shoemaker's product [*sc.* which the farmer *receives*] to the farmer's product [which the shoemaker *receives*].' Using the same terms as before, we get 'reciprocal proportion' in this sense, that 'As A is to B in value, so must be the amount of β which A receives to the amount of α which B receives.' But it is to be observed that if $A : B :: 3 : 1$, we cannot say, 'As $A : B :: 3\beta : 1\alpha$'; for this would be to do the very thing which Aristotle says in 1133*b* 1, 2 we must not do. And therefore if β meant the product of B *already equalized* with some unit of A's product (τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ τὸ ἰσασμένον Δ, 1133*b* 5), we could not say 'As $A : B :: \beta : \alpha$.' So that even in § 12 τὸ ἀντιπεπονθός may mean simply that mutuality of conditions which is the essence of exchange rather than the mathematical formula taken strictly. If however Aristotle does mean, as is quite possible, to use the formula of reciprocal proportion, this only affords an additional argument for regarding chapter 5 as dealing with a different division of Justice from those dealt with in chapters 3 and 4. We have three distinct mathematical formulae: (1) direct geometrical proportion, (2) arithmetical proportion—or, more properly, the finding of the arithmetical mean, and (3) reciprocal proportion; and we may reasonably expect to find a separate division of Justice corresponding to each. For this third kind of particular Justice we may invent the name of 'Catallactic' or 'Commutative Justice.'

To this conclusion the following objections may be made: (1) that in c. 4 § 1 (1131*b* 25) Aristotle distinctly says that Corrective Justice is the one kind remaining to be treated of after Distributive Justice has been discussed; (2) that in c. 2 § 13 (1131*a* 1) Corrective Justice is sub-

[1] Mr. Jackson has pointed out the error of the traditional diagram of a parallelogram with diagonal lines drawn. See his edition of the *Fifth Book of the Ethics*, p. 95.

divided into two species, and that Corrective Justice dealing with voluntary contracts may be identified with the kind of Justice described in c. 5; (3) that in c. 5 § 6 (1132*b* 31) proportionate reciprocity is said to be the basis of civil society (*τῷ ἀντιποιεῖν ἀνάλογον συμμένει ἡ πόλις*) by regulating the requital of evil as well as the requital of good. With the second of these objections I have already dealt, in part at least. The third objection, it should be noted, is inconsistent with the second: c. 5 § 6, 1132*b* 31 suggests, not that Commutative Justice is one of the species of Corrective Justice, but that Corrective Justice is one of the species of Commutative Justice: and this is precisely what we find in Thomas Aquinas's adaptation of the Aristotelian theory (*Summa* 2a. 2ae. qu. 61, art 1, 3). I quote from the convenient abbreviated translation of Father Rickaby (*Aquinas Ethicus*, vol. ii. pp. 22 *seq.*):—

'Particular Justice is in relation to some private person who stands to the community as a part to the whole. Now to a part we may either have another part related; and that expresses the relation of one private person to another, which relation is regulated by *commutative justice* [*et hunc ordinem dirigit commutativa justitia*], or the justice that is concerned with the mutual dealings of two private persons one with another: or again we have the relation of the whole to the part; and such is the relation of the community to the individual, which relation is presided over by *distributive justice* [*quem quidem ordinem dirigit justitia distributiva*] or the justice that distributes the goods of the common stock according to proportion. And therefore there are two species of justice, *distributive* and *commutative*..... Distributive justice presides over distributions [*est directiva distributionum*], while commutative justice presides over the exchanges [*est directiva commutationum*] that may take place between two individuals. Of these exchanges some are *involuntary*, some *voluntary*. Those are *involuntary* in which one uses the thing or person or service of another against his will. This is done sometimes by fraud, sometimes by open violence.....In all transactions such as those enumerated, whether voluntary or involuntary, the same principle holds of fixing the mean according to an even balance of *give* and *take* [*secundum aequalitatem recompensationis*]. And therefore the said transactions all belong to one species of justice, namely, commutative.'

In Article 4, under the same 'Question,' Thomas Aquinas lays down that the Just in Commutative Justice is identical with Requital (*contrapassum*), but not in Distributive Justice. From all that he says in this part of the *Summa* and also from his *Commentary on the Ethics* it is quite clear that Aquinas considers that he is only following the opinion of 'the philosopher.' And there is no doubt that the traditional merging of Corrective and Commutative Justice by Aristotelian commentators is greatly due to the example set by Aquinas. Father Rickaby in his own work on *Moral Philosophy, or Ethics and Natural Law*, which may be taken as a good specimen of Thomist ethics of the present day, introduces 'punishments' among the 'matters distributed' by Distributive Justice (p. 104). But this seems to me to go beyond any possible interpretation of Aristotle, and to be a concession to the modern conception of Crime, as distinct from civil injury. Although, in this very book of the *Ethics*, Aristotle decides that the suicide commits a wrong against the State (c. 11 § 3, 1138*a* 11), yet, as we have seen, he regards assaults and murders as giving occasion simply for a kind of Justice, which has to restore the interrupted equality between individuals. Aristotle does indeed recognize that the use of such terms as 'loss' and 'gain' in involuntary contracts is a metaphor from their proper use in commercial transactions (c. 4 § 13, 1132*b* 12) But his theory of Judicial Justice (if one may use the expression) adheres to the primitive type of penal law, which, as Maine expresses it, 'is not the law of Crimes, but the law of Wrongs or, to use the English technical word, of Torts' (*Ancient Law*, p. 370). Even when he regards the suicide as committing an injury against the State, Aristotle probably conceives this injury 'on the analogy of a personal wrong'—to use the phrase employed by Maine in speaking of the conception in early Roman jurisprudence of wrongs done to the State (*ibid.* 372). In the *Rhetoric* (i. 13, 1373*b* 23, 24) Aristotle distinguishes between wrongs done to a determinate individual (*πρὸς ἕνα καὶ ὡρισμένον*) and wrongs done *πρὸς τὸ κοινόν*. Adultery and assault are given as examples of the former class, evading military service of the latter—*ὁ γὰρ μοιχεύων καὶ τύπτων ἀδικεῖ τινὰ τῶν ὡρισμένων, ὁ δὲ μὴ στρατευόμενος τὸ κοινόν*. Mr. Welldon's translation ('for adultery and assault are crimes against particular persons, but the refusal of military service is a crime against the State') seems to me unfortunate in introducing the

term 'crime' at all. Wrongs to determinate individuals are 'involuntary contracts' and form the occasion for Corrective Justice. On the other hand I think it probable that Aristotle would have regarded the evasion of military service as a violation of Distributive Justice, on the principle laid down in *Eth. Nic.* v. 3 § 15, 1131*b* 20—that the lesser evil is to be reckoned as good: the citizen who evades any public obligation, *e.g.* the payment of a tax, service in the army, etc., has taken to himself an unfair amount of the good things which the community secures to its members and has thrown an unfair burden on others. The wrong done by the suicide is probably to be interpreted in the same way; he has deprived the State of his services without permission. But the *penalty* inflicted by the State on the deserter and the ἀτιμία inflicted as a punishment on the suicide (c. 11 § 3) would in Aristotle's eyes be matters of Corrective, not of Distributive, Justice.

It is interesting to see in Aquinas and his followers what becomes of Aristotelian theories. But we cannot take Aquinas's interpretation as proving anything more than that Aristotle's words seemed to him to have a certain meaning. It is important therefore to consider in what form Aristotle's words reached him. Aquinas read the *Ethics* and the *Politics* in the version of William of Moerbek. Now in this old translation the words of c. 2 § 12, 1130*b* 30 are rendered as follows: '*Una autem quae in commutationibus directiva.*' In c. 4 § 1, 1131*b* 25, we find: '*Reliqua autem una directivum* [sic] *ejus quod sit et in voluntariis commutationibus et involuntariis.*' In these passages Aquinas's attention was obviously attracted by the phrase '*in commutationibus*' and not by the vague word '*directiva*,' which fails to give the force of διορθωτικόν. In the sentences which I quoted above from the *Summa* it will be observed that Aquinas uses *directiva* and *dirigit* of Distributive as well as of Corrective Justice: so that he has clearly missed the significance of the term διορθωτικόν. The absorption of Corrective in Commutative Justice—a view which seems to fit in well enough with c. 5 § 6 (1132*b* 34) but not with §§ 2, 3, 4 (1132*b* 23—31)—is, I think, sufficiently explained, so far as concerns mediaeval moralists and all whom they have influenecd, by the language of the 'old translation.'

As to the second objection—that drawn from the subdivisions in c. 2 § 13—I do not think that the passage need be interpreted in such a way as to lead us to expect a special treatment of Corrective Justice in relation to voluntary contracts. Aristotle frequently elaborates divisions and subdivisions without following up his classification with a correspondingly elaborate discussion in detail. In this very passage we have the distinction between τὰ λαθραῖα and τὰ βίαια laid down and illustrated, but not followed up by any further use of the distinction. In the same way I think that chapter 4 deals with Corrective Justice both in voluntary and involuntary contracts, no distinction being made, such as would be made in modern Jurisprudence, between the *principles* of civil and criminal law. Aristotle recognizes what is roughly parallel to a difference of spheres, but no difference in principle. As already said, assaults and murders are treated as matters to be remedied by equalization, *i.e.* by an assessment of damages (though of course the 'damages' may amount to the surrender of the life of the wrong-doer) on the same principle as the failure to pay a debt or to repay a loan. It seems to me quite certain that Corrective Justice is intended to apply to voluntary contracts, only *when the terms of the contract have not been fulfilled:* otherwise there is no case for a plaintiff to bring before a law-court. On this matter Mr. Jackson seems to me perfectly right is his interpretation. (See his edition of *Eth. Nic.* v. p. 76.) There can be no rectification, till a wrong has been committed. I cannot agree with Mr. Stewart's ingenious suggestion (*Notes*, vol. i. pp. 415, 416) that Corrective Justice in Aristotle's sense is exercised by a land-court, revising leases, the strict enforcement of which seems to involve hardship. Such revisions of voluntary contracts or non-enforcement of the strict letter of voluntary contracts would, I feel sure, have been considered by Aristotle as cases of ἐπιείκεια—ἐπανορθώματα νομίμου δικαίου—and not as cases of Corrective Justice, as that is described in c. 4. Nay, as such 'correction *of* legal justice' (as distinct from correction *by* legal justice) requires special legislation to bring it about or a special interference on the part of the executive, it would rather fall under Aristotle's head of Distributive Justice. But I do not think that Aristotle is taking account of σεισάχθειαι or γῆς ἀναδασμοί or any such exceptional measures in any part of his theory of Justice. Mr. Stewart admits that Aristotle had not any such cases of rectification in his mind 'when he drew up his list of ἑκούσια συναλλάγματα' in c. 2, § 13.

In bringing economic distribution under the conception of ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν διανομή, Mr. Stewart (*Notes*, i. pp. 417, 418, 432, 449) seems to be going beyond any warrant to be found in Aristotle. Aristotle means by 'distribution' the formal assignment of power, office, &c., to different persons or classes in a constitution. Thus 'one man, one vote' would be in accordance with democratical distributive justice: the Prussian 'three-class system' in which votes count for more according to the amount of direct taxes paid, or the *present* English system of assigning votes in the election of poor-law guardians according to the amount of rates paid, would be examples of distribution on the principles of oligarchical justice; in the ideal state political power would be proportionate to merit, if that could be ascertained. Thus too in an association other than the State, the payment of dividends according to the amount of shares would be Distributive Justice; but Distributive Justice would have nothing to do with the market value of these shares, nor in general with the wealth or poverty of different persons and classes, which arises not from any direct assignment of rewards or burdens by the State, but simply from the operation of what *we* call 'economic laws.' Though in the *Politics* (i. 8-11) he has the conception of a distinct but subordinate science of wealth (χρηματιστική), Aristotle does not anywhere suggest the notion that industrial and commercial competition would of itself bring about Distributive *Justice:* and I do not think that he would have accepted the notion, if it had been propounded to him. His criticisms of constitutions in which the legislator has allowed great inequalities to grow up and his own express provisions for the διανομή of land among the citizens (*Pol.* vii. 10. 1329*b* 40) imply a political and ethical distrust of the unchecked operation of what *we* call 'economic laws.'

Mr. Stewart (p. 433 and *Classical Review* vol. vii. p. 182) pleads the authority of the *Magna Moralia* i. c. 34, in support of this introduction of economic considerations into the conception of Distributive Justice. But (1) when the writer of *M. M.* says (1194*a* 1) 'that he who has worked much should receive much and that he who has worked little should receive little,' this is quite a fair illustration of Distribution in Aristotle's sense. It is Distribution on principles of proportion according to whatever standard (ἀξία) be adopted. If the wages in a certain trade are so much per hour, the labourer who has worked eight hours receives twice as much as he who has worked only four; but what determines the amount of wages per hour in the trade is a question which Aristotle does not bring in Distributive Justice to decide; and yet this is just the question which concerns the modern economist dealing with the problem of 'the distribution of wealth.' (2) In what follows, the author of the *M. M.*, referring to Plato's *Republic*, goes on to introduce the question of economic exchange which is discussed in *Eth. Nic.* v. 5, though he treats it in much slighter fashion. In the *M. M.* there is however no subdivision of Particular Justice and no express mention of either 'Corrective' or 'Distributive Justice.' The writer simply shows that Justice involves the idea of equality—in the sense of proportionate equality, giving as illustrations the ratio of taxation to property and of wages to amount of labour. The latter illustration leads to a reference to Plato's *Republic* ii. 369. The formula of justice in exchange is 'As the farmer is to the builder, so is the builder to the farmer.' Since the products are not always of equal value, money is needed for equalization. Then the writer goes on to say: ἔστι δὲ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ ἀντιπεπονθός, οὐ μέντοι γε ὡς οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι ἔλεγον (1194*a* 28); but he applies the conception of τὸ ἀντιπεπονθός only to punishment and not at all to economic exchange. Thus, important as the *Magna Moralia* may be as representing an early traditional version of Aristotelian ethical theory, I do not think that much stress can be laid upon it in regard to this part of Book v. One might almost conjecture that the writer had before him a defective copy of the Aristotelian text, in which chapters 3 and 4 were wanting and chapter 5 imperfect. Or is it possible that this part of *M. M.* is descended from some older draft of the Aristotelian theory than what is elaborated in *Eth. Nic.* v.? In any case I think one must agree with Mr. H. Richards (in *Classical Review* vol. vii. p. 251) when he says that the writer of the *M. M.* used a wider and vaguer formula which embraces both Distributive Justice and Justice in Exchange, and is not regarding the latter as a subdivision of the former any more than *vice versa*. Michael of Ephesus, commenting on *Eth. Nic.* v. 5, refers to the *M. M.* as explaining the matter more clearly: the account in the *M. M.* is clearer indeed, but simply because it is slight and superficial.

If, then, the kind of Justice described in chapter 5 §§ 1-16, cannot be absorbed in Cor-

rective Justice or in Distributive Justice, or in any way amalgamated with either or both of these, can any satisfactory account be given of this passage, without resorting to the desperate measure of proposing unverifiable rearrangements of the text? First of all it should be noticed that the subject of Reciprocity is introduced indirectly by a reference to Pythagorean opinion on the subject of Justice generally. The connexion of thought between c. 5 §§ 1-16 and the preceding part of Book v. may, I think, be represented as follows—interpolated comments are enclosed in square brackets :—

'Particular Justice in both its forms has been explained in terms of mathematical formulae. [To use mathematical conceptions in ethics was for the Greeks to make ethics 'scientific,' to take the subject out of the level of mere popular moralizing by using the conceptions of the only science which by that time had made conspicuous progress and so come to be the type of scientific thought.] But it was the Pythagoreans who first introduced these mathematical formulae into ethics. They, however, defined Justice simply as 'Reciprocity.' [They really meant by this, apparently, the number multiplied into itself—the square (4 or 9) as a *symbol* of Justice. Cf. Alexander Aphrod. on *Met.* 985*b* 26. The passage is quoted by Mr. Jackson and by Mr. Stewart in their notes on this chapter of the *Ethics*. Again, as Mr. Stewart points out in his note on 1132*b* 21 (i. p. 445), the pseudo-Archytas, who at any rate 'hoped to pass for a Pythagorean,' applies the conception of τὸ ἀντιπεπονθέναι to the Spartan state, as a *balanced* constitution, in which the same magistracy might in turn be superior and subject : τὸ δὲ ἀντιπεπονθέναι λέγω αὐτῶ, καὶ ἄρχεν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι τὰν αὐτὰν ἀρχάν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τᾷ εὐνομωτάτᾳ Λακεδαίμονι. There is, in any case, little reason to believe that the Pythagoreans really intended their conception of justice as τὸ ἀντιπεπονθός to mean merely 'tit for tat.' They were taking a mathematical term to express the general idea of correspondence or symmetry or balance—all of which terms we might use in trying to explain what is meant by a 'just' arrangement, a 'fair' system of government, &c.] But the formula of Reciprocity [as Aristotle chooses to understand it] will not fit either of the species of Justice we have distinguished. It will not fit Distributive Justice; because [I suppose—Aristotle himself has given no reason—] the notion of Reciprocity applied in distribution would imply an exact reversal of the notion of giving to each his due : it would mean giving less to the better and more to the worse. Nor will it fit Corrective Justice : applied to Corrective Justice, Reciprocity would mean Retaliation, and exact Retaliation is not just, (1) because the mere physical injury is no precise measure of the real wrong committed, *e.g.* a blow inflicted on an official is a greater wrong than the same blow inflicted on a private person; and (2) because we must take account of the intention of the person who inflicts the hurt and not of the mere physical injury (§§ 4, 5). Nevertheless, on our principle of looking for an element of truth in all current opinion (cf. *Eth. Nic.* i. 8 § 1, 1098*b* 10 ; vii. 1 § 5, 1145*b* 2 &c.), we may reasonably expect to find some ground for the Pythagorean conception of Justice. In the case of voluntary exchanges, to which we have just been referring as the sphere from which we borrow the terms 'loss' and 'gain' employed in discussing Corrective Justice (c. 4, § 13, 1132*b* 12), we regard what is just or fair as depending on a sort of Reciprocity—not exact quantitative requital (for that would not be fair, as it would not take account of the different values of different kinds of work), but Reciprocity determined by proportion. Such proportionate Reciprocity is the indispensable condition of civil society. Civil society, as Plato says [I take the hint of a reference to Plato's *Republic* from the *M. M.*], comes into being to meet the mutual economic wants of different persons ; but it would not meet these wants, unless they got a fair equivalent for their respective products. And this idea of a fair equivalent appears also in the notion of Reciprocity as applied to wrong-doing, though we have just seen that the notion of Reciprocity is not applicable in the literal sense of a *lex talionis*. People do not consider themselves freemen, unless they can get a fair equivalent for wrongs done to them (δουλεία δοκεῖ εἶναι, εἰ μὴ ἀντιποιήσει).'

How the conception of Reciprocity is worked out in commercial exchanges I have already shown. The hint of its application to the remedying of wrongs will enable us to reconcile the *seeming* contradiction between c. 4 § 3, 1132*a* 1, where it is said that the equality of Corrective Justice is exact and not proportionate equality, and c. 5 § 4, 1132*b* 28, where it is denied that an exact equivalent is just requital. We now see that the effect of Corrective Justice must be to leave the parties 'quits,' but in the assessment of the amount of wrong that has to be redressed we must take account of

a principle of proportion (*e.g.* as an official is to a private person, so is the knocking off of an official's hat to the knocking off of a private person's hat). Here, however, just as in the case of commercial bargains, there must be no talk of proportion *after* the equalization has once been made in terms of this proportion (cf. 5 § 12).

I have here attempted to work out the suggestion of Reciprocity with respect to wrongs on the analogy of its application to commercial exchange. But I do not thereby mean to regard Corrective Justice as a sub-species of Commutative. Commutative or Catallactic Justice (Aristotle has given no name to it) seems to me brought in by an afterthought to explain Aristotle's attitude to the Pythagorean formula. But I do not think Aristotle would have considered this addition inconsistent with his previous recognition of two kinds only of Particular Justice; for I do not think he means Catallactic Justice to stand on the same level as the other two. Both Distributive and Corrective Justice imply a definitely organized State, and are in strictness applicable only to the citizens of the same State, they are both parts of the *Jus Civile*, and they correspond moreover to the divisions of Public and Private Law. Catallactic Justice, on the other hand, may exist between those who are not citizens of the same State.[1] An Athenian for example may export wine to Egypt and may import corn (cf. 5 § 13, 1133*b* 9), and the bargain he makes may be fair or unfair; but if, when the bargain is once made, one of the parties does not abide by his contract, *e.g.* does not deliver the goods he has contracted to deliver, or does not pay for the goods he has received, the aggrieved party has no remedy unless in virtue of some special treaty or privilege he is allowed to sue in the courts of the other's country. So too with the notion, which Aristotle does not develop, of Reciprocity in things evil. An Athenian may offend an Egyptian, and the Egyptian may 'pay him out'—hurting him in due proportion—and we may pronounce the transaction fair or unfair, quite apart from any judicial decision, which, as already said, is only available between citizens, unless there is some special treaty allowing aliens to sue. (Such treaties are referred to by Aristotle in *Pol.* iii. 1 § 4, 1275*a* 10; 9 §§ 6, 7, 1280*a* 36 *seq.*). The fairness or unfairness of bargains as such, the fairness or unfairness of reprisals between individuals or nations who are in 'a state of nature' to one another belong to a kind of Justice which is, so to speak, below the level of τὸ πολιτικὸν δίκαιον (*Jus civile*) proper, although it is a kind of Justice without which civil society could not hold together, nay, could not exist. The definite theory of a *Jus naturale* which would apply if there were no *Jus civile* is indeed post-Aristotelian, though the κοινὸς νόμος of the *Rhet.* i. cc. 10, 13, 15 comes very near it.[2] I do not think however one can identify the Justice whose principle is τὸ ἀντιπεπονθός with τὸ φυσικὸν δίκαιον as opposed to τὸ νομικὸν δίκαιον: for the more nearly any State approaches to the ideal, the more nearly will its *Jus Civile* (πολιτικὸν δίκαιον) *be* φυσικὸν δίκαιον and not *merely* νομικόν. Τὸ ἀντιπεπονθός is rudimentary, rather than ideal, justice. This ambiguity between the 'natural' as the ideal and as the rudimentary recurs in all the theories which work with the idea of a *Jus naturale*, and exists in Aristotle's own conception of φύσις.

Recurring to the hint supplied by Plato's *Republic* ii. 369 B, one might rearrange the kinds of Justice in the reverse order, in an ascending instead of a descending scale. (1) There must be fair exchanges between human beings in order to satisfy their mutual wants, else there would be no κοινωνία at all beyond the family and the village community (cf. *Pol.* i. 2). But (2) a State (πόλις) exists for many purposes beyond this of satisfying economic wants: there must at least be law-courts in which the citizens can get their wrongs remedied, without having recourse to reprisals. But (3), in the opinion of both Plato and Aristotle, a State must do very much more than guarantee private rights (the theory of Lycophron the Sophist, referred to in *Pol.* iii. 9 § 8, 1280*b* 10): it should provide for its citizens the proper sphere in which each may perform the functions for which he is best fitted. This is the problem of Distributive Justice, which in the best State will adopt the

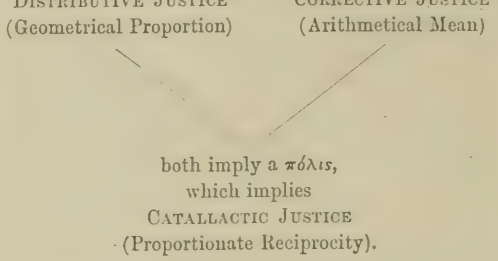
[1] It is interesting to note that, in opposition to the traditional view about Aristotle's subdivision of Particular Justice into Distributive and Commutative, Pufendorf (*De Jure Naturae et Gentium*, i. c. 7 § 12) holds that Aristotle has *three* species of Particular Justice, but recognizes a difference between the first two (Distributive and Corrective) and the third, which he calls simply τὸ ἀντιπεπονθός, *retaliatio*; the first two both rest with the public authority to administer, the third either with private persons or public authorities. I may add that I had adopted my theory about *Eth.* v. 5 before knowing of Pufendorf's remarks.

[2] It should be noted, however, that Aristotle seems only to refer to the κοινὸς νόμος as a generally received notion, which may, when it is convenient, be used as a rhetorical commonplace: 'No case, talk about the law of nature and quote the *Antigone*' (*Rhet.* i. 15. 1375*a* 27 *seq.*).

standard of merit, but in παρεκβάσεις like oligarchy and democracy will award power and honour according to wealth in the one case or on the principle of treating every freeman as equal in the other.

This Catallactic Justice is not a species of Particular Justice alongside of the other two. Whether it is to be called πολιτικὸν δίκαιον or not is a matter of words. It is πολιτικὸν δίκαιον certainly in the sense that it is the essential condition of the πολιτικὴ κοινωνία existing at all; but it cannot be called πολιτικὸν δίκαιον in the same full sense as those kinds of justice with which the πολιτικός as such concerns himself. Mr. J. Solomon (in the *Classical Review* vol. vii. p. 12) suggests that the contents of chap. 5 may relate to τὸ οἰκονομικὸν δίκαιον. But Aristotle expressly refers that term to the relation between husband and wife, the only one of the family relationships in which the conception of justice properly applies, *i.e.* justice or 'right' in the lawyer's sense not in the moralist's, if we may use a distinction that at once occurs to us, but was not yet clearly seen by Aristotle. The author of the *M. M.* applies the phrase 'household justice' to the relation between master and slave, saying that the relation between husband and wife comes nearer to political justice (1194*b* 20-24)—a variation from the terminology of *Eth. Nic.* v. 6 § 9, 1134 *b* 17, which may help to warn us against trusting too much to the *M. M.* as a clue to Aristotle's meaning. In the *Politics* (i. c. 8-11) χρηματιστική is treated as a branch of οἰκονομική, it is true, but not in that sense of χρηματιστική which means specially the art of exchange (μεταβλητική): so that this δίκαιον of *Eth. Nic.* v. c. 5, might rather have been called μεταβλητικόν than οἰκονομικόν.

I do not think that *Eth. Nic.* v. 6 §§ 3, 4, 1134*a* 23-30 by itself would entitle one to assert that τὸ ἀντιπεπονθός belonged to τὸ ἁπλῶς δίκαιον as distinct from τὸ πολιτικὸν δίκαιον; but, taken in conjunction with the arguments already used, the passage seems to confirm the view that τὸ ἀντιπεπονθός does not apply to a species of τὸ πολιτικὸν δίκαιον. The relation of Catallactic Justice to the two species of *Jus civile* may, I think, be best represented as follows:—



The good case which seems to be made out by most interpreters of Aristotle, from the writer of the *Magna Moralia* to Mr. Stewart, for regarding the Justice of chap. 5 as dealing with the same matters as the Justice of chap. 4, or even as the Justice of chap. 3 also, would according to the theory I am suggesting be sufficiently explained by the fact that chap. 5 deals with the conception of Justice in a part of human social life which lies at the basis of the definite political organization that alone makes possible Corrective and Distributive Justice. My theory is identical with what I take to be that of Ramsauer in his note on *Eth. Nic.* v. 5 § 6, 1132*b* 31. But in working it out at greater length I have put it to a severer test: and I have also tried to explain the origin of the theories which I reject. If it be objected that I am reading into Aristotle ideas from later jurisprudence, I should answer that I have only followed out hints supplied by Aristotle himself (especially in *Pol.* iii. 9, a passage which professedly applies the conception of τὸ δίκαιον arrived at in the *Ethics*), and that I have not knowingly introduced anything inconsistent with what Aristotle clearly means.

D. G. Ritchie.

CRITICAL NOTES ON THE *REPUBLIC* OF PLATO.

(*Continued from p.* 25.)

515 B. Εἰ οὖν διαλέγεσθαι οἷοί τ' εἶεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οὐκ αὐτὰ ἡγεῖ ἂν τὰ παριόντα αὐτοὺς νομίζειν [ὀνομάζειν] ἅπερ ὁρῷεν; So Baiter, adopting Madvig's οὐκ αὐτά and Ast's παριόντα for the οὐ ταὐτά and παρόντα of MSS., and bracketing ὀνομάζειν with Cobet. Perhaps it would be better to read νομίζειν <καὶ> ὀνομάζειν. Cf. 443 E ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις

ἡγούμενον καὶ ὀνομάζοντα δικαίαν μὲν καὶ καλὴν πρᾶξιν ἢ ἂν κ.τ.λ. The use of ἅπερ seems to me much in favour of ταὐτά, to which it is so often correlative.

515 D. εἴ τις αὐτῷ λέγοι ὅτι τότε μὲν ἑώρα φλυαρίας, νῦν δὲ μᾶλλόν τι ἐγγυτέρω τοῦ ὄντος καὶ πρὸς μᾶλλον ὄντα τετραμμένος ὀρθότερα βλέποι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἕκαστον τῶν παριόντων δεικνὺς αὐτῷ ἀναγκάζοι ἐρωτῶν ἀποκρίνεσθαι ὅ τι ἔστιν. Read ἐγγυτέρω <ὤν>, as in 330 E ὥσπερ ἤδη ἐγγυτέρω ὢν τῶν ἐκεῖ μᾶλλόν τι καθορᾷ αὐτά. Baiter prints βλέποι, but Ast (3rd ed.) and Stallbaum are clearly right in reading βλέπει. The optative would not be grammatical, and Schneider, when he defends it by the ἀποθάνοι in *Phaedo* 57 B, fails to notice that the optative there refers to past time. The right mood here is preserved in ὅ τι ἔστιν. On the other hand in the words that follow, οὐκοῦν κἂν εἰ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ φῶς ἀναγκάζοι αὐτὸν βλέπειν, (οὐκ οἴει αὐτὸν) ἀλγεῖν τε ἂν τὰ ὄμματα καὶ φεύγειν ἀποστρεφόμενον πρὸς ἐκεῖνα ἃ δύναται καθορᾶν, is it certain that the indicative δύναται can stand? The optative seems to me necessary, just as in 516 E the ἀμβλυώττοι of a few MSS. seems preferable to Baiter's ἀμβλυώττει. So in 515 B ἅπερ ὁρῷεν could not be ἅπερ ὁρῶσι. Cf. on 538 A below.

516 D. For ὅτιοῦν ἂν πεπονθέναι read ὅτιοῦν δὴ πεπονθέναι. See *Class. Rev.* vi. p. 341.

518 A. ἐπισκοποίη ἄν, πότερον ἐκ φανοτέρου βίου ἥκουσα (ἡ ψυχὴ) ὑπὸ ἀληθείας ἐσκότωται ἢ ἐξ ἀμαθίας πλείονος εἰς φανότερον ἰοῦσα ὑπὸ λαμπροτέρου μαρμαρυγῆς ἐμπέπλησται. Should not ὑπὸ λαμπροτέρου be omitted? Just below (518 B) in τὴν παιδείαν οὐχ οἵαν τινὲς ἐπαγγελλόμενοί φασιν εἶναι τοιαύτην καὶ εἶναι the first εἶναι should be omitted. No good writer could have written the double εἶναι as it stands.

518 E. The other excellences of the soul are adventitious: ἡ δὲ τοῦ φρονῆσαι παντὸς μᾶλλον θειοτέρου τινὸς ὡς ἔοικε τυγχάνει οὖσα, ὃ τὴν μὲν δύναμιν οὐδέποτε ἀπόλλυσιν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς περιαγωγῆς χρήσιμον καὶ ὠφέλιμον καὶ ἄχρηστον αὖ καὶ βλαβερὸν γίγνεται.

In a sentence containing a comparative adjective or adverb (here θειοτέρου) παντὸς μᾶλλον can have no place. Its proper use is illustrated by such passages as 520 E παντὸς μὴν μᾶλλον ὡς ἐπ' ἀναγκαῖον αὐτῶν ἕκαστος εἶσι τὸ ἄρχειν, or 595 A where it occurs twice. It is itself the comparative expression and cannot be combined (though μᾶλλον alone can) with another comparative. It was no doubt for this reason that Madvig got rid of παντός, suggesting πλάσματος or ὑφάσματος μᾶλλον θειοτέρου. I would rather suggest that παντός is a corruption of ὀργάνου (ΠΑΝτος of ορΓΑΝου). Not many lines above (518 C) we have τὴν ἐνοῦσαν ἑκάστου δύναμιν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τὸ ὄργανον ᾧ καταμανθάνει ἕκαστος.....περιακτέον εἶναι: cf. the περιαγωγή here. So (527 D) in the mathematical sciences ἑκάστου ὄργανόν τι ψυχῆς ἐκκαθαίρεταί τε καὶ ἀναζωπυρεῖται..... κρεῖττον ὂν σωθῆναι μυρίων ὄμματων. Cf. further 508 B τῶν περὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ὀργάνων: 582 D ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ δι' οὗ γε δεῖ ὀργάνου κρίνεσθαι, οὐ τοῦ φιλοκερδοῦς τοῦτο ὄργανον οὐδὲ τοῦ φιλοτίμου ἀλλὰ τοῦ φιλοσόφου: *Theaet.* 185 C, D. I read therefore ἡ δὲ τοῦ φρονῆσαι ὀργάνου μᾶλλον θειοτέρου κ.τ.λ. For μᾶλλον (not παντὸς μᾶλλον) added to a comparative see Ast's *Lexicon*, or Riddell's *Digest* § 166 *c*.

520 D. τὴν δ' ἐναντίους ἄρχοντας σχοῦσαν (πόλιν) ἐναντίως. As this refers to present time and is a rule of general application, we must read ἔχουσαν. The aorist participle would refer to the past, 'the state which got' or 'had got.'

529 C. κἂν ἐξ ὑπτίας νέων ἐν γῇ ἢ ἐν θαλάττῃ μανθάνῃ. Most MSS. seem to have νέων (with ναίων and νεῶν as variants), but A and one or two others have μέν, while μήν and μή are also found (Schneider). Pollux vii. 138 has νεῖν δ' ἐξ ὑπτίας μάθημα κολυμβητῶν εἴρηκεν Ἀριστοφάνης καὶ Πλάτων, which seems at first sight to show that he found νέων in his text, but perhaps this is not certain. Ἐξ ὑπτίας and ἐν θαλάττῃ would justify his citation. Madvig proposes to read ἢ (κἂν ἐξ ὑπτίας ἢ ἐν γῇ) and Baiter follows him. The conflicting readings of the MSS. might be to some extent reconciled if we were to read ἐξ ὑπτίας θεώμενος, a word which would be very much to the purpose here, as the long sentence began with κινδυνεύεις γὰρ εἴ τις ἐν ὀροφῇ ποικίλματα θεώμενος κ.τ.λ. and ἐξ ὑπτίας is certainly the better for going with a participle. I have also thought of κείμενος, and Ficinus actually has *iacens*.[1]

Ibid. (δεῖ) ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ποικίλματα, ἐπείπερ ἐν ὁρατῷ πεποίκιλται, κάλλιστα μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ ἀκριβέστατα τῶν τοιούτων ἔχειν, τῶν δὲ ἀληθινῶν πολὺ ἐνδεῖν, ἃς τὸ ὂν τάχος καὶ ἡ οὖσα βραδυτὴς ἐν τῷ ἀληθινῷ ἀριθμῷ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀληθέσι σχήμασι φοράς τε πρὸς ἄλληλα φέρεται καὶ τὰ ἐνόντα φέρει· ἃ δὴ λόγῳ μὲν καὶ διανοίᾳ ληπτά, ὄψει δ' οὔ.

[1] Mr. Marindin, who reminds me that Pollux may also be thinking of *Phaedrus* 264 A ἐξ ὑπτίας ἀνάπαλιν διανεῖν ἐπιχειρεῖ τὸν λόγον, suggests that Plato wrote here κἂν ἐξυπτιασμένος ἐν γῇ, and I incline to think his suggestion better than my own. Cf. Lucian's use of ἐξυπτιάζων.

Defects of both grammar and sense condemn this sentence. With τῶν ἀληθινῶν we must of course understand ποικιλμάτων. These ποικίλματα are contrasted with the visible ποικίλματα of the sky, and to the former ἃ δὴ λόγῳ κ.τ.λ. refers. There is however no construction left in the sentence for ἅς...φορὰς...φέρεται κ.τ.λ. Moreover, as Ast pointed out, it is ridiculous to speak of swiftness and slowness as themselves moving or being carried along (φέρεται) and still more so to speak of them as carrying their contents (τὰ ἐνόντα) with them. What contents has swiftness? Evidently the subject of the verbs φέρεται and φέρει, as of ληπτὰ (ἐστίν), is τὰ ἀληθινὰ ποικίλματα. To obtain this sense, which is indispensable, Ast proposed to read ὧν τὸ ὖν τάχος καὶ ἡ οὖσα βραδυτής, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀληθινῷ ἀριθμῷ...φέρεται καὶ...φέρει, thus changing ἅς to ὧν and inserting καί before ἐν τῷ, 'of which absolute swiftness and slowness are the properties, and which move &c.' I believe this to be in essence right, and have only to suggest that instead of ὧν we might read οἷς, which is nearer to the ἅς of the MSS. Cf. 425 A, where I have suggested οἷς πρέπει for ἃς πρέπει, and 491 A, where ὀλίγοις is necessary for ὀλίγας. Whether we read καὶ ἐν or κἀν is immaterial.

529 E. ἡγήσαιτο γὰρ ἄν...κάλλιστα μὲν ἔχειν ἀπεργασίᾳ, γελοῖον μὴν ἐπισκοπεῖν ταῦτα σπουδῇ κ.τ.λ.

It looks as though an εἶναι were omitted before or after ἐπισκοπεῖν.

530 B. οὐκ ἄτοπον ἡγήσεται τὸν νομίζοντα γίγνεσθαί τε ταῦτα ἀεὶ ὡσαύτως καὶ οὐδαμῇ οὐδὲν παραλλάττειν, σῶμά τε ἔχοντα καὶ ὁρώμενα, καὶ ζητεῖν παντὶ τρόπῳ τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτῶν λαβεῖν;

For ζητεῖν, which can hardly be right, Madvig suggests ζητήσει (which seems to me to give a wrong sense, for αὐτῶν must refer to ταῦτα) or ζητεῖν δεῖν (which gives an awkward number of infinitives). Read rather ζητοῦντα. Cf. note on 383 A.

530 C. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ τί ἔχεις ὑπομνῆσαι τῶν προσηκόντων μαθημάτων;

The sense seems to require something like <ἄλλο> τι or <ἔτι> τι.

530 E. φυλάξομεν...μή ποτ' αὐτῶν τι ἀτελὲς ἐπιχειρῶσιν ἡμῖν μανθάνειν οὓς θρέψομεν καὶ οὐκ ἐξῆκον ἐκεῖσε ἀεὶ οἷ πάντα δεῖ ἀφήκειν.

Ἀφήκειν may be right, but the word seems hardly known and ἀνήκειν is much more usual in this sort of sense. Cf. below on 533 C. Perhaps οἷ ἀεί rather than ἀεὶ οἷ.

531 A. τὰς γὰρ ἀκουομένας αὖ συμφωνίας καὶ φθόγγους ἀλλήλοις ἀναμετροῦντες κ.τ.λ.

Perhaps <ἐν> ἀλλήλοις.

533 C. οὐκοῦν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἡ διαλεκτικὴ μέθοδος μόνη ταύτῃ πορεύεται τὰς ὑποθέσεις ἀναιροῦσα ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἵνα βεβαιώσηται, καὶ κ.τ.λ.

For ἀναιροῦσα read certainly ἀνάγουσα, which had occurred to me before I found that Canter proposed it long ago. Ἀναιροῦσα could only mean 'doing away with,' and 'doing away with (provisionally) in order to establish (again ultimately),' is a very unlikely meaning. Ἀναίρουσα of course suggests itself, but ἀναίρειν is unknown to Plato and extremely rare. Read therefore τὰς ὑποθέσεις ἀνάγουσα ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρχήν. We have ἀνάγειν again a couple of lines further on (ἕλκει καὶ ἀνάγει ἄνω), and for its use in connexion with ἀρχή cf. *Laws* 626 D τὸν λόγον ἐπ' ἀρχὴν ὀρθῶς ἀναγαγών and many uses of the word in Aristotle. Not quite the same, but similar, seems its use above in 529 A ὡς μὲν νῦν αὐτὴν μετάχειρίζονται οἱ εἰς φιλοσοφίαν ἀνάγοντες, where it certainly does not mean 'those who embark upon philosophy,' but makes an antithesis with the κάτω βλέπειν following.

533 E. An ordinary ἐπιστήμη (says Socrates) may perhaps be better called διάνοια. Ἔστὶ δ', ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, οὐ περὶ ὀνόματος ἀμφισβήτησις, οἷς τοσούτων πέρι σκέψις ὅσων ἡμῖν πρόκειται. Οὐ γὰρ οὖν, ἔφη· ἀλλ' ὃ ἂν μόνον δηλοῖ πρὸς τὴν ἕξιν σαφηνείᾳ λέγει ἐν ψυχῇ. (A has λέγεις written above λέγει as an old correction.) Ἀρέσκει γοῦν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, κ.τ.λ.

Baiter after Madvig writes λέγ', εἰ ἐν ψυχῇ and translates *sed quod modo declaret ad rem tenendam perspicuitate, dic, si intra animum tibi versatur*. See his *Adnotatio Critica* for some other suggested readings, only one of which I will quote here, because it is the only one which gives anything like a satisfactory sense. Bywater proposes ἀλλ' ὃ ἂν μόνον δηλοῖ τὴν ἕξιν, πῶς ἔχει σαφηνείας ἃ λέγεις ἐν ψυχῇ, in which τὴν ἕξιν and ἃ λέγεις do not seem to go very well together. I should rather suggest ὃ ἂν μόνον δηλοῖ πῶς αὐτὴν ἔχειν σαφηνείας λέγεις ἐν ψυχῇ, 'whatever will just show what degree of clearness in the mind you think it (the ἐπιστήμη or διάνοια, already referred to in the text three lines above as αὐτήν) possesses.' I also concur in the view that ἀρέσκει should probably be ἀρκέσει and be read twice over, for I cannot see how properly to construct ὃ ἄν κ.τ.λ. with οὐ περὶ ὀνόματος ἀμφισβήτησις. The passage will then run thus: ἀλλ' ὃ ἂν μόνον δηλοῖ πῶς αὐτὴν ἔχειν σαφηνείας λέγεις ἐν ψυχῇ ἀρκέσει. Ἀρκέσει (or perhaps we might here

keep Ἀρέσκει) γοῦν, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, κ.τ.λ. A possible alternative for πῶς αὐτὴν ἔχειν is πῶς ἔχειν τὴν ἕξιν, thus keeping the τὴν ἕξιν of the MSS. For the question with λέγεις, as I suppose it to be put, cf. 562 B Ἆρ' οὖν καὶ, ὃ δημοκρατία ὁρίζεται ἀγαθόν, ἡ τούτου ἀπληστία καὶ ταύτην καταλύει; Λέγεις δ' αὐτὴν τί ὁρίζεσθαι; Τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, εἶπον.

535 A. Τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τοίνυν, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, ἐκείνας τὰς φύσεις οἷου δεῖν ἐκλεκτέας εἶναι.

It is surprising that δεῖν has been so long allowed without protest to stand side by side with ἐκλεκτέας εἶναι. Unless it is a corruption of something else, *e.g.* ἀεί, it must be removed altogether.

538 A. εἴ τις τραφείη κ.τ.λ., τοῦτον ἔχεις μαντεύσασθαι, πῶς ἂν διατεθείη...ἐν ἐκείνῳ τε τῷ χρόνῳ, ᾧ οὐκ ᾔδει τὰ περὶ τῆς ὑποβολῆς, καὶ ἐν ᾧ αὖ ᾔδει;

Can the imperfect indicative ᾔδει stand in such a sentence? I think it should be εἰδείη, and we have that form in the parallel clause of the sentence following, ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ τὸ ἀληθὲς μὴ εἰδείη. Cf. note on 515 D.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

(*To be continued.*)

THE BEGINNING OF THE ATHENIAN HEGEMONY.

MR. J. E. SANDYS has kindly directed my attention to Kaibel's reasoning in support of the reading ἀκόντων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, Arist. Ἀθ. Πολ. ch. 23, as confirming the view which he himself has expressed in his Aristotle's *Constitution*, p. 93. Kaibel's principal statement is as follows: 'Dass die Athener die Hegemonie zur See nicht ἑκόντων, sondern ἀκόντων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων gewonnen oder genommen haben, ist doch wol allein historisch begründet' (*Stil und Text der* Πολ. Ἀθ. *d. Arist.* p. 178). I wish to prove, on the contrary, that if Aristotle wrote ἀκόντων, he is out of line with all the ancient writers who, so far as I have examined, have expressed with clearness their views of the event.

Isoc. *Paneg.* 72 does not prove anything,—οὐκ ἀμφισβητούντων may signify 'did not care to dispute' as well as 'did not dare to dispute.' There is nothing in the construction or in the meaning of ἀμφισβ. which would make Kaibel's translation preferable. This and the other passages cited from Isocrates (*de Pace* 30, *Panath.* 67, and *Areop.* 17; cf. Kaibel, *loc. cit.*) are absolutely neutral, and contribute nothing to the settlement of the question. Hdt. viii. 3 is also neutral,—ἀπείλοντο does not imply force or indicate that the Lacedaemonians were unwilling. We may infer from the passage that the Athenians assumed the hegemony without consulting the Lacedaemonians; but if any evidence should be adduced to prove that the Lacedaemonians yielded voluntarily, such evidence, it must be admitted, will not stand in contradiction to anything found in this chapter. Hdt. ix. 106 contains some important facts which bear upon the question at issue. The Peloponnesians, recognizing their inability to protect the cities of Ionia, proposed to transplant the Ionians into European Greece. The Athenians repudiated this proposition and declared that they alone had a right to take measures concerning their own colonies. Hereupon the Peloponnesians gladly yielded (προθύμως εἶξαν), and the Athenians thus took upon themselves the hegemony of the coast towns of Ionia together with the obligation of freeing and protecting these. The Lacedaemonians retained the hegemony of the islanders only. That the Lacedaemonians had little zeal for strengthening and extending or even maintaining their command at sea is shown by the fact that they returned home soon after this without accomplishing anything further, leaving the Athenians in full possession of the field of action (Hdt. ix. 114). We may reasonably regard this movement of the Lacedaemonians as a voluntary surrender to Athens of their remaining claims to the hegemony; and it is extremely doubtful whether they would have made any further claim to it, had it not been for the ambitious designs of Pausanias (cf. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Arist. und Athen*, i. p. 156). Accordingly, when they recalled him it seems that they not only left no commander in his place but even withdrew the Peloponnesian contingent from the fleet. Here again they show their lack of interest in maintaining their leadership. The sending of Dorcis with a few troops was but a half-hearted attempt to supply the con-

federates with a commander. When the latter found his post already occupied and had returned, 'the Lacedaemonians sent out no others afterwards because they feared that they might find those who went abroad becoming corrupted, just as they saw in the case of Pausanias, and because they desired at the same time to be rid of the Median war, and because finally they considered that the Athenians were competent to conduct the war and were on terms of friendship with them at that time' (Thuc. i. 95). Now if we should immediately add, as Kaibel seems to do, 'The Athenians having received the hegemony in this way with the consent of the allies, etc., *but against the will of the Lacedaemonians*,' we should contradict the passage from Thucydides just quoted. Thucydides, indeed (i. 75), represents the Athenians as saying to the Spartans, 'We received the hegemony because you were unwilling to remain in the field and finish the war with the barbarians,' and nowhere do we find this statement contradicted. Xenophon (*Hell.* vi. 34) represents a Spartan as declaring that the Athenians were chosen leaders *τῶν Λακ. συμβουλευομένων*. Unfortunately Sandys has classed this with those passages which do not show 'that the Lacedaemonians were really willing to surrender their supremacy,' while Kaibel calls it a Spartan tale. The willingness of the Lacedaemonians is also shown by Plut. *Arist.* ch. 23 (quoted in my *Development of the Athenian Constitution*, p. 215, n. 3), while, in following the reading of Herwerden and Leeuwen, *de Rep. Ath.* p. 49 (*εἰκόντων*) I had in mind the *προθύμως εἶξαν* of Hdt. ix. 106.

The conditions involved in such a leadership were positively ruinous to Spartan state and society (cf. especially Bernhardy, *Griech. Lit.* i. p. 116). Ephorus (Diod. xi. 50) in representing dramatically the conflict of opinions in Sparta itself as to this event makes Hetoemaridas the spokesman of that party which understood and expressed in public life the true spirit of the Spartan constitution. As the interpreter of this spirit, Hetoemaridas persuaded the Spartans to the belief that in renouncing the hegemony in favour of Athens they were removing from themselves an obligation both dangerous and burdensome, and were at the same time bating no point of their rights (Curtius, *History of Greece*, ii. p. 374 f., N.Y. 1886). Among the modern authorities who hold the view maintained in this paper are Grote (*History of Greece*, v. p. 258 ff., Harper's ed.), Curtius (*loc. cit.*), Cox (*Greek Statesmen*, first series, p. 208), Holm (*Griech. Gesch.* ii. p. 115), Thumser (*die griech. Staatsalterthümer*, p. 220), and Busolt (*Müller's Hdb.* iv.[2] p. 321).

George W. Botsford.

H. STEPHENS'S *VETUSTISSIMA EXEMPLARIA*.

'In literary history,' says Mark Pattison, 'a conjecture passes into a certainty by repetition' (*Essays* i. p. 120). There is a 'conjecture' about Henry Stephens, which has apparently lost sight of its original source, and is now passing through the 'repetition' stage. 'That learned man,' as Porson calls him (*Tracts*, p. 92), before he began his long career of editing and authorship, travelled for about two years (1547-1549) in Italy, visiting, as he tells us (*Annot. in Soph. et Eurip.* p. 98), all the public and the best of the private libraries in that country. Among the rich harvest of texts and notes which he brought back from this journey were, he says, readings from two very old MSS. containing the eight plays of Euripides which form the second volume of the Aldine edition (*Rhesus*, *Troades*, *Bacchae*, *Cyclops*, *Heraclidae*, *Helena*, *Ion* and *Hercules Furens*). Wherever these MSS. differed from the Aldine edition, he noted the fact, and published these readings (twenty years afterwards), along with conjectures of his own, in such a way that it is nearly always possible to distinguish the readings from the conjectures.

That a man, who in the course of forty-four years edited or wrote (as well as printed and published) more than 170 books, should have made some mistakes, and sometimes written 'like one asleep,' will not surprise any one who has had experience of printing and editing. But apparently the case is far more shocking than that. This is what we are now taught by the two scholars to whom, after Elmsley, we in England owe most of our power of understanding and appreciating the finest of Euripides' plays. 'It is now fully established,' says

Prof. Tyrrell (*Bacchae*, ed. 1892, p. 126), 'that he [Stephens] was in the habit of recommending his own conjectures by the authority of pretended MSS. (vid. Kirch. Praef.)' and in the preface, p. xix., he says 'Kirchhoff has shown that they [the vett. codd.] were feigned to give authority to his own conjectures.' Dr. Sandys, again (*Bacchae*,[3] p. 213), talks of H. Stephens' 'fraudulent statement' about his 'pretended Italian MSS.'

Supposing it should turn out that neither in any 'preface' nor anywhere else had Kirchhoff touched the subject of Stephens's Italian MSS., and some indignant defender of the memory of the author of the *Thesaurus* were to call Prof. Tyrrell——but it is too horrible to contemplate. I, at all events, can find no reference to the question in any of Kirchhoff's writings. Brunck (on *Bacchae*, v. 235) speaks of H. Stephens's *sublesta fides* as the only support for a reading, asking why he had not said *where* he saw the MSS. Elmsley, in the preface to his *Bacchae*, comments somewhat significantly on the fact that no one else had seen these MSS., and Hermann (pref. to Eur. *Helena*, p. v.) says that people who believe in Stephens's two old Italian MSS. are *nimis creduli*. At the most, he says, the readings were marginal notes, perhaps Stephens's own.

Is it not a reason for being 'credulus' when we find that in twenty-three passages in the *Troades* Stephens quotes from his '*vetustissima exemplaria*' variants which turn out to be the readings of the better class of MSS. of which *Vat.* 909 (Prinz's *B*, Kirchhoff's B) is the best representative? The published editions of the *Troades* in Stephens's time, and for about 200 years afterwards, were based on *Pal.* 287 (Prinz's *P*, Kirchhoff's *B*). In two passages in the *Troades* (vv. 193-196, and vv. 232-234) *P* and Ald. omit half lines to the extent of thirteen words, which words occur in *Vat.* 909, and are recorded almost exactly by Stephens as noted by him in his old MSS. If he did *not* find these words there, where did he find them?[1]

Isaac Voss (of whom Charles II. said that he was a sort of *savant* who would believe anything provided it was not in the Bible) said he had found certain readings in a Florentine MS. of Euripides. Nobody has seen or identified the MS. but nobody doubts the genuineness of the readings. And yet one of the most learned Greek scholars and one of the greatest benefactors of classical scholarship that ever lived, is in the nineteenth century called *mendacissimus* (Prof. Tyrrell, *Bacchae* ed. 1871, p. 60) for having made a similar statement. Surely this question ought not to be regarded as settled without a much more searching discussion than it has yet received.

E. B. England.

[1] In nearly but not quite all these twenty-three cases P. Vettori, in his marginal notes to the Aldine ed. preserved in the Munich Library, gives the same reading as H. S. Stephens made Vettori's acquaintance on his Italian journey: perhaps some one will say that he got his readings from Vettori, but I hardly think it is likely.

VARIA.

On Sophocles, *Tr.* 1260, 1261.

χάλυβος
λιθοκόλλητον στόμιον παρέχουσ'.

That λιθοκόλλητος is a perfectly good word, and means 'set with stones' is attested by plenty of passages (*e.g.* Chares *ap.* Athen. 514 F, Aristobulus *ap.* Strabo 730, Menander *ap.* Poll. 10, 187, &c.). From Lucian (i. p. 29: καὶ ὁ χαλινὸς ἦν λιθοκόλλητος, Δαρείου τινὸς ἢ Καμβύσου ἢ Κύρου αὐτοῦ κειμήλιον) it is plain that stones were used at least in the ornamentation of the bridle very early. Professor Jebb in the appendix to his edition of the *Trachiniae* (on v. 1261) says that a curb of steel, set with pieces of stone, has not been supported by any proof that a steel curb was ever furnished with teeth of stone; and further, that the epithet, if referring to ornamentation of the bridle, would be wholly out of place here. This latter we grant: but there is evidence from ancient writers that the bit was set with stones. One of the scholiasts on Sophocles, who probably wrote before 30 B.C., recognizes the word and explains it by λίθινον καὶ σκληρὸν χαλινόν. More conclusive evidence is to be found about 400 years later in the poet Claudian (70, 7):

sanguineo virides morsu vexare smaragdos;

Cf. *id.* 8, 549, 550:

turbantur phalerae: spumosis morsibus aurum
fumat: anhelantes exundant sanguine gemmae;

and, again, 73, 7, 8:

accipe regales cultus, et crine superbus
erecto virides spumis perfunde smaragdos.

These jewels were set doubtless near the ends of the bit, and were ornamental as well as severe. Cf. Isid. *Orig.* 4, 8: frenusculi ulcera circa rictum oris: similia his quae fiunt iumentis asperitate frenorum. But at the outset probably nothing but sharp or jagged pieces of stone were used, which would make a very cruel bit. It is likely therefore that this sort of a bit is meant in the *Trachiniae.* (The passage from Nonnus quoted by Prof. Jebb, p. 206, I cannot find, but εὐλάιγγας occurs in Nonnus 11, 122, and 32, 242, ed. Koechly, 1857. Compare Claud. 70, 3: gemmis dum frena renident, &c.)

On Tibull. I. 1, 2.

et teneat culti iugera magna soli.

Shall we read magna or multa? Magna is supported by G (Baehrens) and by the Paris and Freising excerpts, and has therefore the weight of authority. Multa is found in A V g (Baehrens). Editors agree, I think, in reading multa, and for the same reason perhaps that Prof. Ramsay urges, that the iugerum is a fixed amount! To say that a similar mistake occurs in Ovid, *Amor.* 3, 15, 12, is begging the question. In this passage, Palatinus primus with two other MSS. reads iugera parva. Most editors (if not all except Müller in his *Carm. Amat.* 1861) accept pauca.

Light is thrown on both these passages by Statius (*Th.* 5, 550):

collectus gyro spatiosaque iugera complet.

Our acres, too, are all of the same size, but we say, rhetorically, 'broad acres.' Why should not the Romans do likewise? Magna (and parva too) is the lectio difficilior, and therefore the more probable reading.

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THE WORD ΑΝΑΣΑΚΕΤ.

The inscription on a bronze helmet (no. 247 in Zvetaieff's *Inscripp. Italiae Inferioris Dialecticae, Rhein. Mus.* xxxix. p. 558, *Mém. de la Soc. de Ling. de Paris* vi. p. 51) has caused great difficulty to scholars. Bücheler reads Σαιπινς ανα ακετ Σπεδις Μαμερεκιες, and translates 'Saepina praeda; egit Spedius Mamercius' 'Saepine spoil—Spedius Mamercius won it.' He denies that the ϟ after ανα is a letter. Bréal reads Σπεδις Μαμερεκιες Σαιπινς ανασακετ, and translates 'Spedius Mamercius Saepinas consecravit' 'Spedius Mamercius of Saepinum made this offering.' W. Deecke in his appendix to Zvetaieff says: 'Die Inschrift im Rhein. Mus. xxxix. 558 ist zu lesen—spedis: mamerekies: | saipins: ana aket, d.i. Spedius Mamercius Saepinus dedicavit. ana is Preposition, ăkĕt Perfect from akum = agĕre.'

Prof. Conway (*Trans. of the Camb. Phil. Soc.* vol. iii. part iv. p. 222 *sqq.*), in discussing 'Veseris and the letter F,' mentions a set of Oscan coins with the legend ϟενσερ and and f e n s e r n u m which Dr. Imhoof-Blumer (*Numismat. Zeits.* 886, p. 206 ff.) assigns to the town Veseris. The object of his paper is to discuss the 'altogether exceptional representation of the same sound by v in Latin and f in Oscan.' Dr. Blumer had been unable to give parallel uses of the sign ϟ. But Prof. Conway quotes our inscription and also the one immediately preceding it in Zvetaieff as containing the same letter reversed,[1] adding that in these two inscriptions σ is the ordinary Ionic ϟ. The latter inscription is Τρεβις Σ. Σεστες δεδετ (*sic* Zvetaieff) where Conway explains it festes = Festus. In the former he explains ΤΕϟΑϟΑΝΑ, as -faκετ in composition = Osc. *fefaced (fefacust) Umbr. *faced (facust). He compares Umbr. K l a v l a f a a n f e h t a f Tab. Ig. ii. a. 33, which he says may possibly mean 'the dedicated chine.' Apparently therefore, though he does not translate the inscription, he wishes to get the same meaning as I do.

Σεστες in the inscription above quoted

[1] A view to which he still adheres in *Class. Rev.* vol. vii. pp. 468, 469.

is *generally* understood as = 'Sestius' or 'Sextius'; but against this it may be said that the suffix *-ios is generally represented in Oscan inscriptions by -is -iis -ies (in the Latin alphabet) and by -ις -ιες -ιηις (in the Greek alphabet). Hence it is much better to suppose Σεστες is for 'Sestus' or Sextus' which we not unfrequently find in Latin inscriptions as a cognomen as well as a praenomen, *e.g.* L. Tertinius Sextus (*C.I.A.* 1948 and 2021), Lic. Sextus (*C.I.A.* 2500), Sex. Vireius Sextus (where it is both praenomen and cognomen): for the st = x cf. Umbr. sestentasiaru = 'sextantariarum.'

The word preceding Σεστες (whose first letter is written ϟ) is ΤΡΕΒΣΣ. Bücheler *Rhein. Mus.* xxxix. p. 559 says the second Σ is a sign of separation both here and in ανασακετ, but this is extremely unlikely. The probability is that the first Σ is an error on the part of the engraver for Ε (Zvetaieff gives Τρεβις with an ι), and possibly the engraver was led to write ϟ for Σ at the beginning of the second word to avoid the ambiguity which would be caused by the close proximity of so many Σ's and Ε's in ΤΡΕΒΣΣΣΕΣΤΕΣ. In this inscription Conway's explanation by 'Festus' does not seem *necessary*, for Festus has not the advantage of being so common a name as Sextus; nor is it *likely*, for, if ϟ is for ϟ retrograde (= ϟ), as Conway suggests, it is strange that it is so imperfectly formed, considering how very clearly ϟ is cut in this inscription each time it occurs. Nor can I agree with his explanation of ΤΞΚΑϟΑΝΑ. It is true that in Latin facere is often used with the meaning 'sacrifice' (cf. Greek ῥέζειν); but, in so far as I am aware, this only applies to facio uncompounded; facio in composition does not, I think, possess this meaning. Whether we regard a a n f e h t a f (quoted above) with Bücheler as = Lat. 'infectas' (? = 'raw or half-raw chine'? Conway), or with Conway as from the preposition an-, it does not seem possible to extract the meaning 'dedicated' from it. In Greek, ἀναθεῖναι gets its meaning 'dedicate' as an outcome of its literal meaning 'placed up, offered up on the God's altar,' but in Italic the Idg. √dhē- had lost its meaning 'to place' and had only retained that of 'to make.' We frequently find, it is true, on old, especially sepulchral, Latin inscriptions the letter F or FC = 'fecit,' 'faciendum curavit'—but there it only means 'A. *made* or *constructed* (not 'dedicated') this tomb.' We do not find it used in inscriptions with the meaning 'dedicate an offering.' To express this latter meaning we find instead, *e.g.* do, porto (*C.I.L.* 191), voveo, dico (*C.I.L.* 807) dedico (*C.I.L.* 541), &c. In short the meaning 'to dedicate' is not found in any form of the √dhē- in Latin inscriptional writing, nor do the writers use facio in composition with this meaning.

Hence, as it is hardly likely that in our inscription the verb can have any other meaning than 'dedicated,' and as it is improbable that facio, either compounded or uncompounded, can have that meaning, and as moreover the 'graphic' argument given above on Σεστες holds good for ανασακετ also, we must endeavour to find some other explanation. Buck (*Der Vocalismus der Oskische Sprache*) discusses the word ανασακετ on pp. 14, 15, 17. On p. 14 he classes it with a n g e t u z e t 'proposuerint, iusserint' Lat. an-helō, Umbr. a n-t e n t u 'intendito' &c. Gk. Att. ἀνά Boeot. Arcad. ἄν. Below he adds 'Auffallend ist das scheinbar nicht-apokopierte ana in ανασακετ, falls es richtig interpretiert worden ist. Dürfen wir vielleicht an griech. Einfluss denken?' Below again, p. 17, he refers ανασακετ to a verbal ā-stem *sakā (cf. s a k a h í t e r = sanciatur). He agrees with Jules Martha (Bréal, *Mém. Soc. Ling.* vi. p. 5) that Bücheler (*Rhein. Mus.* 39, 558 f.) is wrong to doubt that ϟ is a genuine letter, and adds that a not-impossible explanation for ϟ (whereas elsewhere in the inscription we have ϟ) = σ is that given by Louis Duvau *Mém. Soc. Ling.* vi. p. 227. Brugmann, *Grundriss* ii. § 867, 5, p. 1235 (1892 A.D.) classes ανασακετ under thematic aorists of his class ii. saying 'Osk. a n a - s a k e d o d e r a n a - z a k e d "consecravit" (Bréal and Duvau) zu Lat. sanciō.' I venture to think that Buck is on the right track, when he says 'Dürfen wir vielleicht an griech. Einfluss denken?' In spite of the many difficulties to be surmounted, I would venture to suggest that ανασακετ was a borrowed word, and represents the Greek word ἀνέθηκε, so common in Greek votive inscriptions, with the meaning 'dedicated an offering.' The *meaning* would thus be much the same as Bréal's 'consecravit,' but it is reached by a different way. That it should be a borrowed word need not surprise us; there are others, borrowed both from Greek and Latin; the latter need not concern us here; from the former Buck (*ib.* p. 10) quotes: E v k l ú í: Εὐκλεής,

Herukinaí: Ἐρυκίνη, Kúíníks: χοῖνιξ, Λαπονις: Λαμπώνιος, ποτερεμ: ποτήρ, Santia: Ξανθίας, and some others.

The south of Italy was studded with Greek colonies, chiefly Achaean and Dorian, and the non-Greeks in Southern Italy were constantly coming into contact with Greek life, manners, and language—a contact which was furthered by the importance of the city of Tarentum to Greeks and non-Greeks alike. Accordingly we may expect not only to find Achaean and Doric characteristics in the language of the Greek colonies themselves, but also to find it reflected even in the dialects of the non-Greek peoples in this part of Italy. Perhaps of all inscriptions those commemorating votive offerings are the most common, and of all the words which occur on these inscriptions ἀνέθηκε is probably the most frequent. May it not then be possible, or even probable that the non-Greek inhabitants in Southern Italy may have borrowed the word ἀνέθηκε from the Greek inhabitants, in the sense of 'dedicating' an offering?

Let us now examine ανασακετ and see how it can have come from ἀνέθηκε. That θ was changed to σ by the Laconians is a fact noticed by grammarians of all ages: *e.g.* Apoll. *de Synt.* p. 39, 3, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι Δωριεῖς τηροῦσι τὸ θ, Λάκωνες δὲ καὶ εἰς σ μεταβάλλουσιν, and it is hardly necessary to multiply examples, such as Thuc. v. 77, where in the Laconian decree τῶ σεῶ σύματος = τοῦ θεοῦ θύματος; but one other from Alcman 72 [24] (Bergk) has particular application here: 'Ὥρας δ' ἔσηκε τρεῖς' 'and he made three seasons,' where B has ἔσακε τρεῖς, for in this passage we not only have the actual word which we are seeking (cf. Aristoph. *Lys.* 1080, 1081), but we also find it spelt with α for η. Inscription 33 in Cauer (*Delect. Inscrr. Graec.*), found at Taenarum, furnishes us with some good instances: Σηρανδρίδα (line 2) for Θηρανδρίδα, Σήριππος (line 23) for Θήριππος, Σίπομπος (line 24) for Θεόπομπος, probably coming through the form θιο- for θεο-, Σικλῆς (line 27) for Θεοκλῆς, and Ἀλκισοΐδας (line 38) for Ἀλκιθοΐδας (which is remarkable for the change of θ to σ before ο), τὸν σίν φέρων (line 51) *i.e.* τὸν θιὸν φέρων ('idem in titulo simili Foucart apud Le Bas, *Voy. arch.* ii. n. 163 d. vocatur σιοφόρος,' Cauer). This change seems to have been peculiar to the Laconians, and not to have been common to the other Dorians; the traces of it in Crete are 'suspectissima' Ahrens (*de Dial. Dor.* § 7, p. 69). (Compare also Müllensiefen *de Titulorum Laconicorum Dialecto*, § 8, who cites the form ἀνέσηκε (= ἀνέθηκε) from an archaizing inscription of the second century A.D.). We see thus that this change was comparatively late on *inscriptions*—and it may be said by objectors that where we find the change in the MSS. of Alcman, Aristophanes, &c., it is probably due to archaizing grammarians—but this view seems hardly likely in the face of all the evidence: it is much more probable that even at Alcman's early date θ was *pronounced* σ, though perhaps at that time it was *written* θ, and hence the change was made to σ later in *writing* also to represent the sound which θ had had in Laconia in Alcman's time. And it is thus also very probable that Aristophanes, finding that the Laconians did not pronounce θ exactly as the Athenians did, exaggerated the difference and deliberately turned θ into σ. Or it may be that θ was pronounced þ (English *th*) and that σ was an attempt to represent this spirant value. It is true that we do not find this change of θ to σ in the Tables of Heraclea, nevertheless when once it had arisen in Laconia itself, it may well have come over thence into the Laconian colonies in Southern Italy. Again, if the theory be correct that θ was pronounced in Laconia sufficiently like σ to induce Aristophanes to write σ for θ, it is quite possible that, though θ was *written* in the Tables of Heraclea, it may have been *pronounced* σ (or a sound approaching σ) so that the neighbouring non-Greeks would have understood and adopted it as such.

Another suggestion is perhaps possible, though perhaps hardly likely. The Oscan inscription under notice is retrograde; hence the ϛ (if it be an ϛ) should be reversed, thus ϩ. Perhaps therefore, after all, the letter may turn out to be, not ϛ, but Θ, rather imperfectly formed. This and the one letter in the lower line, it will be noticed, are the only two letters on the inscription which are not perfectly intelligible at first sight. They are the only two letters which are not formed by merely straight lines—they require a curved formation, hence possibly the unsatisfactory engraving in their case. At the same time, that the ϛ should be written in a different direction to the rest of the inscription would be no real difficulty. Fabretti (*Paleog. Studien* § 104, p. 82) says that there is no Greek letter which takes a different direction to the rest of the inscription so often as ϟ and ϟ. ϟ is the form that ought strictly to be

written, where the inscription runs from left to right, ≀ where it runs from right to left. He cites many instances of wrong direction (quoting mostly from F. Lenormant *Rhein. Mus.* 1867, vol. xxii. pp. 279 ff.); among them *C.I.G.* 28.

Next, ᾱ for η. I do not know of any instance of the word ἀνέθηκε itself spelt with α instead of η (*i.e.* *ἀνέθακε) on Laconian inscriptions, either in Greece or in Italy. (We find however ἔσακε = ἔθηκε as a *v.l.* in Alcman (*v. supra*), which is worth mentioning, although perhaps we may not attach much importance to it.) One way of explaining this difficulty is to suppose that the long ᾱ in the word under discussion (ανασακετ) is a hyper-Dorism; Doric is noted for its retention of original α where Attic preferred η or ε (as μάτηρ, ἄλλοκα). Hence long ᾱ might have come in by false analogy here. Or again, as it is in a votive inscription, the α may possibly have come in from wrongly assumed connexion with sakrim 'sacrum,' sakahíter 'sanciatur,' &c. (Compare the example cited by Prof. Kirkland in *Class. Rev.* vi. p. 435, of *sarcophagus* becoming in vulgar idiom *sacrophagus*, through the influence of sacer.)

For instances of hyper-Dorism we have only to look at the Elean inscriptions, where they abound. Thus the Elean inscriptions show ᾱ often, where even Doric has η—for example πατάρ: Doric πατήρ &c. (cf. Carolus Daniel *De Dialecto Eliaco*, § 3, p. 17). Those who went to the Olympian festival might well carry away with them a taint of this characteristic of the Elean dialect. The τ is no real difficulty, because Oscan in the Greek alphabet regularly writes -τ in secondary tenses, while in the native alphabet it has -d (Conway *A.J.P.* xi. 309 f.). The alteration of the ε (augment) to α may perhaps have arisen in a short syllable from ignorance on the part of those who borrowed the word.

I would add as a possible parallel to ανασακετ (in case my explanation be right) the Phrygian αδδακετ αδακετ (*v.* Brugmann *Gr.* ii. § 864, p. 1232) which is referred generally to θηκ, Lat. fēc-ī from √dhē, just as I would refer ανασακετ also back to ἀνέθηκε, there being however this difference, that the Phrygian forms are not necessarily supposed to be borrowed, while I believe ανασακετ is so.

I confess that this explanation of ανασακετ may seem at first sight improbable, and has certainly many difficulties in the way of its reception, but as the word does not seem to have been, as yet, satisfactorily explained, it may be worth while to put forward the conjecture.

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CICERO, *EPIST. AD FAM.* XI. 13.

It may be worth noting in connexion with Lord Harberton's interesting article in the February number of this *Review* that Gurlitt in Fleck. *Ann.* 1880, p. 611, called attention to the fact that Cic. *ad fam.* xi. 13 was made up of fragments of two different letters, and Mendelssohn in his lately-published edition of the *Epist. ad fam.* has accepted Gurlitt's conclusions. Koerner and Schmidt in fact in their appendix to the same work express the belief that the two fragments formed parts of letters addressed respectively by D. Brutus to Cicero and by Plancus and D. Brutus to the Senate and People of Rome.

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TACITUS, *GERM.* c. 29.

Manet honos et antiquae societatis insigne; nam nec tributis contemnuntur nec publicanus atterit.

In this passage *contemnuntur* is commonly translated 'humiliated'; but no other example of this usage of *contemnere* is given in the standard editions. Should we not read *contaminantur*, 'are polluted,' 'degraded'? The change is an easy one, and *contaminantur* would correspond well to *atterit* in the next clause, both words having an underlying *physical* sense.

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CATULL. XXIX. 20.

Among the new readings of Catullus suggested by Mr. S. G. Owen in his recent beautiful edition of that author, there is one which has been several times picked out for commendation by reviews. The passage is xxix. 20, where Mr. Owen gives *Eumne Gallia et timet Britannia.* But a reference to the third volume of the *Classical Review*, p. 292, will show that so long ago as 1889 Dr. William Everett suggested and defended there the same reading of the line.

M. H. M.

XENOPHON'S *HELLENICA.*

i. 7 (25). *καὶ οὐκ ἀδικοῦντες ἀπολοῦνται.*

Prof. Marratt, following Büchsenschütz in his note on this passage, translates *they will not, while not guilty, be put to death,* and adds 'but the connexion of the partic. and verb is hardly such as to warrant the single negative.' These words seem to have occasioned some perplexity; for, as Prof. Marratt remarks, Sauppe and Kurz omit *ἀδικοῦντες* and Breitenbach brackets it. All difficulty is removed by supplying *ὡς* before *ἀδικοῦντες*, and the words *οἱ δ' ἀναίτιοι.....ἀπολοῦνται* may then be rendered, *but the guiltless will be acquitted by you and not be put to death as criminals.*

ii. 3 (31). *ἀποβλέπει δ' ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων.*

The same editor, in a note on this passage, says 'In the connexion the words should mean: *faces both ways.*' But why? In the preceding clause the buskin is said to fit both feet, but surely not both at once. There *ἀμφοτέροις* = *ἑκατέροις*, and why not take the gen. as used for a similar equivalent? Theramenes is likened to a buskin, because he is capable of adapting himself to either party, but proving false to either when identified with the other. If the parallelism be complete, *ἀποβλέπει* refers to the appearance of the buskin in the act of toeing out, the normal position of the feet in standing, in which case it would of course 'look away' from the other foot.

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NOTES ON EURIPIDES' *HELENA.*

184–190. *ὅμαδον ἔκλυον* is impossible: *ὅμαδος* occurs nowhere else in Tragedy and is inappropriate to the cry of one woman. The words have probably displaced a substantive and its epithet balancing the phrase *ἄλυρον ἔλεγον*: the words *ὅ,τι ποτ' ἔλακεν* seem to show that there should be two *alternative* descriptions of the noise heard.

29. *τίν' ὑπολείπομαι τύχη;*

The correction *τύχην* seems inevitable, but Paley's translation of it ('relictam habeo') will not stand. Translate—'What fortune do I not experience?' *ὑπολείπει τί με* would mean 'something is wanting to me' and *ὑπολείπομαί τι* would have the same meaning. The construction (not noticed by L. and S.) is analogous to that of *ἀποστεροῦμαι.* That this is the sense is shown by the fact that the speaker then goes on to *enumerate* her experiences.

388–9. It is unnecessary to suppose a loss of words. *πρισθείς* for *πεισθείς* (which is however a correction and not supported, as formerly supposed, by MS. authority) is tolerable but unnecessary: *πεισθείς* is the antithesis of *ἑκών*: perhaps it is an unintelligent gloss on *ἀκών.* *ἔρανον* 'contribution' is ironical as applied to Pelops' contribution of his own body: the word is used of this particular feast in Pindar *Ol.* i. 61, which Euripides may have remembered (see Fennell's note).

578. Perhaps

σκέψαι· τί σ' οὐ δεῖ; τί δ' ἔτι σοι σαφέστερον;

601. Keep θαύμαστ' and ἔχων, translating 'Ay in wondrous wise, experiencing the name not so much as the thing.'

A very Euripidean reply: viz. 'I have been robbed of my charge (the supposed Helen) but it was a robbery without robbers: she is really gone, though no one stole her.'

The change of number from συλᾶσθε to ἔχων is of course common enough.

810. ? σιδηρότρωτον (see L. and S.).

1535. MS. εἰς ἓν ἦν. Paley ἐνετέθη. ? εἰσένει (from εἰσνέω, 'heaped in'). εἰσνέω seems a possible word.

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AMPHITRUO I. 1, 26–30.

IN the February number of the *Classical Review*, 1893, Dr. Knapp criticized Prof. Palmer's rendering of *numero* 'too soon' in the above passage of the *Amphitruo*, on the ground that a contradiction is thus occasioned owing to the thirtieth line. Dr. Knapp has evidently misinterpreted Plautus and Prof. Palmer as well—*quoniam bene quae in me fecerant ingrata ea habui atque inrita* does not refer to any neglect in giving thanks, but, as Prof. Palmer puts it, to *showing* forgetfulness and ingratitude, by starting on a perilous errand to the house of Amphitruo after he had received such marked protection when in peril from war and on the sea. Such an interpretation gives *ingrata habui atque inrita* its proper force. Sosia feels that he deserves to be left to the mercies of some foot-pad, or, as he declares more strongly, the gods would act justly were they to cause some one to chastise him for his foolhardiness. In this sense Sosia is a *verna verbero*.

As to *numero* it should be noticed that 'soon,' 'too soon,' 'so soon' alone interpret the five other uses of this word in Plautus.

Note also from *Festus*, p. 170 (M),—Panurgus Antonius haec ait: *numero* nimium cito, celeriter nimium....celeriter. Caecilius in Aethione....ei perii: quod ita *numero* venit? fuge domum. Afranius in Suspecta: perfalsum et abs te creditum *numero* nimis, celeriter. Afranius in Simulante, (emisera) me miserum! *numero ac nequiquam egi gratias.*

Nonius 352, 19,—*Numero* significat cito. Turpilius Demetrio—numquam nimis *numero* quemquam vidi facere quam facto est opus. 352, 21,—Turpilius Demetrio...ego interim in turba foras subduxi cum hac me, neque sat *numero* mihi videbar currere. 352, 25,—Afranius Privigno...*numero* inepti pertimuistis cassam terriculam adversari.

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NOTES ON VIRGIL, *AENEID* 2, 353 AND EUR. *BACCHAE* 506.

Moriamur, et in media arma ruamus:
una salus victis nullam sperare salutem.
Aen. 2. 353.

'Hysteron-proteron is when, of two things, that which naturally comes first is mentioned last: as *moriamur.....*' *Pub. Sch. Lat. Gr.* § 215, and so too generally the commentators, in whose notes on Virgil this phrase 'Hysteron-proteron' occurs repeatedly. Is it not time that such rubbish was definitely excluded from notes and grammars? How long are we going on accusing Virgil of mentioning that last 'which naturally comes first'? Putting the cart before the horse is folly, even when disguised under one of those Greek phrases which are so often employed—in grammar, in medicine, and in theology—to cloak ignorance. No writer of sense puts that last which should come first, and to accuse a great writer of doing so is mere impertinence.

The simple fact is that the poets, and Virgil in particular, continually append to the main clause, which naturally comes first, an *explanatory clause introduced by que* (or sometimes *et*), and this clause, which is logically subordinate to the main clause and naturally follows it, often refers to something which is prior in point of time to that which the main clause describes; but

this priority in point of time does not make the clause one whit less subordinate or give it any right to priority in point of sense. The origin of such explanatory clauses is to be found in the natural tendency of poets to prefer a simple style of writing with co-ordinate clauses rather than a complex style with subordinate ones, or, in grammatical jargon, to choose Parataxis rather than Hypotaxis, the metrical convenience of clauses introduced by *que* and *et* of course also encouraging the practice.

Take a few instances from the *Aeneid*: 2. 208 *pontum...legit sinuatque* 'skims the sea by twisting'; 2. 223 *fugit et...excussit securim* 'has escaped...after dashing away the axe'; 4. 154 *agmina...fuga glomerant montesque relinquunt* 'as they quit the hills'; 4. 263 *fecerat...et discreverat* 'had made (the cloak) by embroidering...'; 6. 361 *invasisset praedamque...putasset* 'had attacked me thinking'; 6. 365 *terram inice...portusque require Velinos* 'bury me making for the harbour of V.'; Eur. *Hec.* 266 κείνη γὰρ ὤλεσέν νιν ἐς Τροίαν τ' ἄγει 'destroyed him by bringing him.'

Applying this principle to the present passage we get 'Let us die by dashing into the thickest of the fray,' and obviously the passionate *moriamur* must not be taken too literally but is really = 'let us dare death,' for, as the next line shows, the speaker does *not* urge them to die but to dare to die, because the only way to avoid death is to court it. The Hysteron-proteron critics, who argue you that you must 'rush' before you 'die' and cannot do so after, in their painful desire for accuracy make the words *una salus victis nullam sperare salutem* absolute nonsense.

In 6. 567 *castigatque auditque dolos subigitque fateri* the real Hysteron-proteron has escaped the blind idolatry of its devotees. It is not *auditque* but *subigitque* which ought to be worshipped. The inquisitor 'scourges' his victims and then 'hears their guile *compelling* them to confess (*i.e.* by scourging them).'[1]

In 3. 662 *postquam altos tetigit fluctus et ad aequora venit* Conington says '*ad aequora venit* must be taken as a ὕστερον πρότερον.' Why? The Cyclops, whose stature is immense, wades to the *deep* waves and reaches the level open sea (*aequora*) before he begins to bathe his wound. It takes him some time to get out of his depth. Virgil has endeavoured to suggest this, and is in consequence credited with writing nonsense.

[1] Cf. *Class. Rev.* iv. 465.

ΔΙ. οὐκ οἶσθ' ὅ τι ζῇς οὐδ' ὁρᾷς οὔθ' ὅστις εἶ.
Π. Πενθεύς, Ἀγαύης παῖς, πατρὸς δ' Ἐχίονος.
Eur. *Bacchae* 506.

The first of these two verses Prof. Tyrrell calls a 'desperate verse' and says that he can only 'print it in its corrupt state.' Dr. Sandys prints ἔθ' for οὔθ' before ὅστις. Both editors have long and perplexing notes, to which Dr. Sandys adds a 'Supplemental Note,' while in his *apparatus criticus* he gives a list of emendations of enormous length, no critic agreeing with any other critic and it being obviously easy to alter such a line in a hundred ways.

For myself I am like Pentheus in the presence of the god; I have not the slightest idea what the critics mean. Probably they may think that I deserve to be torn in pieces for my blindness, but I must risk that and proceed.

It is surely possible to say in Greek τί ζῇς; and τίς εἶ; or in Latin *quid vivis?* and *quis es?* (cf. Pers. 3. 67 *quid sumus aut quidnam victuri gignimur*). If you say to a person that he is ignorant of the answer to these questions, you say to him οὐκ οἶσθ' ὅ τι ζῇς οὔθ' ὅστις εἶ. If you wish to emphasize his ignorance by calling it 'blindness' too, you say,

οὐκ οἶσθ' ὅ τι ζῇς οὐδ' ὁρᾷς οὔθ' ὅστις εἶ.

If an exact explanation of ὅ τι ζῇς is demanded it would be 'that you have but the life of a mortal (*te mortalem vitam vivere*) and are but a mortal,' so that the claim you have just made to be 'more powerful' (κυριώτερος) than me—Dionysus—is absurd; but of course the charm of the line is in its affectation of philosophical language. The questions τί ζῶ; and τίς εἰμί; are like ποῦ στῶ; questions which philosophers propound to puzzle plain men. Dionysus with his quibbles is in this dialogue the typical philosopher and Pentheus the typical plain man. To Pentheus the deep problems which Dionysus suggests about 'life' and 'individual existence' are so much Hebrew, and, when told that he does 'not know or see who he is,' he answers with an accurate account of his name and parentage. The two lines must have been intensely funny to an audience who were accustomed to hear philosophers argue in the market-place. Their whole humour is now, however, buried beneath a heap of learned rubbish, the proper place of which is the dustbin.

T. E. PAGE.

WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF ON THE *CONSTITUTION OF ATHENS.*

Aristoteles und Athen, von U. von WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF. 2 vols. Berlin. 1893. 20 Mk.

THESE two volumes, containing between them upwards of 800 closely printed pages, form decidedly the bulkiest contribution to the literature of the Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία that has yet appeared. They are concerned with the subject-matter only of the treatise, questions of textual criticism being dealt with in a companion volume, entitled *Stil und Text*, by Kaibel, who was jointly responsible with Wilamowitz-Moellendorff for an edition of the text published in 1891. There is much, however, in the two volumes, especially in the second, that has only a very indirect bearing on the Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία. The first volume is occupied in the main with an attempt to determine the sources of which Aristotle availed himself in the composition of his work; for it is assumed, as if it needed no proof, that Aristotle was the author of the 'Constitution of Athens.' The second volume furnishes us with a reconstruction of Athenian constitutional history on the basis of the *Politeia*, together with a number of essays on various points of Athenian history.

The inquiry into the authorities followed by Aristotle is at once the most original and the most ambitious part of the work, and it is by these chapters that the author would himself, in all probability, wish his labours to be judged. The conclusion at which he arrives is that Aristotle can advance no claim to be regarded as an independent investigator in the field of history; original research, we are given to understand, was alien to his nature, and appears to have been limited to an occasional consultation of Solon's poems. The sources from which he supposes that Aristotle derived his knowledge of Athenian history are four in number: (1) Herodotus, (2) Thucydides, (3) a source which is variously designated as 'the Chronicle,' 'the Atthis,' and 'the Atthidographs,' and (4) an oligarchical *tendenzschrift*. It is to the two latter sources that he considers that Aristotle owed most.

Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's theory as to source (3), so far as I understand it, may be stated thus. There are a large number of passages in the Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία which are so different both in style and matter to the rest of the work, and resemble one another so closely in both respects, that they must be derived from a common source. As to matter, they deal with facts rather than opinions; in point of style, they are distinguished by their brevity and by the precise dates they supply. These are the characteristics of a chronicle, and it is in a chronicle, in some form or other, that the common source must be sought. This chronicle, it is assumed, was based on contemporaneous records of noteworthy events, which began to be made before 600 B.C., and were worked up into histories, in the course of the fourth century, by a series of Atthidographs who flourished before the composition of the *Politeia*, of whom Androtion may be taken as a representative. These records however were not official in character—there were no fasti, in the strict sense, at Athens—; they were the work of many generations of ἐξηγηταί, who intended them for the guidance of their successors in office. The chronicle supplied Aristotle with the framework of the *Politeia*, and its statements, being derived from contemporaneous documents, form the sole trustworthy basis of Athenian history.

Clearly there is much in this theory that needs explanation, and still more that demands a good deal of evidence in its favour before it can be accepted. With regard to explanation, there is not a little that is left obscure. 'Die Chronik,' and 'die Atthis' are substituted for 'the Atthidographs,' and 'der Exeget' for the ἐξηγηταί, in a somewhat puzzling fashion. As I understand the theory, the chronicle proper—the 'urschrift,' as Wilamowitz-Moellendorff calls it—was known to Aristotle only through the medium of the Atthidographs. What then becomes of the argument from style, which is admitted to be the chief evidence for the hypothesis? Are we to suppose that the writers of the fourth century regarded the 'uratthis' as a sort of sacred text, which they were constrained to incorporate in their histories without the alteration of one jot or one tittle? If this is not implied, how are we to explain the statement that in ch. 22 we have a specimen of the chronicle 'unvermischt'? And, of course, in the *Politeia* we are dealing with the chronicle at third hand, at best. As to evidence, it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that none is adduced. It is a reasonable

hypothesis enough that such passages as ch. 22, 2–8, or ch. 26, 2–4, may have been borrowed from an Atthidograph, though I fail to appreciate the improbability of Aristotle, if he were the author of the *Politeia*, having consulted *ψηφίσματα* for himself; it is, however, quite another thing to assume, on such slender grounds, that so large a part of the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* is derived from a common source, or to postulate the existence of an 'urschrift.' Most readers will probably remain sceptical as to the existence in the fourth century of a chronicle dating back to the seventh; they may even still prefer the authority of Thucydides to that of the hypothetical exegete.

The oligarchical *tendenzschrift*, source (4), was a history of the Athenian constitution, published in the autumn of 404, as a manifesto of the moderate section among the Thirty. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff seems to be as confident about the authorship as about the date; it was the work of Theramenes, and its object was to prove from the history of the Athenian state the correctness of the interpretation which he and his party put upon the phrase *πάτριος πολιτεία*. To this 'grundschrift' Aristotle owed his knowledge of Draco's constitution, as well as most of what he has to tell us about the fifth century. Its statements, except in the case of Solon, were accepted by him without hesitation; a fact which explains, though it does not justify, his attitude towards Pericles and the demagogues.

Here there is the same lack of evidence as before. I am not concerned to deny that there is a very close connexion between the constitution attributed to Draco and the ideals of the Four Hundred, or that the account given in the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* of Athenian politics in the fifth century is both prejudiced and inadequate. A good deal more than this, however, must be established before the existence of the oligarchical pamphleteer can be regarded as proved. The suggestion that this pamphleteer was Theramenes seems to me sufficiently improbable. We cannot, at any rate, attribute to him the narrative of his own death; yet, if a common source is assumed for the chapters relating to Aristides, Cimon, Pericles, the demagogues, and the Four Hundred, and if the chief ground for this assumption is that all these passages betray the same political sympathies, it seems unreasonable to assume a different source for the history of the Thirty, in which the point of view appears to be identical.

To turn from the sources to the subject-matter of the *Politeia*. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff claims to have established the right of Draco to a place among the constitution-makers of Athens. I cannot but think that his arguments afford convincing reasons for the opposite conclusion. He admits that there is so close a resemblance between ch. 4 and the constitutional schemes of the Four Hundred in ch. 30 and 31 that we must make our choice between two alternatives; either the constitution of Draco was the invention of a supporter of the Four Hundred, *i.e.* of the author of the '*tendenzschrift*,' who sought to gain credit for the *πάτριος πολιτεία* by fathering it upon Draco, or else it was rescued from oblivion by the legislators of the year 411, to whom it served as a model. He further concedes that there is no trace of antiquity in the language of ch. 4, that its contents were unknown to Aristotle when he wrote the *Politics*, and that it is inserted in so clumsy a fashion as to interrupt the connexion between ch. 3 and ch. 5. It may be added that the 'tendenzschrift,' from which ch. 4 was borrowed, is supposed not to have come into Aristotle's possession until after the publication of the *Politics*—indeed it must have been quite at the eleventh hour that he stumbled on it, as he would appear not to have had time to adjust the account of Draco to the passages of the chronicle between which it had to be interpolated—; and that it is suggested that Theramenes arrived at his account of Draco's constitution inductively, by a process of reasoning from those fragments of his legislation which were discovered during the revision of the laws.

The explanation of another well-known difficulty, that of the number and the names of Peisistratus' sons, is likely to give as little satisfaction as the hypothesis of an 'urschrift,' or this discovery 'of the book of the law.' Aristotle's version of the history of the Pisistratidae, resting upon the infallible authority of the chronicler, must be preferred to that of Thucydides, wherever the two conflict. Thucydides attributes to Hipparchus the part played by Thessalus in the *Politeia*, and knows but of three legitimate sons; the *Politeia* adds a fourth, Iophon, and makes Thessalus a surname of Hegesistratus. The statement of Thucydides cannot be set aside as a blunder, for he can quote the *στήλη* in the Acropolis to prove it; even a chronicle cannot claim to be more infallible than an inscription. To save the credit of the Atthis, the hypothesis is put forward that Iophon was

omitted on the column because he was domiciled at Sigeum, and to make this hypothesis agree with Herodotus, according to whom the governor of Sigeum was Hegesistratus, it is suggested that the latter may have dropped his true name in favour of his παρωνύμιον Thessalus, and that the name Hegesistratus, being thus discarded, may have been adopted by Iophon as more euphonious than that which his father had bestowed upon him. Thus a Hegesistratus-Thessalus is matched by an Iophon-Hegesistratus. One is tempted to ask what a writer's canons of probability can be, when he accepts such an explanation as this, and rejects the presence of Hippias at Marathon, or the interview of Themistocles with the Molossian king, as wholly incredible.

In the account of Solon's legislation the ὅροι are explained as mortgage-pillars, and no allusion is made to any other view; the ἑκτήμοροι are regarded as deriving their name from the receipt of a sixth part, not from its payment, and as being a class of day-labourers whose wages were paid in kind; while the account of the alteration of the standard, given in ch. 10, is admitted to betray 'an almost incredible ignorance of the subject.' Aristotle is borrowing from Androtion, without understanding him.

Amongst other points it may be noticed that the γεωμόροι and δημιουργοί are treated as divisions of the nobility, on an equality in all respect with the εὐπατρίδαι; that the story of Themistocles and the Areopagus is pronounced a romance; and that ch. 24 is allowed to do its author as little credit as ch. 10. The explanation of φίλος τῶν τυράννων in ch. 20 can scarcely be adequate. 'Bicameral system' ('Zweikammersystem,' vol. I. p. 88) sounds to English ears an odd way of describing the relation of the ecclesia to the boule.

There are not a few omissions in the book, in spite of its length; perhaps the one most to be regretted is a discussion of the question of authorship. There must be a good many readers, who are ready to agree with the charges Wilamowitz-Moellendorff brings against the writer of the Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία, who will yet hesitate to admit that one who deserves to be judged so severely can have been the author of the *Politics*.

E. M. Walker.

FRACCAROLI'S *PINDAR*.

Le Odi di Pindaro dichiarate e tradotte da Guiseppe Fraccaroli, prof. ord. di letteratura greca nell' Università di Messina. Verona. 1894.

This is a very handsome large octavo volume, paper covered, with pp. xvi. 732. It begins with 165 pp. of *Prolegomeni* on the life of Pindar, the chronological order of the odes, Greek lyric poetry, and the style art and *technique* of Pindar. All the extant odes are then taken one by one, and to a very searching and careful analysis is added a literal line-for-line version of each in Italian. This portion of the work comprises nearly 600 pp., though there is nothing which could be called a running commentary to serve the needs of explanation, and little discussion of the text. The familiarity displayed by the editor with the views of all who have written on or about Pindar in ancient or modern times and in various languages is quite marvellous. The style of the introductory essays and the notes is very pleasing, and if it does not attain to the brilliancy of the French school in the hands of Villemain, at all events it affords a delightful contrast to the learned dryness of Boech, Dissen and Metzger.

The recent awakening to the astonishing qualities of Pindar's style is largely due to the striking and sympathetic criticism of Matthew Arnold; it has found its outward and visible sign in the beautiful prose version of Mr. Ernest Myers; and it constitutes not the least excellence of Mr. Bury's brilliant scholarly and eminently appreciative edition of the *Nemean and Isthmian Odes*. Henceforth it may be presumed that no scholar will undertake the editing of Pindar without due attention to the aesthetic part of his task. It is not neglected by Prof. Fraccaroli, but might perhaps have claimed even more of his attention, seeing that it has been well nigh neglected till the present generation.

On the vexed question concerning the structure of the odes, Prof. Fraccaroli is disposed to take his side with those who accept the nomic theory, while about the doctrine of echoes and responsions he inclines to scepticism. The extensive and

minute learning of the *μέγα βιβλίον* is its main feature. On questions of explanation and criticism the editor has, as it seems to me, an undue reverence for the traditional and conventional. Hence it often happens that, while recording interpretations which are new and almost demonstrably sound and emendations which one would have supposed to be irresistibly convincing, he is content to fall back on the hitherto accepted translation and reading. Thus, to take a few instances, in *O.* iii. 45

οὔ μιν διώξω· κεινὸς εἴην

Prof. Gildersleeve has clearly shown that there is no omission of *ἄν*, or need to introduce metaphysical or psychological conceptions in explanation, but that the words are really optative, 'set me down as a fool' (if I do). So the same acute grammarian and tasteful critic explains *Pyth.* x. 21

θεὸς εἴη ἀπήμων κέαρ,

and nearly in the same way *Pyth.* iv. 118

οὐ ξείναν ἱκοίμαν γαῖαν,

the *οὐ* being adhaerescent, and the optative a half wish or a thought begotten of a wish, 'I hope it will turn out that it is to no strange land have I come.'

The two first passages are thus rendered by Prof. Fraccaroli:

Non vo' cercarlo :—saria vanità;

and

Chi ha il cuor senza dolori un Nume egli è.

In the third he seems to try to give the pure optative some meaning different from the optative with *ἄν*, but is hardly within the limits of the Greek in rendering

Stranier non venni, credo, in terra altrui.

In *N.* iv. 93 he renders *αἰνέων* 'praising' not 'emulating,' which Mr. Bury shows conclusively to be the right meaning. In *N.* v. 44 he still translates *ἄρᾱρε* as if it were *ἤρᾰρε* and meant 'pleased' or 'favoured' instead of 'clave to.' He gives the impossible meaning of *al par* to *θάμα* in *N.* vii. 20, and in *N.* ix. 23, accepting *ἐρυσσάμενοι*, he does not attempt to explain how

γλυκὺν νόστον ἐρυσσάμενοι

came to mean

Mentre il dolce ritorno aveano in cor.

To turn to criticism, there is no sign in the translation that Prof. Fraccaroli accepts Bergk's certain restoration of *ἐτὰν* for *ἓ τὰν* in *N.* vii. 25, nor Mr. Bury's nearly as certain correction of *σὺν μάχαις* to *συμμάχοις* in *I.* iv.(v.) 35,[1] nor Mr. Fennell's highly probable *περαυγάζων* for *πεδαυγάζων* in *N.* x. 61, nor Bergk's *ξυνόδαμον* in *I.* v. (vi.) 46, which as defended by Mr. Bury is better than anything which has been proposed. But the most striking example of a determination to tread the old paths in spite of most seductive and, as I think, irresistible invitations to the new is to be found in *I.* vi. (vii.); and on this ode I will ask leave to dwell for a little, because it illustrates perfectly what a scientific instrument a just aesthesis becomes in the hands of a critic like Bergk. That admirable scholar observed that in the penultimate line of the second epode of this piece the reading *Ἀμφιάρηόν τε* must be wrong, because it could not be believed that Pindar, in glorifying Strepsiades who fell in battle for Thebes, and in comparing him with Hector and Meleager who died for their country, would couple with these heroes Amphiaraus, who was slain (or rather was swallowed up alive by the earth) not in fighting for, but in leading an expedition against, his fatherland, the very country in defence of which Strepsiades fell. Bergk, fortified by many other excellent arguments which I have not space here to quote, reads *ἀν' Ἀμφιάρειον* 'by the temple of Amphiaraus,' the place where Strepsiades met his death in battle. This palmary emendation is accepted by Metzger and Mr. Bury, who indeed improves it by reading *ἀμφ'* for *ἀν'*. Prof. Fraccaroli falls back on the old reading, though the conjecture of Bergk not only completely restores the sense, but also, in modifying the metre slightly, carries with it too almost equally certain, though very minute, changes in the corresponding verse of the other two epodes in the piece.

In this connexion perhaps I may be permitted to put forward a few arguments in support of two suggestions on this ode made by myself. The first is to read *ἢ ὅτ'* for *ὁπότ'* in the sixth verse. This removes a very great difficulty which perhaps has

[1] The point of the passage is that the Aeacids were always called on when a great enterprise was a-foot and that they never failed to bring their power to bear. A similar correction has restored *συμμάχου δορός* for *σὺν μάχῃ δορός* in Soph. *Ant.* 674.

not presented itself in a sufficiently strong light to the editors. According to the ordinary reading Pindar thus begins the ode:

'In which of the deeds done in thy clime hast thou had most delight, O blessed Thebe? Was it when thou broughtest to fulness Dionysus of the flowing locks? Or when thou didst receive the mightiest of the gods in a midnight shower of gold, what time (ὁπότε) he took his stand within Amphitryon's doors, and approached his wife to the begetting of Herakles? Or when &c.'

Thus Zeus is said to have come to Alcmena as he came to Danaë in a shower of gold. The leading incident in the tale of Danaë might well be transferred to other myths. Indeed, we hear in *O.* vii. 34 of Zeus snowing gold when Athene was born. But how is such a feature in the myth to be reconciled with the words of the present passage? Does not σταθείς 'taking his stand' preclude such a view? Moreover, in *N.* x. 15 Pindar tells the tale of the beguiling of Alcmena by Zeus who, he says, 'In the likeness of Amphitryon entered his halls with the seed that was to beget the dauntless Heracles.'

All these difficulties are met by the simple correction of ὁπότ' to ἢ ὅτ', which is metrically equivalent. We have then to suppose that the fifth verse refers to a visit of Zeus to Thebe in a shower of gold, the sixth alluding naturally to the story of the wooing of Alcmena, as it is familiar to us, and as it is related elsewhere by Pindar.

The second suggestion in the same ode is on the passage in the second epode which runs

ἴστω...ἀστῶν γενεᾷ μέγιστον κλέος αὔξων
ζώων τ' ἀπὸ καὶ θανών,

'let him be certified that he increases to the highest the glory of his fellow-citizens—both living and when he is dead.'

But the order of ἀπὸ καὶ θανών for καὶ ἀποθανών is very suspicious, especially in Pindar. A change of accentuation (which is no change at all) turns these words into

ζωῶν τ' ἄπο καὶ θανών,

'both from the mouths of the living (that is, his contemporaries) and after his death'; and thus we have a characteristic instance of Pindar's passion for variety of construction, of which we have many examples in his odes, *e.g.* *N.* x. 41

νικαφορίαις γαρ ὅσαις (ἑταῖς Bury)...
ἄστυ θάλησεν Κορίνθου τ' ἐν μυχοῖς καὶ Κλεωναίων πρὸς ἀνδρῶν

'prizes won in Corinth and at the hands of Cleonaean folk'; *N.* iv. 19

ἀπ' Ἀθανᾶν Θήβαις τ' ἐν ἑπταπύλοις

'crowns (carried off) from Athens and (won) in Thebes'; *I.* vii. (viii.) 5

Ἰσθμιάδος τε νίκας ἄποινα καὶ Νεμέᾳ
ἀέθλων ὅτι κράτος ἐξεῦρε

'meed of an Isthmian victory and for winning at Nemea'; and *ib.* 35

Δὶ δαμαζομέναν ἢ Διὸς παρ' ἀδελφεοῖσιν

'wedded *to* Zeus or *with* (one of) his brothers.'

Prof. Fraccaroli will no doubt have many to applaud him for his maintenance of time-honoured readings and interpretations, and, as he does not present his readers with a Greek text, perhaps it is unreasonable to demand from him too minute an examination of that which he translates. The book is certainly a mine of Pindaric lore. Every foreign and English editor has been carefully studied, and the notes are full of il Gildersleeve, il Fennell, il Bury. Moreover, the editor is familiar with articles and even short notes on Pindar in various magazines foreign and British, such as the *Rheinisches Museum, Jahrsbericht, Hermes, Philologus, Commentationes Philologicae Monacenses, Quarterly Review, Classical Review, Journal of Hellenic Studies, Journal of Philology* both American and English. The book does much credit to Italian erudition, and it occupies and will maintain a high place among the works of those who have taken upon themselves the difficult but eminently commendable task of attempting to analyse the art and interpret the mind of the most characteristic product of Hellenic genius.

R. Y. TYRRELL.

HOFFMANN'S GREEK DIALECTS.

Die Griechischen Dialekte in ihrem historischen Zusammenhange, mit den wichtigsten ihrer Quellen dargestellt, von Dr. Otto Hoffmann. Zweiter Band. *Der nord-achäische Dialekt.* Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht's Verlag. 1893. 14 Mk.

The second volume of Hoffmann's work is entitled *The North-Achaean Dialect.* In very early times, he conceives, one of the two branches of the great Achaean stock was confined to Thessaly. Thence went forth two colonies, one eastward to Lesbos and the north-west corner of Asia Minor, the other southward to the district afterwards called Boeotia. The language spoken before the separation the author here seeks to restore by a comparison of the Aeolic and Thessalian dialects, as in the first volume the southern branch of Achaean was reconstructed from Arcadian and Cyprian. In this restoration the dialect of the colony which settled in Boeotia is but sparingly used, for the incursions of a North Doric people, the Βοιωτοί, produced a mixed speech, North Doric in its sounds, North Achaean in its forms, which has been reserved for separate treatment at the end of the third volume, after the North and Middle Doric dialects. While it may be conceded that the mixture in Boeotian is so great that it could not successfully be grouped with either North Achaean or North Doric, the very necessity of its separate treatment is a vindication of the method of Meister so severely criticized by Hoffmann in the preface to his first volume. That method certainly has its uses and advantages as well as the system of grouping, and should naturally precede it. The grouping can be carried out more successfully after the facts of each dialect by itself have been carefully collected and arranged, and the task of Hoffmann has certainly been rendered much more simple by the labours in the separate dialects of those who have preceded him.

A striking feature of this volume is the great mass of unnecessary material. Of the 620 pages 244 are devoted to 'eine ausführliche kritische Bearbeitung der Quellen,' which to the author appeared necessary. It is doubtful if many will agree with him. One is grateful for the collection of inscriptions discovered since the publication of the Collitz-Bechtet *Sammlung* and not elsewhere brought together, but all these might have been given within the compass of fifty pages, and of those already published it would have been enough to give a list of the changes he desired to make. For the insertion of the fragments of the lyric poets no sufficient reason can be given. The edition of Bergk is satisfying to most minds, and it is hard to find what Hoffmann has added to it. He has, indeed, restored many Aeolic forms according to the known laws of the dialect, but such corrections give no support, other than negative, to those laws. The question arises, Will the fourth volume, which is to deal with Ionic, contain a similar treatment of the literature of that dialect, and present us perhaps with an edition of Herodotus corrected to agree with the inscriptional evidence?

Few will deny that the space taken up by this superfluous matter would have been far better given to the 'Wortbildung,' 'Wortschatz' and 'Syntax' which it has crowded out.

As for the main part of the work, the treatment of the sounds and forms, the greatest praise is due on account of the fulness of the material and the clearness of its arrangement. On the former of these points, however, a few words should be said. In giving full lists of the examples in which a dialect has preserved or changed the sounds of the original speech, Hoffmann and other recent writers on the Greek dialects have followed a much better method than that of Meister, who in general has contented himself with citing peculiarities of form merely. It is necessary that *all* the facts should be present to determine the limits within which a change has taken place, and explain it as far as possible. But, when an author is attempting, as in this work, to prove an original unity of certain dialects, this abundance of examples is deceptive, and seems to prove far more than it really does. On glancing through the pages treating the vowels, and observing the long list of words in which Thessalian and Aeolic agree, the impression is received, and rightly, that these two dialects after all differed but very little. But most of these words

show exactly the same form in other dialects, and however much this may prove for the original unity of all Greek dialects, it proves nothing for the separate existence of an Aeolic-Thessalian group. That can be shown only by the common possession of peculiarities of form, and to determine this the attention must be confined to just such words as Meister is in the habit of citing, and the comparison can be made almost as easily in his work as in Hoffmann's. The dangers incident to the method of arrangement followed by the latter are well illustrated by his treatment of ᾰ. This occupies twenty pages. Thirteen of these contain examples common to all dialects: the remainder deal with words in which 'to a North Achaean ᾰ another vowel corresponds in other dialects.' Yet not one of the examples of the latter kind is certainly common to Aeolic and Thessalian. Aeolic alone uses ὑπᾰ, -τα, -θα, ᾰτερος, and ἐτᾰρας; Thessalian alone, Λευκᾰθέα, ἰᾰρός, and Ἀσκᾰλάπιος. This is an exceptional case, of course, and there are sufficient resemblances between Aeolic and Thessalian to prove a close connexion between the two. In dealing with these dialects, and with Arcadian and Cyprian, where the relationship had before been recognized, Hoffmann is perhaps justified in letting the work of proof and reconstruction go together, but when he treats of dialects whose exact relationship has not yet been determined, the reader will require to be first convinced that they are to be grouped by themselves, before receiving the collection of their common forms as a reconstruction of the original language of the group.

In his explanations of the facts of the dialects Hoffmann has naturally found little that is new in material so frequently worked over before. His views are always worthy of attention, and, where doubt may arise, he has always considerable evidence in his favour.

That Aeolic αυο, ευο, &c. (in ναῦος, &c.) arose from ασϝο &c., αυσο &c., or αυjο &c., must be regarded as not proven. There is no evidence that medial -σϝ- dropped σ and not ϝ: the Cyprian τᾶ ϝανάσσας = τᾶς ϝανάσσας gives slight hold for such a result in Aeolic; on the other hand there is ἴσσος, Sappho 91, from ϝίσϝος. If we turn to *ναυσος instead of *νασϝος as the original form of ναῦος, the difficulty remains of explaining the long ᾱ in Doric νᾱός, Ionic νηός. The different resultants of the combination ης are not clearly brought out. The statement on p. 479, that 'the spirants were assimilated to a neighbouring nasal by the North Achaeans,' implies that this change took place, not in primitive Greek, but after the separation into dialects, and it is not stated that -νς final remained at that time unchanged. On p. 414 we read that 'In Aeolic the three short-vowel diphthongs ᾰι, ει, οι, and the diphthong ωι arose from a ν before σ, passing over as nasalis sonans into ι.' Now it is true that ανς, ενς, and ονς became in Aeolic αις, εις, and οις, but that is no ground for stating that νς became ις. As Hoffmann himself states on p. 416, there is no example of υις from υνς, and as for supposing that τρίνς became *τρῐῖς, which afterwards contracted into τρῖς, it is difficult to believe that τρῐῖς ever existed anywhere except on paper. The exact nature of the phonetic change of -ανς to -αις I leave to others to discuss, but I gain no enlightenment from the statement that ανς > αῑς > αις. On p. 392 βάκχιος, a patronymic, is derived from *βακχίειος, through *βακχίεος, by dropping of ι before ο and contraction of ιε to ῑ. Yet only a single certain example of ει losing its ι before a vowel is cited (p. 451), though surely that law must have been a well-established one before a further contraction could take place as a result of it. It is not strange that Hoffmann is somewhat doubtful of his explanation. What need of supposing βάκχιος to be anything but the patronymic of βάκχος? The name was applied to men (see Pape). There are other points to be criticized in the treatment of vowel contraction. Thus, while the sound which originally separated the vowels is used as a basis of distinction, it is not pointed out that this matter resolves itself into one of chronology. If αε < α-ι̯-ε was contracted to ᾱ, while αε < α-ϝ-ε remained open, then the conclusion must be drawn that such forms as δυνάεται, ἐδώκαεν, &c., where no intervening consonant is to be assumed, are late formations, later than the contraction of αε < α-ι̯-ε. Again it is said that ε-σ-ε, ε-ϝ-ε, were contracted in ἦχον, κλειτός, but in all other cases remained open. The fact is that like vowels were regularly contracted. If the inscriptions show such a form as συγγένεες, it is due to the influence of other cases, συγγένεα, συγγενέων &c., and is probably a mere matter of orthography, just as in Attic inscriptions towards the end of the fourth century -εες appeared for the earlier -Es, -εις

The index to the volume is incomplete, a defect not compensated for by the excellent arrangement. On p. 314 ἐνεφανισσοε-ῳ should read ἐνεφανισσο-ῳ.

In conclusion it may be said that, on account of the richness of the material, students of Greek dialects cannot afford to be without this book. But the chief end of the work is as yet brought no nearer. We have not yet been shown that the Greek dialects can be arranged in three main groups.

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SOMMERBRODT'S LUCIAN.

Lucianus. Recognovit JULIUS SOMMERBRODT. Vol. I. Pars. II. Berlin, Weidmann. 1889. M. 6.
Vol. II. Pars. I. 1893. M. 6.

PROBABLY no man is better equipped by long experience for bringing out an edition of Lucian than the editor of the present text edition. Since 1853, when the first volume of his *Selections* appeared, Sommerbrodt has been more or less actively engaged in editing and emending Lucian, and has thus had ample opportunity for becoming well acquainted with the literature of his author. In the present work, of which the first part of the first volume appeared in 1886, Sommerbrodt proposes to give us a complete edition of the text of Lucian together with a critical commentary and the readings of the best manuscripts. In his preface however he lays down a principle for establishing the text which will hardly be approved by all scholars, namely that of consulting only a few manuscripts which he regards as the best, and then, if their readings prove unsatisfactory, of emending the text to suit the passage in question.

Sommerbrodt thinks there is no common source for the large mass of existing manuscripts of Lucian, and makes no attempt to follow up the work of Rothstein in tracing the connexion between them and separating them into families. He therefore discards as worthless all the manuscripts except some sixteen, upon which he relies for his text. Of these he considers Vindob. 123 (B), Vat. 87 (U), Vat. 90 (Γ), Laur. 77 (Φ), Marc. 436 (Ψ), Mut. 193, Marc. 434 (Ω) together with Vat. 1324 and Paris. 3673 (Ath.) the best. But wherever a passage seems obscure Sommerbrodt follows his plan of resorting to conjecture to remove the difficulty, sometimes adopting the emendations of other scholars and sometimes making suggestions of his own; but in a few places he is forced to acknowledge that he is not satisfied with any of the suggestions which have been made.

A general idea of the emendations adopted into the text may be obtained from the following passages taken from the *Alexander*. In ch. 4 (end) the editor changes ἐπινοεῖν to ἐννοεῖν on the ground that the latter word is more appropriate. In ch. 8 he follows Hemsterhuys and Fritzsche in inserting τυράννοιν in the phrase ὑπὸ δυεῖν τοῖν μεγίστοιν τυραννούμενον τυράννοιν, ἐλπίδος καὶ φόβου, the manuscripts reading ὑπὸ δυεῖν τούτοιν (τοῖν ΨU) τυραννούμενον, ἐλπίδος καὶ φόβου. In ch. 10 he changes ὀλίγης δὲ τῆς περὶ τοῦτο στάσεως to οὐκ ὀλίγης δὲ κ.τ.λ. and in ch. 30 for τὰ μὲν ἰδόντες, τὰ δὲ ὡς ἰδόντες καὶ ὡς ἀκούσαντες he adopts the conjecture τὰ μὲν ἰδόντες, τὰ δὲ ὡς ἰδόντος ἀκούσαντες. Again in ch. 32 he emends ἀλλὰ καὶ μηχανεῖται to καὶ ἄλλο τι μηχανεῖται. In all these passages the emendations may make the text easier, but the reading of the manuscripts can be understood without great difficulty, and a more conservative editor would doubtless hesitate before adopting some of the conjectures offered.

The *lectiones codicum* which are placed together at the end of each half of each volume call for favourable comment. They are clearly arranged and apparently very complete for the manuscripts which the editor has consulted. All variations from the Teubner text edition of Lucian by Jacobitz are noted. The various readings and emendations preferred by the editor are discussed separately in the *adnotatio critica*.

A typographical improvement which should not pass unnoticed is the printing of the numbers of the chapters of each selection in the margin as well as in the text. This makes reference to this edition very much easier than to the Teubner text edition or to the edition of Fritzsche where the number of a chapter is frequently hidden away in the middle of a page of text.

The contents of these two volumes are, in vol. i. part ii. the *adnotatio critica* to parts one and two and the *lectiones codicum*

to part two besides the text in the usual order from *Charon* through the *Scytha s. Hospes;* in vol. ii. part i. the text from *Quomodo Hist. sit Conscrib.* through the *Vita Demonactis* together with the *lectiones codicum* and the *adnotatio critica* to the text. This edition is distinctly an improvement on previous complete text editions.

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TAPPERTZ ON THE USE OF THE CONJUNCTIONS IN MANILIUS.

De coniunctionum usu apud Manilium quaestiones selectae. Scripsit EDUARDUS TAPPERTZ. Munster. 1892.

THIS dissertation may be considered supplementary to the two treatises of Cramer *de Manilii qui dicitur elocutione* and *der Infinitiv bei Manilius.* The *Lucubrationes* of M. Paul Thomas naturally and necessarily form the groundwork of it; but the author has utilized various other contributions which in the last decennium have been made to the study of Manilius by Bechert, Cartault, Breiter, Rossberg, Krämer and others, including my own *Noctes Manilianae.* It is satisfactory to find that the study not only of the Roman astrological poet, but of other writers on the stars, Greek or Roman, is steadily progressing. A new edition of the *Mathesis* of Firmicus Maternus has just been issued by the indefatigable press of Teubner: and the same firm promise editions of the Εἰσαγωγή of Geminus, and the Commentary of Hipparchos on Aratus' *Phaenomena,* based on MSS. not examined before.

The most important section of Tappertz' dissertation is that on the copulative particles *et, que, ac* (*atque*), *nec* (*neque*). These are treated with considerable minuteness, and though, probably for want of space, the citations are often given only in outline, any one who wishes to arrive at an idea of Manilius' style will get a very fair idea of it by simply reading through pp. 8—51. Very instructive are the details given by Tappertz as to the way in which M. constructs his long-drawn sentences by the most varied combinations of *et* and *que.* All readers of the *Astronomics* know that one of the chief difficulties in the grammar of the poem is its linking together of clauses not always clear either as to their connexion with each other or as to their relation with the leading idea of the sentence.

Incidentally a number of disputed passages are discussed, and the leading views of the most eminent Manilian critics, notably Bentley and Jacob, to say nothing of those whom the last half-century has produced, are brought under revision. Tappertz has also propounded views of his own which are worth considering. Now that the prose Astrology of Firmicus, which seems largely indebted to Manilius, is accessible to every one, we may confidently look forward to a new treatment of the various questions which a comparison of the two works, separated by a long interval of time, cannot fail to give rise to.

R. E.

BLÜMNER'S *HOME LIFE OF THE ANCIENT GREEKS.*

The Home Life of the Ancient Greeks, translated from the German of Prof. H. BLÜMNER by ALICE ZIMMERN. Pp. xv. + 548, with 206 illustrations. *7s. 6d.* Cassell & Co.: London. 1893.

THIS is a translation of Prof. Blümner's well-known *Leben und Sitten der Griechen* (Prague 1887). The English title is somewhat misleading, as it contains chapters on 'religious worship, public festivals, the theatre, war and seafaring,' as well as on private antiquities.

The three volumes of the German edition have been brought into one, the references to authorities are placed at the end of the work and the list of the source of the illustrations is omitted. In its new form the work is more carefully printed, but costs double the original price (*3s.*).

Dr. Blümner's work is professedly popular and gives a concise account of such public and private antiquities as are intelligible to the general reader. Its value is much increased by the illustrations, which are drawn from recent sources and on the whole well reproduced. Most of these, especially the vase-paintings, are new to the English public, which as a rule has to be contented with *clichés* twenty or thirty years old.

The great defect of the work is the absence of any guide as to the date, *provenance* or present home of the originals, a defect which is made worse by the omission (mentioned above) of the sources from which the illustrations are taken. This however is rather a specialist's objection, for Prof. Blümner does not forget to state that the monuments and antiquities considered are those of the sixth to the fourth century B.C.

The translation is readable but marred by many slips and inaccuracies, most of which are due to a defective knowledge of the subject-matter.

Most unfortunately the worst chapter is the first—that on 'costume.' The German text is far from satisfactory, for it is not fully intelligible without some acquaintance with Greek art and archaeological literature. A most amusing instance of the pitfalls into which the translator has fallen is to be found in the account of the apron or loincloth (*Lenden oder Hüftenschurz*) which was the primitive under-garment of the Greeks. 'Besides the chiton the older male costume also had a sort of bib (διπλοΐδιον). It is by no means impossible that at one period the Greeks wore only the bib and the cloak and no chiton. When the latter became universally fashionable (which according to recent surmises was due to Semitic influence), the bib disappeared, or continued only as part of military dress' (p. 6). A Greek dressed in a bib and cloak reminds one irresistibly of the topboots and collar of the savage king, but the translator's addition of διπλοΐδιον makes her views on the subject only too clear. The mistake is unfortunate, for later on, in describing the tucker or fold which hangs over the breast in front of the chiton (*Brustüberschlag*), she uses the same word 'bib,' except in one case where she calls it a 'scarf' (pp. 11, 12). This makes the confusion worse, for she also calls the small mantle or shawl (*umschlagetuch* p. 41, *Echarpe* p. 43) shown in some of the early red-figured vase-paintings a 'scarf.'

Some other translations are equally misleading, *e.g. Faltenwurf* is 'drapery' instead of 'arrangement of folds' (pp. 9, 45), and *Bausch* or *Kolpos* becomes 'double-girding.'

Besides these more obvious errors there are several smaller inaccuracies which seriously affect the meaning, *e.g.* 'The monuments of the next period' (*nunmehr*) (p. 9), and the translation of *Bildwerke* by 'pictures' in one place (p. 9) and 'statues' in another (p. 18). The rest of the book is much freer from mistakes and is for the most part very readable. The worst slip we have noticed is in the account of the *discobolus* (p. 277), where the German translation of Lucian's description is very inaccurately rendered, making the account which follows almost unintelligible. There are also here and there some curious renderings: the handle (*Henkel*) of a vase is called a 'haft' (p. 281): the 'Basilina (*sic*) the wife of the Archon chief' (p. 386) represents *Basilinna d. h. die Gemählin des Archon Basileus*: 'The feast of Cans' (χοαί *sic*) stands for *Kannenfest.*'

It is indeed a great pity that the translation has not been revised by some one with a special knowledge of Greek antiquities, for it fills a vacant space among our handbooks, supplying an amount of monumental evidence that is sadly wanting elsewhere, and giving in short compass a large amount of information on comparatively neglected subjects.

In spite of the errors, the translator deserves our best thanks. She has given the general reader a large mass of information by the aid of which he can reclothe the dry bones of antiquity and learn to look on the old Greeks as people who lived and moved, much as we do. The translation will, we hope, reach a second edition and afford the opportunity of clearing away the 'slips' which at present detract from its value.

W. C. F. Anderson.

JOHNSON ON THE SUBJUNCTIVE AND OPTATIVE IN EURIPIDES.

De Coniunctivi et Optativi Usu Euripideo in Enuntiatis Finalibus et Condicionalibus. Scripsit FRANCISCUS JOHNSON, Dr. Phil. Berlin: 1893. Richard Heinrich. Pp. 70. 2 Mk.

APPARENTLY Dr. Johnson has examined all the cases in Euripides coming under the heads of Pure Final Clauses, Object Clauses after Verbs of Striving, Object Clauses after Verbs of Fearing, and Conditional Sentences, treating some of the cases at length while others he merely cites. His classification, owing to its intricacy and want of clearness in arrangement, is very hard to follow, and whatever be the merits of the treatise it must be admitted that it shows carelessness in construction. For example on p. 36, section iii., on the mood after ἵνα, ἵνα μή, ὡς, ὡς μή, ὅπως, ὅπως μή, and μή alone depending on past tenses, we have first a summary of the preceding section, the first clause of which reads: Supra ii., (ἵνα) invenimus locos v., while in reality there are six; and finally: Itaque locis lviii. optativus, viii. coniunctivus invenitur; neque vero metrum obstat quominus hi loci viii. corrigantur. Inde concludo Euripidem coniunctivum numquam sic adhibuisse. Now he cannot mean that he thinks Euripides never used the Subjunctive at all after past tenses, for he gives on p. 12, p. 24, &c., abundant instances to the contrary. What he does mean probably is that he thinks Euripides never used the Subjunctive except when the action of the leading verb is conceived of as continuing into the present (cf. examples on p. 12). But he does not explicitly state this, and in any case the assertion is a remarkable one.

Other instances of carelessness are as follows: on p. 41 one of his divisions (B. I. c.) is the Subjunctive after ὡς ἄν μή, where the example contains no μή at all; and on p. 64, (a ε) and p. 65 (c. ε, ααζ, cη et ccη), where *coni.* is put for *opt.*

Dr. Johnson's general conclusions may be summarized as follows: In the use of the Subjunctive and Optative in final clauses Euripides does not differ much from Sophocles and Aeschylus, for these three poets (1) used ὡς rather oftener than the other particles, Euripides somewhat more than the other two, and Sophocles considerably more than Aeschylus; (2) μή alone in adverbial clauses they used a little oftener than μή with ἵνα, ὡς, ὅπως, Euripides in about the same proportion as Aeschylus and Sophocles; (3) they used the Optative after past tenses when an action simply past was had in mind; (4) they used the Optative when the Optative occurred in the principal clause, but possibly Euripides preferred the Subjunctive after ideas of wishing, though this is not certain; (5) Euripides was the first poet after Homer to omit the idea of fearing, &c., before μή, or rather he first returned to the old way of expression; (6) ὅπως μή after a verb of fearing occurs once in Euripides; (7) Euripides with the other tragedians used the Subjunctive after primary tenses.

With regard to conditional sentences Dr. Johnson concludes: (1) in Euripides as in Aeschylus and Sophocles both ἤν and ἐάν, but ἐάν never except *metri causa*, while the form ἄν does not occur; (2) Euripides never used the Subjunctive with εἰ; (3) Euripides much oftener, Sophocles a little less often, used ἤν with the Subjunctive than εἰ with the Future Indicative, while Aeschylus almost always used εἰ with the Future Indicative. Euripides therefore of all the tragedians most nearly followed the speech of the people; (4) Euripides often used εἰ with the Optative in general conditions.

An index of passages discussed and emended would have facilitated reference to this treatise.

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ROBERTS'S *SHORT PROOF THAT GREEK WAS THE LANGUAGE OF CHRIST.*

A Short Proof that Greek was the Language of Christ, by PROFESSOR ROBERTS, D.D. Alex. Gardner: Paisley and London. 1893.

PROFESSOR ROBERTS supplements his larger work of 1888 by a brief argument addressed to a wider circle of readers. The proof may be condensed as follows:—

1. The whole Old Testament circulated in some *written* form, as is shown by Christ's appeals to 'the Scriptures' and by such phrases as 'have ye not read?' or 'as it is written.'

2. This 'People's Bible' was not Hebrew, a language now unintelligible to the common people addressed by Christ, nor can the existence of a written Aramaic version be asserted.

3. Therefore 'by a process of exhaustion' we infer that this People's Bible was the Septuagint, a conclusion supported by the constant use of the LXX. for quotations of the Old Testament in the New. The Aramaic expressions in the Gospels represent then only an occasional use, and the discourses of Christ were delivered in Greek.

The argument is singularly inconclusive. It ignores the purely formal value of *ὡς γέγραπται* and *αἱ γραφαί*. They are appeals to the contents of the Old Testament irrespective of the manner in which it is known. Professor Roberts overestimates the circulation of books among the peasants of Palestine and ignores the significance of oral translation into Aramaic by the Meturgeman in the synagogues. Whether that usage can be dated as early as the time of Christ or not, such passages as Mark xv. 34 attest some acquaintance with the Old Testament in Aramaic. The unintelligibility of Hebrew is overstated, as may be seen by the interesting remarks of Franz Delitzsch in his pamphlet *The Hebrew New Testament*, p. 30. Kautzsch (*Grammatik des biblischen Aramäischen*, p. 19) indeed infers from Luke iv. 17 that the Hebrew Bible could still be understood by the people.

Lastly, the use of the LXX. in quotations by writers addressing non-Palestinian readers proves nothing as to the common use of the LXX. in Galilee.

If the author's conclusion could be granted, its importance would not be such as he imagines. We could not infer that we are reading the sayings of Christ exactly as they were originally uttered. The difficulties which beset the criticism of the Gospels would remain undisturbed.

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ARCHAEOLOGY.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM KOS AND HALICARNASSUS.

(1) Kos. In the possession of Mr. Ioannides; complete stele, width 38 cm. The forms of the most important letters are Μ Π Σ Ξ Υ.

Ἔδοξεν τᾷ βουλᾷ καὶ τῷ
δάμῳ· Πολύαρχος Ἀτασί-
λα εἶπε· Χαρίαν Ἀριστοκρά-
τευς Ἀθηναῖον πρόξενον
ἦμεν τᾶς πόλιος τᾶς Κῴ-
ων καὶ εὐεργέταν καὶ αὐ-
τὸν καὶ ἐκγόνος· ἦμεν δὲ
αὐτοῖς καὶ ἔσπλουν καὶ ἔκ-
πλουν καὶ ἐμ πολέμῳ καὶ
ἐν εἰράνα ἀσυλεὶ καὶ ἀσπον-
δεὶ καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ χρήμασιν.

A Coan decree of proxeny more succinct than any of those previously known (Paton and Hicks, *Inscripp. of Cos*, Nos. 1–3) and remarkable in omitting *γνωμὰ προστατᾶν* after the first sentence. I have not here the index to the *C.I.A.* vol 2 and cannot discover if anything is known about the Athenian here benefited.

(2) I espied this in 1886 in a street in Kos. It had just been excavated by some workmen. I discovered it in an old note-book a few days ago. The stone has doubtless been lost, as I could find no trace of it in 1888. I prefer to reproduce my copy without any attempt at restoration, as it is evident that a great deal is lost. As to the accuracy of the copy I will beg that it may be estimated by a low standard, as this is one of the very first copies of Greek inscriptions I made, and I know now that it takes a long time to learn how to copy them with any approach to accuracy.

ΡΙΩΙΚΑΙΣΑΡΙΘΕΟΥΣΕ
ΣΑΣΕΧΕΙΠΑΡΑΥΤΟ
ΜΙΟΝΕΣΤΩΓΤΑΣΑΣΕ
ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝ
Ρ'ΣΕΒΑΣ ΙΓΓΙ
ΟΔΕΥ ΟΝΑΙ
ΟΣΤΟΤΡΙΤΟΝΠΑ
ΙΔΑΣΕΙΚΟΣΙΠΕΝΤ

(3) In the collection of Mr. Platanistas. Mr. Demetrios Platanistas, the father of

the present Mr. Platanistas, acquired this stone, as he told Mr. Newton (*Halicarnassus, Cnidus*, &c., p. 580), at Cara Toprak near Myndus; but, although there are other traces of the cultus of Artemis in this region (see *Bull. Hell.* xiv. p. 118), I do not think that this evidence suffices to establish the existence of a cult of Artemis Kindyas near Myndus. Kindya was near Bargylia, I think, on a hill above the village of Cholmekji. It was an important place in the fifth century, paying to Athens a much bigger tribute than Bargylia, and its Artemis (see Strabo) continued to be famous for long; but nevertheless I think it is more probable that this stone was carried from Bargylia to Myndus than that the worship of Artemis Kindyas was so carried.

(1) Height 38 cm., width 44 cm. Letters Α Μ Ε Ϲ Ω Ζ.

Τὸ μνημεῖον Φουρσίων[ος
Ἀττάλου καὶ Δάμα καὶ
Δημητρίου ἐν ᾧ κη-
δευθήσονται αὐτοὶ
καὶ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ
τέκνα καὶ εἴ τινες (τισιν?) αὐτοὶ ζῶν-
τες συνχωρήσουσιν. Ἐὰν δέ
τις παρὰ ταῦτα ποιήσῃ ἀπο-
τείσει Ἀρτέμιδι Κινδυά-
δι ⋊φ

Beneath ΚΙΝΔΥΑ is engraved an ivy leaf.

This inscription may have been already published long ago in the Πανδώρα or Ὅμηρος, but it is interesting enough to be reproduced here. It is not cited by Hirschfeld in his catalogue of sepulchral inscriptions with fines.

HALICARNASSUS.

The castle of St. Peter is being converted into a prison. I fancy that no great harm will be done, as scarcely anything architectural will be destroyed; but the numerous Latin inscriptions of the names of knights in the refectory and elsewhere will be exposed to some risk. The chapel of the knights is being made into a prison for misdemeanants, and in order that they shall enjoy the comforts denied to felons, the stone flooring of the chapel has been taken up and replaced by a wooden one. On one of the blocks thus removed the following inscription is engraved:

Height 60 cm., width 49 cm. Letters Σ Μ Φ Υ Π Ο.

Ἐπὶ ἱεροποιοῦ Διοφάντου τοῦ Διοκλέους, ἐπὶ
πρυτανείας τῆς μετὰ Μητροδώρου τοῦ Λεοντι(ά)δ[ου,
γραμματεύοντος Δράκοντος τοῦ Θεοδώρου, μηνὸς
Ἀνθεστηριῶνος. Ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμ[ῳ·
γνώμη πρυτάνεων· ἐπειδὴ Διόδοτος Φιλονίκου πᾶσα[ν
φιλοτιμίαν καὶ προθυμίαν παρέσχηται εἰς τὸ ἐπι-
σκευασθῆναι τὸ γυμνάσιον τὸ Φιλιππεῖον ἐμ μὲν [τ]ῶ[ι
πρώτῳ ψηφίσματι ἐπαγ[γ]ειλάμενος εἰς τὰ ἔργα μὲ[ν
τῆς διπλῆς στόας δώσειν ἄτοκον δραχμὰς μυρίας κα[ὶ τὸ
ἔλλειπον κατὰ τὰς ἐπαγγελίας πᾶν, πάλι[ν] δὲ ἐν ἄλ[λῳ
ψηφίσματι φιλοτιμούμενος ὅπως ἂν ἅπαν ᾖ συντετε-
λεσμένον τὸ γυμνάσιον τὰ προσδέοντα χρήματα
κατὰ τὰς ἐπαγγελίας δώσειν αὐτὸς πάντα ἄτοκα καὶ
διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας συμβέβηκεν ἅπαν το γυμνάσι[ον
ἐ]πεσκευάσθαι καὶ ἀποδεδείχασιν οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ τῇ βουλ[ῇ
συντετελεσμένα πάντα τὰ ἔργα ἀρεστῶς καὶ δεδο[κί-
μακεν ἡ βουλή, καὶ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ φέρουσιν οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ
εἰς τὰ ἔργα δεδωκότα Διόδοτον τὸ πᾶν ἄτοκον δραχ[μὰς
τρισμυρίας τρισχιλίας τετρακοσίας, οὐ μόνον δὲ
αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν ἀλλὰ καί τινας τῶν δεδωκότων δώ[σ]ε[ιν
ἔπεισεν· δεδόχθαι ὅπως ἂν καὶ ὁ δῆμος φανερὸς ᾖ
τὸν εἰς τὸ γυμνάσιον φιλοτιμηθέντα τιμῶν τιμ[αῖς
ταῖς καταξίαις καὶ πάντες προτρέπωνται εἰς τοίας χρ[είας
παρέχεσθαι εἰδότες τὴν εὐχαριστίαν τοῦ δήμου
στεφανῶσαι Διόδοτον Φιλονίκου χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ
καὶ εἰκόνι χαλκῇ ἀπὸ δραχμῶν τετρακισχιλίων
σ]τῆσαι δὲ τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ [γ]υ[μ]να[σί]ῳ ἵνα
ὑ]πόμνημα ᾖ τῆς φιλοτιμίας [ἧς] εἰς τὸ γ[υμ]νά[σιον
παρέσχετο καὶ εἰς χρημάτων [λ]όγο[ν] ὑπὲρ τ[ῶν . . . .
·ων αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς τὰ ἄλλα· ὅπως δ' ἂν [τὸ ἀργύριον
δοθῇ τό τε εἰς τὸν στ[έφανο]ν [κ]αὶ τὴν ε[ἰκόνα οἱ τάμιαι

ἐπειδὴ αἱ μὲν ἱεραὶ καὶ δημόσ[ιαι δαπάναι γένωνται
ὁρῶντες δὲ . . . . . .
Διόδοτον . . . . . .
(*The rest is missing.*)

Some of the readings in the last lines are a little doubtful, as the stone is much corroded here. In line 29 at the end I read ΥΠΕΓΓ on the stone, but the impression seems to establish ΥΠΕΡΤ. At the beginning of line 30 Ω is very doubtful. In line 32 the same may be said of ΔΗΜ. This is, I fancy, the only known decree of Halicarnassus dated by a ἱεροποιός. For a list of Halicarnassian decrees see Diehl and Cousin in *Bull. Hell.* xiv. p. 91 and Hirschfeld in *Inscrr. of the B. M.* part iv. p. 55.

By the ψηφίσματα mentioned here we must understand decrees relating to the construction of the gymnasium not necessarily introduced by Diodotus, but having appended to them a list of subscribers of whom he was the chief. It would appear that two appeals for subscriptions were issued. In the first case Diodotus put himself down for 10,000 drachmas and also offered to pay up the subscriptions which were not forthcoming from the subscribers. In the second case he did not subscribe any definite amount, but renewed his former offer. He must have been a most popular man, for it is evident that had he any private and particular enemy, that enemy might have made himself very unpleasant to him by putting himself down for 100,000 drachmas and refusing to pay up. Possibly however in each case the appeal was for a stated amount. In line 20 I am not quite sure of the Ω.Ε at the end, but supposing them to be correct, we can only restore δώσειν, a tense, I fancy, unusual after πείθω.

On the left return of this stone is engraved:

ΝΙΚΗ
ΝΕΩΝΟϹ
ΤΟΥ
ΚΟΡΡΑ
ΝΙΚΗ
/

This is yet another specimen of a class of graffiti which has been most recently discussed by Th. Reinach in the *Rev. des Études Grecques* vi. p. 197. I do not think that they have yet been satisfactorily explained, as no one has as yet brought under one point of view their two most characteristic qualities: (1) their geographical distribution—they are peculiar to Cos and the Carian coast; (2) the fact that they are almost invariably engraved on stones bearing previous inscriptions.[1]

Two stones inscribed with ΝΙΚΗ followed by a proper name were found by me at Kos (*Inscrr. of Cos*, Nos. 69, 70), and these, as I have there stated, are not graffiti at all but regularly engraved texts; and therefore I should suggest that the usage of this formula is derived from Cos. I would hence also venture the suggestion that all these inscriptions are to be regarded as prayers for good health. I should be grateful to any one who would add to the very slender support on which I have founded this hypothesis.

The right return of this stone has been covered with stucco, and some few traces of a Christian painted inscription remain.

(2) Fragment partially complete on the left, width 24 cm., height 14 cm., thickness 7 cm. recently found in the castle.

ΙΑϹϹΩΝΔΙΑΤΕΛ
ϽΑΙΤΕΑΥΤΟΝΑΡΕΤΗ
ϹΕΙϹΤΟΝΔΗΜΟΝΕ||
ΙΠΡΟϹΤΕΤΗΝΒΟΥΛΙ
5 ΙΕΡΑΠΡΩΤΩΚΔΙΠΙ
ΚΛΙΕΙϹΠΛΟΥ
Ϟ

Part of a decree of earlier date than the last. We may restore

[. . . . . πάντα τὰ ἀγαθὰ π-]
ράσσων διατελ[εῖ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπηνῆσ-
θαι τε αὐτὸν ἀρετῆ[ς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας
τῆ]ς εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ε[ἶναι δὲ αὐτῷ πρόσο-
δον] πρός τε τὴν βουλ[ὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον με-
5 τὰ τὰ]ἱερὰ πρώτω(ι) κ(α)ὶ π . . . . . .
. . . . . καὶ εἴσπλου[ν καὶ ἔκπλουν κ.τ.λ.

In line 5 the Δ certainly comes closer in form to Δ than an A, but is of course meant for the latter.

[1] This is true of all the examples of these graffiti known to me personally and from sources previous to Reinach, except Le Bas-Waddington, Nos. 366 and 503. Reinach publishes a number from Iasos engraved on drums of columns 'either separately or after previous inscriptions'; from which we may conjecture that those engraved 'separately' were cut on columns, other drums of which bore previous inscriptions.

W. R. Paton.

Calymnos, *Feb.* 11th, 1894.

Meisterwerke der Griechischen Plastik. Kunstgeschichtliche Untersuchungen von ADOLF FURTWÄNGLER. With 140 illustrations in the text, and an atlas of 32 plates. Leipzig and Berlin. Giesecke and Devrient: 1893.

SECOND NOTICE.

3. *Kresilas.* In publishing the fine bust of Perikles (Brit. Mus.), now generally accepted as a copy of the famous portrait of Perikles by Kresilas, Furtwängler establishes certain stylistic criteria which enable him to claim for this artist a whole important series of monuments. This portrait bust—(that the original was really a bust seems proved by the shape of the inscribed basis found in 1888, Lolling *Deltion Arch.* 1889, p. 36)—was put up, Furtwängler suggests, in B.C. 439 to commemorate the successful expedition of Perikles to Samos. He might have added, as further corroboration, that the enthusiasm roused by the Samian exploit found expression in another portrait,—for it must have been about the same time that Polykleitos executed the portrait of Artemon, one of the engineers of Perikles during the Samian war.

Controversy has been raging of late around the Diitrephes of Kresilas. Furtwängler shows that the Diitrephes mentioned on the Akropolis inscription that bears the name of Kresilas (Loewy *I.G.B.* 46) was not, as Pausanias supposed, the hero of the Mykalessian exploit, but an older Diitrephes, father of a certain Nikostratos—(who is mentioned by Thucydides as one of the generals at the beginning of the Peloponnesian wars); the epigraphical difficulties connected with the dating of the work are thus disposed of. By publishing as a copy of the Diitrephes the torso of the so-called Farnese gladiator at Naples (it agrees in every respect with the descriptions in Pausanias and Pliny, the *volneratus deficiens* being of course identical with the Diitrephes), Furtwängler puts an end to extravagant conjectures like those lately advanced by M. Six. Furtwängler shows finally and definitely, through her likeness to the Perikles, that the wounded Amazon[1] leaning on her spear (Michaelis' Capitoline type) was by Kresilas. In this connexion he discusses the existing material collected by Michaelis for the reconstruction of the Amazons, and in so doing brings to light three important points: (1) that the Amazon of the Villa Doria is *not* a replica of the Polykleitan type, but a distinct fourth type which had hitherto passed unnoticed; (2) that the head placed upon the Petworth Amazon is foreign to the statue, and that therefore the head belonging to this type still has to be found; (3) that the Naples bronze head is *not* a replica of the head of the Polykleitan Amazon. The discovery of a fourth Amazon shows that archaeologists have perhaps been premature in doubting the story of the four Amazons told by Pliny. The Doria statue, from its likeness to the Polykleitan, betrays an Argive origin, and may therefore very well be the work of Phradmon. Furtwängler combats the theory that sees in the Petworth-Mattei type a mere adaptation of the Polykleitan; he points out the great originality of the conception (it is strange it should ever have been doubted) and does not hesitate to trace it back to Pheidias. He inclines to consider that we have a copy of the head of this Pheidian Amazon in the Naples bronze.

Furtwängler emphasizes the likeness (already noticed by Michaelis) between the Kresilaian Amazon and the superb *Pallas de Velletri* in the Louvre. The original of the Pallas may doubtless be safely attributed to Kresilas;—but it seems a trifle arbitrary to suppose that this original was an Athena Soteira possibly set up in the Peiraeus in the days of Perikles, and to try to prove that Pliny, through some disarrangement of his notes, came to put down under the name *Cephisodorus* a *Minervam mirabilem in portu Atheniensium*, that really belonged to *Cresilas*;—(poor Pliny! to what archaeological audacities has not your supposed untidy system of note-taking afforded a pretext?)

To the group of statues already reclaimed for Kresilas Furtwängler adds two of the grandest works in the Munich Glyptothek,—the Medusa Rondanini and the Diomede. The original of the last-named statue has been placed by most critics in the fourth century,—some have even named Seilanion as the artist (Brunn, F. Winter). Furtwängler shows however, by comparison with other replicas, that certain fourth century traits in the Munich Diomede are foreign to the original, and are due to the mannerism of one particular copyist. When once we have allowed for the admixture of foreign elements in the Munich replica, we must own with Furtwängler that, in its *essentials*, the Diomede strongly resembles the works of Kresilas. On the ground of an inscription found at Hermione Furt-

[1] According to F. the Perikles and the Amazon are about contemporary.

wängler ingeniously contrives for Kresilas an Argive period, during which he supposes the artist to have executed the statue of the great Argive hero.

4. *Myron.* A discussion on the Riccardi head forms the natural link between Kresilas and Myron, for in this head Furtwängler detects the work of an artist who influenced and perhaps taught Kresilas; that artist was Myron. Indeed the affinities of the Riccardi head to the head of the Diomede are so patent that it is difficult to see why it should be put down to Myron rather than to Kresilas himself. If students of Italian art not unfrequently lend to Giorgione an early but *original* Titian, how much more liable to error is the Greek archaeologist who, with nothing but copies to deal with, has to decide between Myron and Kresilas! On the other hand Furtwängler is undoubtedly right in attributing to Myron the original of the Cassel Apollo with its replicas, and of the fine Perseus (Rome and Brit. Mus.), which Klein had already shown to be a work of the early fifth century. The original of the Perseus would according to the new theory be identical with the statue by Myron mentioned by both Pliny and Pausanias. Some idea of the whole composition may be formed from vases and from coins: the hero was represented with winged feet holding the sword in his left hand, the head of the Medusa in his right, and looking slightly away to the left. It is in presence of this Perseus, which was evidently the artistic prototype of the Diomede, that we understand how greatly Myron influenced Kresilas. Among other works reclaimed for Myron are the colossal head of a Herakles in the British Museum, the exquisite 'Asklepios' (Zeus Meilichios?) feeding his snake, of the Uffizi. Finally must be noted the tempting conjecture that in a head of the Museo Chiaramonti (Fig. 57), with its unmistakable Myronian touch, we have a copy, or at any rate an echo, of the Erechtheus set up at Athens and so greatly praised by Pausanias.

5. *Polykleitos.* The date proposed by Furtwängler for the activity of Polykleitos covers roughly the years B.C. 450—420. The Amazon, since it was made in competition with Kresilas, must be dated at about 440; the Doryphoros is evidently older and may therefore have been executed sometime towards 450. The third date we have for Polykleitos is B.C. 420, when he made the gold and ivory Hera for the temple of Argos. Thus Polykleitos would be a somewhat younger contemporary of Pheidias. These results agree well with the express testimony of Plato in the *Protagoras* (311 C, 328 C). Tradition made Polykleitos also a pupil of Hagelaïdas. The dates of the two artists do not permit us to accept this statement literally, but, as in the case of Pheidias, the tradition contains a general truth. In a fine critical passage Furtwängler dwells on the subtle changes by which Polykleitos modified the harsh canon of the old Argive masters. In the Ligorio bronze for instance, or in the Munich Zeus, where the left leg supports the weight of the body it is also the left arm that is bent at the elbow to hold some object, while on the right side where the leg is at ease the arm hangs down loosely. The effect produced by this tension of all one side of the body with the corresponding relaxation of the whole of the other side is unpleasant in the extreme. By an adroit interchange of the parts—by simply giving the spear into the left hand of his Doryphoros while placing the weight on the right leg—Polykleitos converted the ancient stiffness into a rhythmical softness. This crossing of the lines, this *chiasmos*, that first makes its appearance in art with the Doryphoros, is doubtless the secret of the popularity of Polykleitos with artists of subsequent ages; it is easy to trace in Furtwängler's pages the persistence of the Doryphoros type right down to the Mercury bronzes of Roman times.

A most desirable addition to our knowledge of the *Diadumenos* is made by the publication (Fig. 63) of the fine Madrid statue which, with its replicas, Furtwängler brings into the prominence it deserves. The Farnese Diadumenos is proved finally to belong to the Attic school—to Pheidias, and it was probably from it that Polykleitos borrowed the subject of his statue. The identification of the Kyniskos of Polykleitos with the Westmacott athlete (Br. Mus.) has been recently arrived at by Collignon, by Petersen and by Furtwängler; it is here worked out at length and with numerous illustrations (the charming head Fig. 73 has by the way recently passed from the Van Branteghem collection into the possession of Sir Edgar Vincent at Constantinople). Of the statues of Xenokles and of Pythokles (the inscribed bases have been found at Olympia), Furtwängler thinks he can detect copies in two statues of the Vatican. The beautiful bronze *Idolino* in Florence he claims to be an original from the school of Polykleitos—perhaps by his brother Patrokles. A Polykleitan statue from the Petworth collection, representing an athlete pouring oil from a

flask into his hand, is published on p. 465. Furtwängler shows well how the Argive Polykleitos or some pupil borrowed the motive from an Attic statue,—perhaps from the original[1] of the Munich 'oil-pourer'—and in this as in other instances made it his own by a change in the conception. This change exemplified in the Petworth athlete, in the Diadumenos, in the Amazon, consisted above all in the sacrifice of the Attic directness and singleness of purpose to the general grace of the composition, in the diversion of aim from simple expressiveness to an elegant *nonchalance.* Polykleitos, whom Furtwängler's investigations have shown to be so purely dependent upon his Attic predecessors for the subject and general conception of his statues, became in his turn,—perhaps because of a certain reactionary tendency in his art,—an important factor in the future development of the Attic school, as will be seen in the subsequent chapter.

6. *Skopas, Praxiteles, Euphranor.*—A fine and well preserved statue of Herakles (Lansdowne House), published on p. 516, Furtwängler shows to be still thoroughly Attic in conception, but in the handling of the nude he detects Polykleitan influences. The Lansdowne Herakles may be an early work of Skopas himself. As akin to it are noted *inter alia:* the beautiful Hermes of the Palatine (fig. 96), a bronze statuette of the young beardless Asklepios in Carlsruhe[2] (Fig. 95), a bronze statuette of Zeus (Fig. 94, Brit. Mus.). In most of these works an early Attic scheme has been modified by the introduction of Polykleitan motives; it is however one of Furtwängler's most subtle observations that the Argive influence so clearly detected in Skopasian works limits itself to the body, and never manifested itself, as had been supposed, in the treatment of the head. Into the elements which he adopted from his Attic or Argive models Skopas infused a spirit of restless energy, which marks him clearly as the forerunner of Lysippos. This characteristic makes itself strongly felt in those works where he indulged his love of broken contours (*gebrochene Umrisslinien*); thus it was he (and not Lysippos) who first transferred to the round a motive long popular in painting and relief, and represented a figure with one foot raised; this was the attitude of the Apollo Smintheus (Strabo 13, p. 604); the analagous pose of a young Pan on coins of Heraea in Arkadia suggests that in this case also we have the reminiscence of a work by Skopas. Another system of 'broken lines' occurs in the Ares Ludovisi, in which in accordance with a very old conjecture Furtwängler sees a reduced copy of the *Mars sedens colossiaeus* of Skopas.[3] Certain elements of restlessness which are combined with a distinctly Skopasian cast of feature in a charming Athena of the Palazzo Rospigliosi lead Furtwängler to conjecture that we have here a copy of the Athena made by Skopas to stand in front of the shrine of Ismene at Thebes; the original was probably bronze. The Ares together with the 'Meleager' (in which Furtwängler agrees with Graef in seeing a work of Skopas) betoken a change in the artist's technique. The well-defined system of planes observable in his earlier treatment of the nude now gives place to a system of rounded surfaces. This same round modelling is characteristic of the Hermes of Praxiteles, which Furtwängler accordingly assigns to the artist's third period, in opposition to the current view (Brunn's) that it was one of his early works.[4] Professor Furtwängler finds a confirmation of his theory in the shape and material of the basis of the statue. The date of Praxiteles' first period is fixed by his close connexion with the little group of artists who, like Kephisodotos,[5] Xenophon and Damophon, had a 'common historic background in the rise of Thebes, the supremacy of Boeotia, the emancipation of Arkadia, the rebuilding of Mantineia, the founding of Megalopolis, and finally the restoration of Messene.' In the artist's earlier period Furtwängler places the Satyr pouring wine into a cup (*i.e.* the *Periboëtos*), which formed a group with Dionysos and Methe on either side. Furtwängler suggests that it was perhaps a

[1] Attributed by F. to Lykios, the son of Myron. The original of a similar statue at Dresden he attributes to the school of Alkamenes.

[2] F. points out that a beardless Asklepios by Skopas is known from Paus. viii. 28. 1.

[3] A good replica of the head (identified last year by Prof. W. Klein) is in the Br. Mus.

[4] F. agrees with S. Reinach and Purgold in thinking that the group of the Arkadian god Hermes nursing Dionysos the god of Elis, was intended to symbolize some treaty between Arkadia and Elis, but instead of referring it to about B.C. 363 after the troubles in the Altis, he suggests the treaty concluded in B.C. 343 between the Arkadians and the aristocratic party in Elis.

[5] According to F. the elder brother, not the father of Praxiteles. His Eirene he connects with B.C. 375, when yearly offerings were instituted in honour of Eirene after the victories of Timotheus, and shows well that the statue by no means forms a transition from fifth to fourth century art; it is a conscious reaction towards Pheidian models.

replica of this statue, executed by the master himself, that stood with a Dionysos and an Eros by Thymilos in the shrine of the street of the Tripods. A little later in the same period came the Eros of the Palatine (Louvre), a very charming statuette of Apollo (Louvre), now identified for the first time as Praxitelean, a Dionysos in Tarragona. He revives the theory of E. Q. Visconti that in the Eros of Centocelle (of which Furtwängler gives a list of replicas) we have a copy of the Eros of Thespiai. The sombre beauty of the young god suits the fourth century conception of him as ἁπάντων δαιμόνων ὑπέρτατος, set in vogue by Euripides. The original stood between statues of Aphrodite and Phryne; of the goddess Furtwängler sees a copy in the Vénus d'Arles, of the Phryne we may have an echo in our own Townley Venus, though the actual statue from its advanced style Furtwängler judges to be a copy of the gilt portrait of herself which Phryne put up at a later period at Delphi, and which probably derived from the Thespian statue. Furtwängler further identifies one of the statues that stood next to the Delphian Phryne,—that of King Archidamos of Sparta,—in a bust from Herculaneum (published by Wolters *Röm. Mitth.* 1888, pl. iv.—but as Archidamos III.). The treatment of the head closely resembles that of the famous Euripides in Naples: Furtwängler inclines to refer both to the great master of Greek portraiture, Demetrios the ἀνθρωποποιός.

The Knidian Aphrodite with the Aphrodite of Kos (of which Furtwängler detects a copy in the Louvre) belong to the master's middle period; so do the Satyr at rest, and the Eubouleus. Lovers of Praxiteles and of this fine head will be glad to find that, in spite of the mass of controversy on the subject, Professor Furtwängler remains absolutely firm in his conviction that it is an original by Praxiteles.[1] Akin to the Eubouleus is a head in the Palazzo Pitti; it may be a copy of the Triptolemos of Praxiteles. The middle period—always according to Furtwängler—closes with statues like the Apollo Sauroktonos and the Eros of Parion (Louvre, 'Genius Borghese'). In the third period, and connected with the Hermes, came the Apollo resting his hand on his head, the kindred Dionysos ('Bacchus de Versailles'), a Dionysos in Madrid resting on a herm. The fine Hermes in the Uffizi raising a purse (purse and right hand are modern restorations) Furtwängler claims for Praxiteles, together with a bearded Herakles in the Villa Albani, of which there is a variant in the Mus. Chiaramonti. Although Furtwängler reserves for later on his most startling discovery in regard to Praxiteles, it will be seen that we have here an essay equal in importance to that on Pheidias. It is early days yet to pass any judgment on the revolutionary chronology attempted for the works of Praxiteles. Every view put forward by Furtwängler is accompanied—one is tempted to say confirmed—by such a wealth of argument, that they demand the most serious consideration; yet Brunn's views cannot be lightly set aside, especially in cases where we are confronted by the difficulty that besets archaeologists at every turn, that of establishing any fair comparison between a mass of copies and one or two originals.

Of Euphranor of Corinth, sculptor and painter, tradition has left a considerable list of works, but we know little of his style except that the heads of his statues, according to Pliny or Pliny's informant, seemed too large for their bodies, in other words that he was 'pre-Lysippian.' Furtwängler identifies as copies after this master a whole series of works, which have certain characteristics in common with the great fourth century masters, and yet differ from them in the tenacity with which they reproduce the older canon of Polykleitos and even of Hagelaïdas; among these works are a *Bonus Eventus* (cf. Plin. 34 § 77) on a gem in the Brit. Mus. strongly reminiscent of the *Idolino*, the Dionysos of Tivoli, an analogous bronze Apollo from Egypt (Br. Mus.), the Vatican 'Adonis' recalling the proportions observed by Hagelaïdas, the Minerva Giustiniani, perhaps a copy after the *Minerva Catuliana* (Plin. 34 § 77), the Sambon Dionysos (bronze statuette, Louvre), the 'Elgin Eros' (Br. Mus.) and the beautiful head known as the 'Faun of Winckelmann' (Munich). The Paris of Euphranor Furtwängler sees in those statues wearing the Phrygian cap, which are generally interpreted as Ganymede or Attis, and of which there are numerous replicas.

7. *The Venus of Milo.*—Furtwängler's arguments on this important question can only be appreciated when read *in extenso*. The history of the discovery of the statue, the mass of evidence for and against the authenticity of the inscribed block discovered with it, the final mysterious disappearance of the block—form a curious episode in the history of archaeology. Furtwängler by exhibiting

[1] The beautiful photograph of this head lately published by Messrs. Braun should help the public to appreciate this view.

the facts of the case in a sober and scientific spirit, that has been too conspicuous by its absence whenever the famous Venus has been discussed, is able to prove that the long missing inscribed block with the name of [*Age*]*sandros of Antioch on the Maiander* does belong to the statue; the square hole in the block must consequently be a main factor in any attempt to recover the original motive of the statue. According to Furtwängler it was intended for the insertion of a square pillar on which the goddess rested her left arm. Equally important with this reconstruction (which will probably be accepted as final) is the date Furtwängler proposes for the statue. The foundation of Antioch on the Maiander in B.C. 256 gives us a *terminus ante quem*, but Furtwängler would bring the statue down to the first century B.C., when he believes that a great Renascence of art took place. He finds a confirmation for this late date in the fact that the inscription is carved on a block which forms an integral part of the statue, a custom that first obtains in works of the latter half of the second century, such as the 'runner' by Agasias, and the Belvedere torso. The vigorous forward movement of the Venus is however not in harmony with the quiet motive of the arm resting on the pillar: the whole conception, according to Furtwängler, arose out of the *contaminatio* of two types; the artist, while partly copying the Aphrodite looking at herself in a shield which she holds on her raised left knee (Venus of Capua), replaced the motive of the shield by that of the pillar, in allusion perhaps to the Tyche of Melos, who on coins and bas-reliefs appears leaning on a pillar somewhat in the manner of the Aphrodite. Furtwängler has rendered good service in vindicating the greater originality and nobility of the Capuan statue as compared to the Melian. Its original, reproduced perhaps on Imperial coins of Corinth (*J.H.S.* 1885, pl. LIII. *G.* 121–6), Furtwängler would refer to Skopas;[1] a finer replica of the head (Pal. Gaetani) helps to this conclusion. This leads to a second essay on Skopas, in which Furtwängler proves two very celebrated statues, the Hypnos of Madrid (the Br. Mus. possesses a celebrated bronze replica of the head) and the Psyche of Capua (probably an Aphrodite), to be by this master.

[1] F. points out that here again Skopas would appear as the forerunner of Lysippos, the composition of the Eros stringing his bow being clearly derived from the Aphrodite with the shield.

8. *Apollo of the Belvedere.*—By publishing his arguments for thinking the Stroganoff bronze a mere modern forgery, Furtwängler disposes of the last argument that could compel one to place the original of the Belvedere statue as late as Alexandrian times: the Apollo who was represented as averter of evil, carrying the bow in his left hand and the laurel branch in his right, must, from his likeness to the Vatican Ganymede, be attributed (as Winter has well shown) to Leochares, another artist who is slowly emerging out of oblivion.[2] The artist of the Apollo adopted for his statue a type long current in Greek art, as is proved from the fine head of the god on the coinage of Amphipolis (about B.C. 430—370): Furtwängler conjectures that a head with distinctly Pheidian characteristics in the British Museum (labelled 'Alexander') must have belonged to a statue of this type —perhaps to a copy of the bronze *Parnopios* that stood on the Akropolis (Paus. i. 24. 8).[3]

The necessity for dwelling on what seemed the most important feature of the book, namely the reconstruction of fifth and fourth century *Meisterwerke*, compels me to pass over the final chapter, which is concerned with a number of questions connected with archaic art. The reconstruction of the throne of Apollo at Amyklae must however be noted. Professor Furtwängler makes his throne clear by two fine drawings, which show the god standing on a sort of huge chair; the actual *βάθρον* of the image being formed by the altar over the ancient grave of Hyakinthos. On the rails that connected the legs of the throne, around the altar, and within twenty-seven panels on the back of the chair were disposed the subjects described at such length by Pausanias, and the distribution of which has constituted one of the worst archaeological puzzles.

This article must conclude with a word about the album of plates, which is a real treasure-house of *monumenti inediti;* a list of these is the best substitute for a summary, so desirable but so impossible, of the main portion of the book. Plates I. and II.

[2] To him F. attributes (with Koepp) the original of the Rondanini Alexander (Munich); as also the original of the Diane de Versailles, whose marked likeness to the Apollo has long been recognized.

[3] F. has apparently made here another brilliant identification. He however a little spoils his theory, by seeing something beyond Pheidian forms in the head, *i.e.* a peculiar emotional character which makes him bring forward his Elder Praxiteles, and try to prove that in attributing the *Parnopios* to Pheidias Pausanias erred once again—*ne quid nimis!*

show the two Dresden replicas of the 'Lemnian'; the Bologna head is also reproduced by itself on Pl. III. On Pl. IV. are exhibited side by side two fifth century types of Athena: the first (from a Dresden cast of which the original has disappeared) resembles the Hope Athena at Deepdene, the other is from a replica of the Athena Farnese. In the Deepdene and Farnese types of Athena Furtwängler recognizes respectively the work of Pheidias and of Alkamenes. Two such statues, with a general likeness to one another might, as Furtwängler points out, have given rise to the anecdote told by Tzetzes (*Chil.* viii. 340); the story must have been current at an early date, for we have a trace of it in the *quo eodem tempore aemuli eius fuere Alkamenes...* of Pliny, which has given rise to so much discussion concerning the relations of Alkamenes to his illustrious master. It is to Alkamenes also that Furtwängler attributes the stately head of Aphrodite on pl. V. (Berlin); it bears a marked likeness to the 'Venus Genitrix.' The superb head of Ares on pl. VI. (Louvre), with the rich masses of hair escaping from the helmet, Furtwängler attributes to Pheidias; the seemingly analogous *Mars Borghese* he identifies as a copy of the Ares of Alkamenes. Pl. VII. reproduces the heads of the Monte Cavallo Dioscuri. On Pl. VIII. is given a fine head of Herakles (Berlin), which Furtwängler inclines to connect with a torso in the Louvre; the original of the statue he attributes to an artist of the school of Kalamis. Plates IX. to XVI. reproduce a series of Kresilaian works: the bust of Perikles (Brit. Mus.), the head of the Mattei Amazon, the Munich Diomede, the Dresden cast (from an original in England, that has now disappeared) of another replica of the Diomede, the Medusa Rondanini and the beautiful head of an athlete with a taenia round his head, from the Petworth collection. On Pl. XVII. we have the interesting Riccardi head. Myron is further represented by two heads of athletes on pls. XVIII. and XIX. (Berlin), by an interesting portrait from the Villa Albani (the so-called 'Peisistratos'), by a bearded head (of Poseidon?) at Berlin, and by the Perseus from Rome (the London replica is given in the text Fig. 55). A fine statue (Munich), probably a Zeus, published not long ago by Kékulé as Polykleitan, is given in Pl. XXIII; according to Furtwängler it is a work transitional from the school of Hagelaïdas to that of Polykleitos. An important series of Polykleitan works appear on plates XXV. to XXVIII.: the head of a Diadumenos (Dresden), replica of the Madrid statue (which is published in the text); a superb statue of a boy (Dresden) showing the master's manner at a period when he was most influenced by Attic models; and finally two bronze statuettes. In one of these bronzes (Paris, Bibl. Nat.)—a figure wearing the turret crown symbolical of city guardianship—Furtwängler recognizes Aristaios, tutelary protector of Kyrene and of her silphion. The original work would be by some pupil or imitator of Polykleitos. The second bronze (Louvre) is a superb Greek original—from his immediate school, if not actually from his hand.[1] Plate XXIX. reproduces a Praxitelean Artemis at Dresden. On Plate XXX. we get the fine Skopasian Aphrodite from the Palazzo Gaetani, while in the Petworth Aphrodite on Plate XXXI. Furtwangler publishes another discovery he has made, equalling in importance that of the Lemnian Athena; it is his opinion that we have here *an original from the hand of Praxiteles.* The peculiarly living manner in which the growth of the hair is indicated alone betrays the actual touch of the master. The eyes have that mixed character of tenderness and vagueness which the ancient critic called τὸ ὑγρόν and the modern *lo sfumato*, an effect produced by a peculiar working of the under lid, which may be paralleled from the Hermes. Plate XXXII., finally, gives yet another discovery of the author's,—the bronze head of a boy, which by the help of staring porcelain eyes, long curls and a bodice draped after the fashion familiar 'in portraits of Queen Louise,' had passed for years as a modern bronze, and had accordingly been relegated to a workroom of the Berlin Museum. Deprived by Prof. Furtwängler of its modern embellishments, it proves to be a charming work of the same school which at a later date produced the famous *Spinario.*

I have already indicated that the *Meisterwerke* continues the great traditions of the

[1] There is in the Louvre another original bronze—the Beneventum head now published in the Brunn-Bruckmann *Denkmäler*—in which Furtwängler recognizes Polykleitan elements combined with certain traits reminiscent of the 'Lemnian.' Years ago he was the first to draw attention to this magnificent example of the purest Greek workmanship; two splendid heads of boys (Munich 302, and Naples, Rayet, *Monum.* ii. 67) he also pronounces in his present book to be Greek originals. These original bronzes are beginning to form a series which will certainly grow. Their value to our knowledge not only of ancient technique but of ancient athletic life can scarcely be overestimated.

schools of Winckelmann and of Brunn. At a time when, even in Germany, there seemed some danger lest archaeology should lose itself in special disciplines,—when, to use a homely proverb, archaeologists appeared unable to see the wood for the trees,—Furtwängler, by his width of range, by his grasp of the subject as a whole, by the skilful manner in which he makes every branch of archaeological specialization contribute to the main inquiry, has succeeded in recalling his science to its noblest function—that of the history of art. Whether Professor Furtwängler is offering some brilliant new solution of a problem, or whether with the conservatism of the true scholar he is defending the old views and resuscitating some theory of Visconti or of Winckelmann, he invariably brings into the field a mass of new material enabling him to impart to his arguments a force and a finality, in a word a quality of permanence, that marks his book as a standard work for years to come. I am reminded in conclusion of the sentence with which a scholar who combines to a rare degree erudition with subtlety of criticism greeted the book soon after its appearance: *Ce livre est le plus important qui ait encore paru sur l'histoire de l'art Grec.*[1] It is saying much but not too much.

*** I regret that owing to a misprint the approximate date of the Lemnian Athena is given in my first article as B.C. 440 instead of B.C. 450.

EUGÉNIE SELLERS.

March 1894.

THE EAST FRIEZE OF THE PARTHENON.

IN the absence both of direct evidence as to the meaning of the central group of the east frieze of the Parthenon, and of any conjectural solution which is in all respects satisfactory, it is perhaps unnecessary to apologize for attempting to add one to the numerous theories already propounded. That it is only a conjecture, and that it has in some of its details been anticipated, I am fully aware; but to the best of my knowledge the most important point in it is either new, or at least has not been considered by archaeologists within recent years.

The first question to be considered is:—What is the relation of the central group to the procession represented on the frieze? Is it a part of that procession, which may be supposed to have arrived; or is it a group which is making preparations of some kind previous to the arrival of the procession?

This question is answered for us by the fact that the gods who are seated on either side of the central group appear to take no interest in what is there going on. Their faces are, with a few exceptions, turned away from the centre, and in the directions from which the procession is approaching. The exceptions only prove the rule, being dictated by a desire to avoid the monotony of a row of faces looking all in the same direction. Were the central group a part (in fact, the head) of the procession which has already arrived, this indifference of the deities would be inexplicable. Nor can it be supposed that the reason for their indifference is that the central group is within the temple and out of their sight; for where else can the deities themselves be supposed to be seated? To assume that the deities are seated outside the temple, while the ceremony which they are there to witness is to take place within it, seems altogether unreasonable. The central group then would seem certainly to be engaged in some arrangements preliminary to the ceremony which is to begin as soon as the procession arrives.

It follows from this that the garment with which the priest and boy are concerned cannot be the new peplos which is to be presented to the goddess—for that is being carried in the procession, which has not yet arrived at its destination; and, as already stated, it is in the highest degree unlikely that the gods should be so uninterested in the new peplos as to take absolutely no notice of it. That the garment in question is being folded up, not unfolded, is also against its being the new peplos, which ought presumably to be unfolded before putting it on the statue.

The theory which explains the garment as the himation of the priest, which he is laying aside previous to beginning the ceremony, has met with considerable opposition. In a recent paper (*Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, vol. xvi. part i.), the late Mr. Watkiss Lloyd takes up this theory in a modified form. The garment, he maintains, is the *protonion*, which was worn by the priest during the actual sacrifice. While this interpretation is in some ways more satisfactory than the older one, the expression ἱματίδιον used in Suidas to describe the *protonion* seems to

[1] S. Reinach in the *Revue Critique*, 5 *fév.* 1894.

point to a garment of a very different size to that which we have on the frieze.

From the great number of edges indicated in each fold, it would appear to be a very large piece of cloth, quite large enough to be carried, as was the peplos, in the form of a sail on a ship. But we have seen that the new peplos is out of the question. It remains—and this is so obvious a view that it will be surprising if it is now stated for the first time—that it must be the old peplos, which is to be replaced by the new one. Previous to the arrival of the procession, the priest has taken the old peplos off the statue, leaving it clothed only in the chiton which—whether a part of the original wooden statue, or a separate piece of drapery—was worn beneath the peplos. With the help of the boy, the priest is folding up the old garment to lay it aside.

It was objected to the 'himation theory' that the matter was too trivial to occupy the central point of the representation. This objection does not apply so strongly to Mr. Watkiss Lloyd's view; but still less will it hold against the present explanation, because the scene, as thus explained, is not a mere 'toilet-scene,' but intimately connected with the statue itself. At the same time, lest it should be felt that the action is still not important enough for the place it occupies, it may be well to point out that, provided the group was sufficiently decorative—a great deal is sacrificed to the decorative aspect of the frieze—and in some way suggested the main ceremony, the idea of dignity was not likely to weigh much with the artist. It is sufficient that the old peplos is there to suggest the new one. The representation of the latter as actually extended on the mast of a ship would, though picturesque, be evidently out of keeping with the frieze as a Greek artist would compose it; even the primitive statue of Athena herself is here avoided, although we know that, as at Phigaleia, the introduction of such an element was quite possible.

And if the image itself is absent, much more can we dispense with the new peplos, especially as it is partly represented and wholly suggested by the old one. It must not be forgotten that the main object of the frieze is to decorate the wall, and that consequently much may be omitted which in a realistic and logical presentation would have to be in evidence.

The meaning of the stools carried by the small female figures still remains unexplained. The last to discuss the subject is Furtwängler, who believes that the stools are meant for the gods themselves. The only objection to this view is that the artist would hardly represent the gods as already comfortably seated, if they are expected immediately to remove to other seats. It is clear that this double set of seats for the same persons is unnecessary and inartistic. Under the circumstances, it is surely better to adhere to the safe, if somewhat vague, interpretation, that the seats are for some ceremonial purpose; or to assume that they are meant for the most important onlookers, for instance those men who take no actual part in the procession, but are represented, on either side of the seated gods, as awaiting its arrival. There is no reason to suppose that the worshippers were expected to stand during the whole ceremony, which would certainly occupy a considerable time.

The interpretation given above seems to me to be open to fewer objections than either the himation or new peplos interpretation; but far from claiming absolute certainty for all or any part of it, I merely offer it as a suggestion which may help to a final solution of the difficulty.

G. F. Hill.

PORTRAITS OF FAMOUS CITIZENS OF MYTILENE.

Αἰνέσωμεν δὴ ἄνδρας ἐνδόξους.

It is well known that the Imperial coinage of Mytilene presents a unique series of portraits of famous personages of that city.[1] On a rare coin in the French collection, Pittacus appears, with Alcaeus as the reverse type, while on other specimens representations of Sappho frequently occur. Theophanes of Mytilene, the historian and friend of Pompey, is portrayed,[2] as well as Lesbonax the Mytilenean philosopher and rhetorician. Lesbonax appears both as a bearded philosopher and as a young Dionysos designated ΗΡΩϹ ΝΕΟϹ. Two por-

[1] See Head, *Historia numorum*, p. 488. These coins are well represented in the British Museum and will be photographed in the Museum Catalogue of the Coins of Lesbos that I am now engaged in preparing. The specimens in question are all of Imperial times, though they do not bear the names and heads of Emperors.

[2] On the obverse of coins of the time of Tiberius inscribed ΘΕΟΦΑΝΗϹ ΘΕΟϹ. The Archedamis—ΑΡΧΕΔΑΜΙϹ ΘΕΑ—of the reverse of these coins is unknown but is supposed to be the wife of Theophanes.

traits, bearing the names of a JULIA PROKLA (Procula), ΙΟΥ . ΠΡΟΚΛΑΝ ΗΡΩΙΔΑ, and a FLAVIA NEIKOMACHIS, ΦΛΑ . ΝΕΙΚΟΜΑΧΙϹ, have been assumed hitherto to be those of persons otherwise unknown, and no one, so far as I am aware, has cited in this connexion the following inscription of Mytilene, copied by Cyriac of Ancona and edited by Kaibel in the *Ephemeris epigraphica* (ii. p. 7, no. i.):—
Ἁ βόλλα καὶ ὁ δᾶμος Φλ. Πουπλικίαν Νεικομα[χ]ίδα....παῖδα Δινομάχ[ω] καὶ Π[ρ]όκλ[α]ς τῶν εὐεργετᾶν καὶ ἀπὸ προγόνων εὐεργετᾶν καὶ κτ[ι]στᾶν τᾶς πόλιος ἀμμέων τὰν δι' αἰῶνος πρύτανι[ν] ἀρετᾶς εἵν[ν]εκα παίσας.

We need not hesitate, I think, to identify the πρύτανις Flavia Publicia Neikomachis with the Flavia Neikomachis of the coins, nor is it rash to suppose that her mother Prokla is the Julia Prokla that we are in search of. Prokla and Neikomachis belonged to a family of Mytilenean εὐεργέται and κτίσται, just as did Theophanes and Lesbonax, who on another inscription of Mytilene are honoured with the same epithets (Brit. Mus. *Inscript.* pt. ii. p. 47, no. ccxi.). The coins bearing the portrait of Prokla I should assign to the time of Faustina I. and those of Neikomachis to a slightly later period, for the first-named portrait resembles the head of the elder Faustina in features and in the style of the coiffure, while the second recalls the heads of Faustina the younger, Lucilla and Crispina. Prokla and Neikomachis cannot therefore be later than the Antonines, though of course they may possibly have lived at an earlier period. The obverse of one of the coins which shows the portrait of Neikomachis on the reverse consists of a bearded male head inscribed ϹΕΞϹΤΟΝ ΗΡΩΑ. This SEXTUS is unknown, but he may be conjectured to be the husband of Neikomachis.

On other coins of this series we find the portraits or the figures of a Dada, a Pankratides, a Nausikaa and a Leukippos. The legend ΔΑΔΑ is certain, though it has often been misread by numismatists. It accompanies a head resembling Matidia the niece of Trajan. The name DADA occurs in a passage of Nicolaus Damascenus (*frag.* 21 in C. Müller's *Frag. Hist. Graec.* iii. p. 370), in which a Dada is mentioned as the wife of Samon the Cretan who was associated with Skamander, first king of the Trojans. The story of this Dada appears to be Cretan, though it is at least curious that in connexion with it occurs the name of a locality Πόλιον—which is possibly the Πόλιον ἐν Λέσβῳ τόπος of Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Πόλιον. The inscription ΠΑΝΚΡΑΤΙΔΗϹ accompanies a young male head and also a standing figure resembling the youthful Asklepios. I take PANKRATIDES to be the name of a man (as in *C.I.G.* 1355) and not, as hitherto supposed, a name of the god Asklepios. Mr. Head has suggested to me that Pankratides may have been a Mytilenean physician who is here represented—after his death—in the character of the God of Healing. As Pankratides occurs on the coins of Dada, it may be presumed that he was related to her or was at any rate a contemporary. The bust of NAUSIKAA appears on a coin of the time of Faustina the elder with the inscription ΝΑΥϹΙΚΑΑΝ ΗΡΩΙΔΑ. Doubtless, some Mytilenean lady is here represented and not the Nausikaa of Homer.

Lastly, the legend ΛΕΥΚΙΠΠΟϹ accompanies a standing male figure who (so far as the British Museum coin can be made out) appears to be a philosopher. It is not known however that the celebrated philosopher LEUKIPPOS was in any way connected with Mytilene. A Leukippos occurs in the legendary history of Mytilene (Diod. v. 81). It will be seen that this curious gallery of Lesbian worthies demands still further study: meanwhile, I may perhaps claim to have somewhat reduced the number of its unknown portraits.

WARWICK WROTH.

DISCOVERIES OF ROMAN REMAINS IN BRITAIN.—II.

THE first place among recent discoveries of Romano-British remains must be given to those made on the Wall. Dr. Hodgkin and other Northumbrian antiquaries have been promoting some very valuable excavations into the curious Vallum which runs closely parallel to the Wall for the greater part of its length. The sections cut through this earthwork have already revealed some new facts. At Heddon it was shown pretty certainly that the ditch and its northern and southern mounds were made at the same time, and thus all the theories, however ingenious, which explain the Vallum as a composite work, constructed at various times, are put out of court. At Down Hill, a road seventeen feet wide, with a clay foundation and a sandstone pitching, was

discovered running parallel to the Wall and crossing the Vallum. This is a most important result, if (as seems most probable) this road is the Roman communication road along the Wall. The inference is obvious: the Wall and its appendages were made and used at a time when the Vallum was no longer in use, or, in other words, the Vallum is earlier than the Wall. Some antiquaries, like myself, had previously approached this conclusion by other arguments and we can only hope that further excavation will confirm the view suggested by the sections at Down Hill. Hitherto, it had been usually believed that the Vallum was the rear defence of the Wall, and this theory, ardently advocated by Dr. Bruce, received the sanction of Prof. Hübner. The eminent German scholar has, however, as I believe, never traversed the Vallum, and I cannot think that any one who looks at the earthworks can suppose them to be intended for defensive purposes or for any military object whatever. It is much to be hoped that Dr. Hodgkin and his colleagues will be able to continue the investigations which they have so well begun, and that they will receive bounteous measure of both local and of learned support.

Apart from the excavations of the Vallum, the finds to be recorded are almost wholly epigraphic. A large hoard of coins, probably of the third century, found near Fordingbridge, and fragments of the Roman city wall at Rochester are, I think, the only exceptions.

The inscriptions are as follows:—

(1) A tombstone found at Chester, *Q. Domitius Q. f(ilius) Cla(udia tribu) Optatus Viruno...* doubtless one of the Chester garrison.

(2) A 'milestone' found (it is thought near Neath) and now in the Cardiff museum, *[Imp] C(a)es. [D]io[c]leti[a]no [A]ug.*, which may be put beside another 'milestone' of Diocletian found in the same district long since.

(3) A tile found by Mr. John Bellows among the foundations of a large Roman building near the centre of Glevum (Gloucester) and inscribed R. P. G., probably *Respublica Glevensium.* Glevum received colonial rank pretty certainly under Nerva.

(4) A dedication found at Carlisle, *Deo Marti Ocelo et Numini Imp(eratoris) Alexandri Aug et Iul[iae Mammaeae ... totique] dom[ui divinae...*, in which the names of Alexander and his mother have, as often, been erased. Ocelus appears to be an unknown epithet of Mars: it is, of course, non-Roman like Belatucader and Cocidius. Some other inscriptions found along the eastern half of the Wall are of less interest.

I may take this opportunity of correcting a mistake made in my first article (*C.R.* vii. 431). I there spoke of excavations in Annandale as confirming the idea that a Roman road ran from Carlisle past Birrens to the Wall of Antonine. I learn from Dr. James Macdonald, one of the excavators, that the results of their work were at first wrongly reported and that, in his opinion, no Roman road was found. I may here draw attention to a paper by the same antiquary, read to the Scotch Society of Antiquaries, which demolishes a supposed road in Ayrshire and shows the ease with which such roads are foisted on to our maps.

F. HAVERFIELD.

GRAMMAR OF THE LOTUS (1891).

MR. GOODYEAR in his valuable and complete *Grammar of the Lotus* appears to regard it as a still unanswered question why the lotus was regarded as a sun symbol, but surely the reason is not far to seek. He has proved that the lotus is of the genus *Nymphaea*, and the flowers of this genus may be said to follow the sun in his underworld journey since they dip under water at sunset and raise themselves from it at sunrise.

The fact was undoubtedly known in ancient times. Theophrastus describes the phenomenon in the case of the Egyptian lotus and gives special particulars of the lotus of the Euphrates: he says,—*ἐν δὲ τῷ Εὐφράτῃ τὴν κωδύαν φασὶ καὶ τὰ ἄνθη δύνειν καὶ ὑποκαταβαίνειν τῆς ὀψίας μέχρι μεσῶν νυκτῶν καὶ τῷ βάθει πόρρω· οὐδὲ γὰρ καθιέντα τὴν χεῖρα λαβεῖν εἶναι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὅταν ὄρθρος ᾖ πάλιν ἐπανιέναι καὶ πρὸς ἡμέραν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ φανερὸν ὂν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ ἀνοίγειν τὸ ἄνθος, ἀνοιχθέντος δὲ ἔτι ἀναβαίνειν· συχνὸν δὲ τὸ ὑπεραῖρον εἶναι τὸ ὕδωρ. Hist. plant.* iv. 8–10.

While this has been observed in the case of many other species of the genus *Nymphaea* it does not seem to have been recorded of *Nymphaea Stellata*, the blue water-lily of tropical Africa which by its colour and outline strongly suggests the lotus of Egyptian art. A series of observations which I made last August at Kew Gardens have enabled me to state the fact for this species also.

At 3 P.M. the flower-stalks were vertical, an hour later they were inclined at an angle of about 45°: the movement seemed due to loss of tension in the stem and the weight of the large flower. Two visibly moved with jerks and slips till by 5 o'clock nothing but falling on a floating leaf prevented them from being half submerged.

CONSTANCE GARLICK.

MONTHLY RECORD.

GERMANY.

Kreimbach in dem Pfalz.—The excavations begun in September last have been carried on, with somewhat similar results; also the find of iron tools and weapons (mentioned in vol. vii. p. 479) has been thoroughly investigated and classified, the chief result being to show that in many cases they differ but little from those now in use. They appear to belong to the third and fourth centuries after Christ. The excavations brought to light yet more foundations, together with architectural fragments, and more iron tools. An interesting capital of sandstone decorated with a pattern of scales, large bronzes of Constantine, Theodosius, and Honorius, bronze and glass ornaments, may also be mentioned.[1]

SICILY.

Syracuse.—Near the railway station the long missing Roman aqueduct has been discovered, though its source has not as yet been traced. Its existence had been known for some time, but it is only recently that a considerable portion of the arches has come to light.[2]

GREECE.

Athens.—Dörpfeld has reported on the results of his excavations during the winter in search of the spring of Enneakrounos. The aqueduct leading to it appears to have been built like that of Eupalinus in Samos, and followed the ancient road leading to the Akropolis, while below the reservoir into which the aqueduct of Peisistratos emptied itself, another later reservoir was constructed for the water flowing from the slopes, of the Hill of the Nymphs, to convey it to the Agora. Several archaeological objects of value were found, including a relief of the Phrygian god Men, who was worshipped as a divinity in connection with water and rain. Two heads, both portraits of the same person, known to us from other remains but as yet unidentified, and two small figures, a Nike in alabaster and a man fighting a lion in crystal, were also brought to light.

The work of enclosing the Dipylon cemetery has begun, and at the first clearing of the soil at a very small depth was discovered a subterranean water-course. It is thought to be the ancient Eridanus, vestiges of which have already been identified during the past year in other parts of the city.[3]

H. B. WALTERS.

Athenische Mittheilungen. Part iii. 1893.

1. Studniczka proposes a new reading for the famous inscription engraved on the Dipylon vase, probably the oldest existing Attic inscription (*ante* 1881, p. 106 etc.): according to his view, the vase is a prize, probably given at a Dionysiac festival. 2. Körte: describes the temenos of a god of healing discovered in the Enneakrounos excavations: with an account of various inscribed votive reliefs etc. found there: one inscription describes the setting up of the shrine in the archonship of [probably Astyphi]los, B.C. 420. 3. Kern: publishes eleven inscriptions of Thasos, copied in a recent journey in the island. 4. The same: eight inscriptions from Miletos. 5. Maass: proposes a new reading of the Rhea epigram from Phaistos (*Mus. Ital.* iii. p. 736). 6. Milchhöfer: discusses Löper's views on the Trittyes and demes of Attica (*ante* 1892, p. 319), treating the ten tribes in detail. 7. Noack: disputes the explanation given by Benndorf of the two friezes of the W. wall at Gjöbaschi: he thinks there is no evidence sufficient to indicate that they are scenes from the Trojan War: possibly they may be local Lycian subjects. 8. Von Gaertringen: two inscriptions from Nysa. 9. Kern: inscription from Athos.

The same. Part iv. 1893.

1. Kern: studies in Samothrace, carrying on the record of discoveries in the island from the year 1875 (the date of the last Austrian expedition) to the present time: one very interesting inscription records the importation by Hippomedon about 240 B.C. of troops and war material, to protect the island either against Macedonians or pirates. 2. Von Gaertringen: collects the inscriptions from Rhodes and Karpathos which bear on the Samothracian cults. 3. Humann: gives an account of some tentative excavations made in October 1888 on the site of Tralles: the most important results were in connection with the theatre, of which Dörpfeld gives (pp. 404—13) a description: an interesting peculiarity of this is the T-shaped underground canal running under the centre of the orchestra, similar to those found at Eretria and Magnesia, and clearly intended as a mode of access for persons: the building supported on columns is not a logeion but a proskenion: with plan. 4. Brückner: publishes (pl. xiv.) a bronze tripod and urn, found in 1883 at Athens with vases of the Dipylon style. 5. Mordtmann: inscriptions from Edessa.

Römische Mittheilungen. Part iii. 1893.

1. Michaelis: publishes an outline drawing of the relief of the so-called Ara of Kleomenes in the Uffizi: and compares it with the Naples Orpheus relief: the figures on the left and right have been added to the original central group. 2. Erman: the obelisks of Roman time in Italy: (1) the obelisks of Beneventum. 3. Patsch: studies the inscriptions referring to the garrison of Praeneste, in reference to Tacitus, *Ann.* xv. 46. 4. Samter: publishes an inscribed altar in the Vatican, with a relief representing Mercury and Maia. 5. Petersen: publishes part of a small disk of iron with figures in relief: the subject is a Gigantomachia, which was based on a picture influenced by the Pergamene frieze and in part derived from the shield of Athene Parthenos: probably it was the ornament of a shield. 6. Graeven: publishes a list of sculptures given in the Codice Barberiniano xxxix. 72, and belonging in the sixteenth century to the brothers della Porta: with conjectures as to identification. 7. Bulle: publishes a group found in Rome representing Dirke and the bull: the type chosen is that of the Farnese group, which shows not the actual binding, but the moment immediately before the catastrophe.

[1] *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 7 April 1894.
[2] *Athenaeum*, 7 April 1894.
[3] *Ibid.* 17 March 1894.

The same. Part iv. 1893.

1. Petersen: discusses (in reference to *Arch. Jahrb.* 1893, p. 119) the question whether the Farnese dead Amazon had an infant at her side: such a figure is given in the memoir of Bellièvre and others, but the infant really belonged to some other group. 2. Hülsen: fourth yearly report on new discoveries and researches in the topography of Rome, 1892 (pp. 259—325). Report of discoveries. Descriptions of (1) the collection of Cav. Pascale near S. Maria di Capua: consisting chiefly of bronzes, and painted vases: (2) antiquities of the Marchese Chigi at Siena, pottery and sculpture (Petersen).

C. S.

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

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The Classical Review

JUNE 1894.

CRITICAL NOTES ON THE FIRST BOOK OF THE *STROMATEIS* OF CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA.

THE present unhappy condition of the text of Clement has often been deplored by scholars. The particular treatise with which I am here concerned depends upon a single corrupt MS. of the eleventh century, and little has been done for it since Potter's edition of 1715, the last two editors having contributed next to nothing to clear it of the innumerable errors by which it is disfigured. Klotz indeed would seem never to have corrected his proofs, leaving continual mistakes of spelling and actually omitting several words between the end of one line and the beginning of another, while even Dindorf's text is in many respects inferior to what might easily have been constructed out of the text and notes of Potter's edition. The growing interest which has been taken in the writings of Clement among English scholars of late years encourages the hope that a serious effort may shortly be made to remove this reproach on our modern scholarship, and provide a worthier edition of an author who is on many grounds so important. As examples of this interest I may refer to the excellent emendations by Prof. Bywater which appeared in the *Journal of Philology* as long ago as 1870, to the paper which has been lately read by Dr. Henry Jackson before the Cambridge Philological Society, and to the edition of the *Quis Dives Salvetur* promised in the Cambridge 'Texts and Studies.' As a small contribution to such an edition I venture to send to the editor of the *Classical Review* a transcript of notes on the First Book of the *Stromateis* which I have made on the margin of my copy of Clement. The notes on the succeeding books may follow if space can be found for them. Some of the emendations are, I think, tolerably certain; others are of a tentative nature, and are inserted here rather by way of calling out happier conjectures from other scholars, than as claiming to be final solutions of the difficulties of the text. Unless otherwise stated the text commented on is Dindorf's. It may be helpful to readers who are not familiar with Clement's writings, if I repeat here the words with which Prof. Bywater prefaces his emendations (*Jour. of Phil.* iv. 204)—'the main difficulties connected with the critical study of Clement arise from three sources: (1) besides the recognized palaeographical causes of corruption, the text seems to have suffered from the transposition and repetition of words occurring in lines immediately above or below that on which the copyist was engaged; (2) words and sometimes whole lines have dropped out; (3) the Codex Laurentianus, which is our sole authority for the *Stromateis*, must be the descendant of a MS. which frequently exhibited words in a mutilated form through contraction and possibly also through injury similar to that sustained by the Bodleian Plato, where the ends of the lines are frequently illegible through damp.'

§ 4, p. 318. ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν κηρυκικὴ ἐπιστήμη, ἡ δέ πως ἀγγελική, ὁποτέρως ἂν ἐνεργῇ, διά

τε τῆς χειρὸς διά τε τῆς γλώττης ὠφελοῦσα. Clement is not here distinguishing between an apostolic and an angelic knowledge, but upholding the right to write as well as to preach in behalf of the Gospel. Both speakers and writers are ἀποδεκτέοι, as it is said just above; both εἰς οὐρανὸν πτεροῦνται, as we read below; both deserve the title of θεοῦ διάκονοι (as in 2 Cor. vi. 4 quoted just afterwards), being sent forth to minister for those who shall be heirs of salvation; both may therefore be denoted by the word ἄγγελος, used in Rev. i. 20 of the representatives of the Seven Churches. Remove the comma after ἐπιστήμη and read ἀλλὰ μὴν ἡ... ἥδε, translating 'this science of the preacher is in a way angelical, whether the hand or the tongue be called into action.'

§ 7, p. 319. ἐργάζεσθε μὴ τὴν ἀπολλυμένην βρῶσιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μένουσαν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. τροφὴ δὲ καὶ ᾗ διὰ σιτίων καὶ ᾗ διὰ λόγων λαμβάνεται. Omit the articles in the last sentence, or else read λαμβανομένη.

§ 8, p. 320. ὃ δ' ἂν ἐκ πίστεως ἕληταί τις ἑστιάσαι, βέβαιος οὗτος εἰς θείων λόγων παραδοχὴν, κρίσιν εὔλογον τὴν πίστιν κεκτημένος. Here it is the faith of the hearer, not of the speaker, which is spoken of, and the demonstrative in the apodosis should answer to the relative in the protasis. Read ὅστις δ' ἂν ἐκ πίστεως ἕληται ἑστιᾶσθαι.

§ 9, p. 320. τὴν πέτραν, τὴν πατουμένην ὁδὸν, [τὴν καρποφόρον γῆν] τὴν ὑλομανοῦσαν χώραν, τὴν εὔφορον καὶ καλὴν καὶ γεωργουμένην, τὴν πολυπλασιάσαι τὸν σπόρον δυναμένην. It is evident that the last two clauses refer, not to the thorny ground, but the fruit-bearing ground, τὴν καρποφόρον γῆν, which should be placed after χώραν.

§ 10, p. 321. Πλάτων κελεύει τοὺς γεωργοὺς ... μὴ λαμβάνειν ὕδωρ παρ' ἑτέρων ἐὰν μὴ πρότερον ὀρύξαντες παρ' αὐτῶν ... ἄνυδρον εὕρωσι τὴν γῆν. Read αὐτοῖς for αὐτῶν which is merely a corruption from the preceding ἑτέρων. Immediately below we have ἀπορίᾳ γὰρ ἐπαρκεῖν δίκαιον, ἀργίαν δὲ ἐφοδιάζειν οὐ καλὸν, εἰ καὶ φορτίον συνεπιτιθέναι μὲν εὔλογον, συγκαθαιρεῖν δὲ οὐ προσήκειν ὁ Πυθαγόρας ἔλεγεν. For εἰ καὶ read εἴ γε.

§ 11, p. 322. Describing his teachers Clement says ὁ μέν τις τῶν Ἀσσυρίων, ὁ δὲ ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ Ἑβραῖος ἀνέκαθεν, ὑστάτῳ δὲ περιτυχὼν [δυνάμει δὲ οὗτος πρῶτος ἦν] ἀνεπαυσάμην, ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ θηράσας λεληθότα, Σικελικὴ τῷ ὄντι ᾗ μέλιττα, προφητικοῦ τε καὶ ἀποστολικοῦ λειμῶνος τὰ ἄνθη δρεπόμενος...ἐνεγέννησε κ.τ.λ. Transfer the words in brackets to begin a new sentence after λεληθότα, and omit ἡ before μέλιττα.

§ 13, p. 323. ᾗ καὶ οὐ κεκώλυκεν ὁ Κύριος ἀπὸ ἀγαθοῦ σαββατίζειν μεταδιδόναι δὲ τῶν θείων μυστηρίων...συγκεχώρηκεν. It makes nonsense to say 'The Lord has not hindered us from resting from good.' The word should be κεκέλευκεν 'he has not commanded us to rest from doing good, but has permitted us to impart the divine mysteries.'

§ 14, p. 324. ἐπαγγέλλεται...τοῦ ὑπομνῆσαι εἴτε ποτὲ ἐκλαθοίμεθα εἴτε ὅπως μηδ' ἐκλανθανοίμεθα. Read ἐκλανθανώμεθα.

Ib. ἔστι μὲν οὖν τινα μηδὲ ἀπομνημονευθέντα ἡμῖν, πολλὴ γὰρ ἡ παρὰ τοῖς μακαρίοις δύναμις ἦν ἀνδράσιν, ἔστιν δὲ καὶ ἃ ἀνυποσημείωτα μεμενηκότα τῷ χρόνῳ νῦν ἀπέδρα, τὰ δὲ ὅσα ἐσβέννυτο ἐν αὐτῇ μαραινόμενα τῇ διανοίᾳ [ἐπεὶ μὴ ῥάδιος ἡ τοιάδε διακονία τοῖς μὴ δεδοκιμασμένοις], ταῦτα δὲ ἀναζωπυρῶν ὑπομνήμασι τὰ μὲν ἑκὼν παραπέμπομαι ἐκλέγων ἐπισταμένως. Clement is here distinguishing between three portions of the instructions he received. One portion is entirely forgotten, 'for great was the power of those teachers'; another portion was not recorded at the time and has now slipped his memory; the remaining portion was beginning to fade away, but he hopes to revive his reminiscences by writing down what he can still remember. The reason for the loss of the first portion is hardly intelligible. I should suggest μηδὲ ἀπομνημονευθῆναι δυνηθέντα: the wisdom of the speakers transcended the capacity of the hearer. The clause in brackets would perhaps come better at the end giving a reason for ἐκλέγων ἐπισταμένως. A little below Clement says he is afraid to impart all that he heard to his readers, μή πη ἑτέρως σφαλεῖεν. Here I think we should insert λαβόντες or some such word, 'lest taking it in the wrong way they should fall.'

§ 15, p. 325. (ἡ ἐποπτικὴ θεωρία) προβήσεται ἡμῖν κατὰ τὸν...τῆς παραδόσεως κανόνα ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως προϊοῦσιν ἀναγκαίως ἔχοντα προδιαληφθῆναι τῆς φυσικῆς θεωρίας προπαρατιθεμένη καὶ τὰ ἐμποδὼν ἱστάμενα τῇ ἀκολουθίᾳ προαπολυομένη. Put a comma after προϊοῦσιν and insert τὰ before ἀναγκαίως corresponding to the τὰ before ἐμποδών.

§ 17, p. 326. οὐχ ὁμοίως θεωρεῖ τὸ πρόβατον ὁ μάγειρός τε καὶ ὁ ποιμήν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ εἰ πῖόν ἐστι πολυπραγμονεῖ, ὁ δὲ εἰ εὐγένειαν τηρεῖ. The MS. has εἰς εὐγένειαν, which Potter changed to εἰ εὐγένειον *an densum habeat vellus observat.* I see no reason for altering the MS. reading, which I should translate 'looks after the sheep with a view to the goodness of the breed.'

§ 18, p. 326. οἱ δὲ καὶ πρὸς κακοῦ ἂν τὴν

φιλοσοφίαν εἰσδεδυκέναι τὸν βίον νομίζουσιν. Omit *ἄν*, which may perhaps have arisen from a marginal correction of *καὶ* into *κἂν*.

§ 20, p. 327. *πρὸς τὸ μήτε αὖ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν λυμαίνεσθαι τὸν βίον [ψευδῶν πραγμάτων καὶ φαύλων ἔργων δημιουργὸν ὑπάρχουσαν, ἥν τινες διαβεβλήκασιν] ἀληθείας οὖσαν εἰκόνα ἐναργῆ, θείαν δωρεὰν Ἕλλησι δεδομένην, μήτε ἡμᾶς ἀποσπᾶσθαι τῆς πίστεως.* Omit the words which I have bracketed, and insert (after *δεδομένην*) *ἥν τινες διαβεβλήκασιν, <ὡς δὴ> ψευδῶν πραγμάτων—ὑπάρχουσαν.* Just below insert the article before *συναφή*.

§ 21, p. 327. Here again I think Dindorf has wrongly altered the MS. reading. He gives after Heinsius *τἀληθὲς γλυκύ τι φαίνεται ζητηθὲν καὶ πόνῳ πορισθέν*, where the MS. has *γλυκύτητι*. The latter seems to me to correspond better with the following dative, as well as with the preceding *ὁ τῆς ἄγρας ἐρωτικός*.

§ 22, p. 328. (*οἱ σοφισταὶ*) *κνήθοντες καὶ γαργαλίζοντες οὐκ ἀνδρικῶς, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, τὰς ἀκοὰς τῶν κνίσασθαι γλιχομένων, ποταμὸς ἀτέχνων ῥημάτων νοῦ δὲ σταλαγμός.* For *κνίσασθαι* read either *κνίζεσθαι* or *κνήθεσθαι*, for *ἀτέχνων* (which is quite inappropriate in reference to the sophists, who are in the preceding sentence stigmatized as *ζηλωταὶ τεχνυδρίων*, and *ἐπαιρόμενοι τῇ τέχνῃ*) read *ἀτεχνῶς*, a favourite word with Clement and one which is naturally used to introduce a proverb. [I find that I have been anticipated in reading *ἀτεχνῶς* by Bywater and Cobet.]

§ 28, p. 331. *ὅτι ὁ νοῦς σου, φησὶν, οὐ μὴ προσκόψῃ, ἐπὶ τὴν πρόνοιαν τὰ καλὰ ἀναφέροντος.* There is probably a lacuna of some lines before *ὅτι*, and we should perhaps read *ἀναφέρων* to agree with the subject of *φησί*. In the last line of the section read with Petavius *πολιτείας* for *πολυτελείας*.

§ 32, p. 335. *κατ' ἄλλους μέντοι γε τόπους ἐξεταζόμεναι αἱ προειρημέναι γραφαὶ ἄλλα μυστήρια μηνύουσι παρεστάναι.* For the unsuitable *τόπους* Potter proposed *τύπους*. I should suggest *τρόπους*.

§ 33, p. 335. *τροφὴ γὰρ καὶ ἡ παίδευσις ἡ χρηστὴ σωζομένη φύσεις ἀγαθὰς ποιεῖ.* Put *καὶ* after *παίδευσις* and omit the following article, *τροφὴ γὰρ ἡ παίδευσις, καὶ χρηστὴ κ.τ.λ.* [unless, as Dr. Jackson suggests to me, we simply restore the original in Plat. *Rep.* iv. 424 A by omitting the articles].

§ 34, p. 336. *εἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ ταμείῳ εὔχῃ, ὡς ὁ Κύριος ἐδίδαξε πνεύματι προσκυνεῖν, οὐκέτι περὶ τὸν οἶκον εἴη ἂν μόνη ἡ οἰκονομία, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τὴν ψυχήν.* Insert *ἡ* after *εἰ δὲ* and read *εὐχὴ* for *εὔχῃ* and *μόνον* for *μόνη*, translating 'if the prayer in the closet is, as the Lord taught, to pray in spirit, housekeeping would no longer be occupied with the house alone, but with the soul also.'

§ 36, p. 337. *ὅσοι δὲ καὶ θεοῦ ῥῆσιν ἀείδουσιν, ἤνπερ πεπνυμένα ἀείδωσιν, οὐ τιθέμενοι ἐν σοφίῃ, γνώμην δ' ἔχουσι μωρίης.* So Dindorf after Bernays, who however proposes either to omit δ' or to read *δέχονται*. I should prefer to put δ' after *τιθέμενοι*, translating 'though they should sing well, yet not using it (the divine word) wisely, they are thought fools.'

§ 37, p. 337. *φύεταί τε καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν μνημάτων συκῆ καὶ εἴ τι τῶν ἀναιδεστέρων δένδρων· καὶ τὰ φυόμενα ἐν τύπῳ προκύπτει τῶν ἀληθῶν, ὅτι τῆς αὐτῆς τοῦ ὑετοῦ ἀπέλαυσε δυνάμεως, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔσχηκε χάριν τοῖς ἐν τῷ πίονι φυεῖσιν.* For *τύπῳ* read *τοιούτῳ τόπῳ* and for *ἀληθῶν* read *ἄλλων*.

§ 37, p. 338. *οὐχ ἡ ποιμενικὴ μόνη ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ βουκολικὴ, ἱπποτροφική τε καὶ κυνοτροφικὴ καὶ μελισσουργικὴ τέχναι πᾶσαι, συνελόντι δ' εἰπεῖν, ἀγελοκομική τε καὶ ζωοτροφικὴ ἀλλήλων μὲν τῷ μᾶλλον καὶ ἧττον διαφέρουσι, πλὴν αἱ πᾶσαι βιωφελεῖς.* Transfer the phrases *ἀγελοκομική τε καὶ ζωοτροφικὴ* and *τέχναι πᾶσαι*.

§ 38. *εἴ ποτε οἱ μὴ ἐπιστάμενοι διαβιοῦσι καλῶς εὖ ποιεῖν, εὐποιίᾳ γὰρ περιπεπτώκασιν, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ εὐστοχοῦσι διὰ συνέσεως εἰς τὸν περὶ ἀληθείας λόγον.* Omit *εὖ ποιεῖν* as having arisen from dittography, and insert *φασὶν* after *περιπεπτώκασιν*, translating 'if it be true that men without knowledge live a good life, "for (say they) they have stumbled on a right way of action," so too some through their natural ability are fortunate in regard to the word concerning the truth.'

§ 39, p. 339. *αἱ τοίνυν τέχναι εἰ μὴ μετὰ φιλοσοφίας γένωνται, βλαβερώτεραι παντί που εἶεν ἄν.* After *τέχναι* read *αἵδε ἐὰν μή*.

§ 43, p. 341. *ἄμπελος δὲ ὁ Κύριος ἀλληγορεῖται, παρ' οὗ... τὸν καρπὸν τρυγητέον, κλαδεῦσαι δεῖ.* Here we should put a full stop after *τρυγητέον*, and perhaps insert *δὲ* before *δεῖ*.

§ 43, p. 342. *παρορᾶται δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀθλητὴς, ὡς προείρηται, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν σύνταξιν συμβαλλόμενος.* This sentence follows an argument proving the importance of knowledge for success in all pursuits. It is unmeaning as it stands, and unless my memory deceives me there has been no previous mention of the athlete. Possibly *προείρηται* may be a repetition of *παρορᾶται*. We might complete the sense by reading (after *ἀθλητὴς*) *ὃς νεῦρα μόνον καὶ σάρκας*

παρέχει, μηδὲν ἄλλο εἰς τὴν σύνταξιν συμβαλλόμενος.

§ 44, p. 342. πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων εἶδεν ἄστεα. Restore the Homeric ἴδεν, changed by itacism. Just below πολύπειρος οὗτος τῆς ἀληθείας ἰχνευτὴς...δίκην τῆς βασάνου λίθου [ἡ δ' ἔστι Λυδὴ διακρίνειν πεπιστευμένη τὸ νόθον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰθαγενοῦς χρυσίου] καὶ ἱκανὸς ὢν χωρίζειν...σοφιστικὴν μὲν φιλοσόφου, κομμωτικὴν δὲ γυμναστικῆς. The clause in brackets is I think a gloss. Omit καὶ before ἱκανός and read φιλοσοφίας for φιλοσόφου.

§ 45, p. 343. ἐργάζεται δὲ καὶ τὰ κτήνη ἐλαυνόμενα ἀναγκάζοντι τῷ φόβῳ. οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ ὀρθοδόξασται καλούμενοι ἔργοις προσφέρονται καλοῖς, οὐκ εἰδότες ἃ ποιοῦσιν. These words seem inconsistent with the previous argument and with what follows, showing the necessity of reason for action. Probably they belong to the opponent's argument and have been wrongly inserted here.

§ 45, p. 343. τὰς δὲ ἐντολὰς ἀπόγραψαι δισσῶς βουλήσει καὶ γνώσει τοῦ ἀποκρίνασθαι λόγους ἀληθείας τοῖς προβαλλομένοις σοι. τίς οὖν ἡ γνῶσις τοῦ ἀποκρίνασθαι ἢ τίς καὶ τοῦ ἐρωτᾶν; εἴη δ' ἂν αὕτη διαλεκτική. Read ἀποκρίνασθαι; ἆρ' ἥτις καὶ τοῦ ἐρωτᾶν;

§ 46, p. 343. ἡ γὰρ διαβολὴ ξίφους διάκονος καὶ λύπην ἐμποιεῖ βλασφημία, ἐξ ὧν αἱ τοῦ βίου ἀνατροπαί, ἔργα τοῦ πονηροῦ λόγου εἶεν ἂν ταῦτα. Insert καὶ after ἀνατροπαί.

§ 47, p. 343. αἱ λέξεις αὗται τῶν σοφιστῶν οὐ μόνον γοητεύουσι, κλέπτουσι τοὺς πολλοὺς, βιαζόμεναι δὲ ἔσθ' ὅτε Καδμείαν νίκην ἀπενέγκαντο. Sylburg's first thought was to read γοητεύουσαι, but he persuaded himself (and Dindorf) that parallels for the asyndeton might be found. I do not think those which they adduce are sufficient to justify it, and the participle is demanded by the following βιαζόμεναι. [Dr. Jackson reminds me that in Plat. *Rep.* iv. 413, as also in *Strom.* i. § 42, men are said to lose the truth ἢ κλαπέντες ἢ γοητευθέντες ἢ βιασθέντες. It seems better therefore to read here γοητεύοισι καί.]

§ 52, p. 347. πολιτεύεσθαι εἰς δύναμιν ἐξομοιωτικὴν τῷ θεῷ διδάσκει καὶ τὴν οἰκονομίαν ὡς ἡγεμονικὸν πάσης προΐεσθαι παιδείας. Read ἐξομοιωτικὸν ('to live to the best of our power in imitation of God'). For προΐεσθαι read προσίεσθαι and for οἰκονομίαν perhaps οἰκοδομήν 'to accept edification as the guiding principle of all education.'

§ 56, p. 348. ἀλλ' ὃ ἀκούετε εἰς τὸ οὖς, φησὶν ὁ Κύριος, κηρύξατε ἐπὶ τῶν δωμάτων, τὰς ἀποκρύφους τῆς ἀληθοῦς γνώσεως παραδόσεις [ὑψηλῶς καὶ ἐξόχως ἑρμηνευομένας] ἐκδέχεσθαι κελεύων, καὶ καθάπερ ἠκούσαμεν εἰς τὸ οὖς, οὕτω καὶ παραδιδόναι εἰς δέον. Transfer the phrase in brackets to the end. It is an allegorical interpretation of ἐπὶ τῶν δωμάτων.

Ib. ἀλλ' ἔστι τῷ ὄντι ἡ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων ὑποτύπωσις ὅσα διασπορᾶδην καὶ διερριμμένως ἐγκατεσπαρμένην ἔχουσι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὅπως ἂν λάθοι τοὺς δίκην κολοιῶν σπερμολόγους. For ἔχουσι read ἔχουσα and omit ὅσα. One might be inclined to suggest ἂν λάθῃ, but in § 42 we find ὃς ἄν μοι βέλτιστος φαίνοιτο.

§ 57, p. 349. οἱ μὲν οὐκ ὀλίγα, οἱ δε μέρος τι εἴπερ ἄρα τοῦ τῆς ἀληθείας λόγου ἔχοντες ἀναδειχθεῖεν. Place a comma before and after εἴπερ ἄρα, and insert ἄν before ἀναδειχθεῖεν.

Ib. (The partial truths of opposing heresies are seen to be in harmony when viewed in relation to the whole, thus) ἐν ἀριθμοῖς ὁ ἄρτιος τῷ περιττῷ διαφέρεται, ὁμολογοῦσι δὲ ἄμφω τῇ ἀριθμητικῇ ὡς τῷ σχήματι ὁ κύκλος καὶ τὸ τρίγωνον καὶ τὸ τετράγωνον καὶ ὅσα τῶν σχημάτων ἀλλήλων διενήνοχεν. Here I should read τῷ ἀριθμητικῷ with a comma following, and change σχήματι into μαθηματικῷ. The latter corruption is easily explained if we suppose the first three and the last two letters of [μαθ]ηματι[κῷ] to have become illegible. Translate 'in arithmetic the odd and even numbers are incongruous, but are both reduced to harmony by the arithmetician, just as the circle and triangle and square and all other incongruous figures are harmonious to the mathematician.'

§ 59, p. 350. I cannot agree with Dindorf in regarding as probable Valckenaer's suggestion that the dozen lines beginning ὃν Ἑλληνικὸν οἶδε προφήτην, οὗ μέμνηται ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Τίτον ἐπιστολῇ are the note of a scholiast. Perhaps οὗ μέμνηται may be a gloss on οἶδε. Just below in ὁρᾶς ὅπως κἂν τοῖς Ἑλλήνων προφήταις δίδωσί τι τῆς ἀληθείας, I think we should read καὶ, the dative being governed by δίδωσι.

§ 59, p. 350. πρὸς γοῦν Κορινθίους, οὐ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα μόνον, περὶ τῆς τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως διαλεγόμενος ἰαμβείῳ συγκέχρηται τραγικῷ, τί μοι ὄφελος; λέγων, οἱ νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται. In the preceding sentence Clement had quoted Tit. i. 12 as showing St. Paul's acquaintance with Greek poetry. It seems to me that the more natural order in this sentence would be οὐ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα μόνον ἰαμβείῳ συγκέχρηται τραγικῷ· πρὸς γοῦν Κορινθίους, περὶ τῆς τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως διαλεγόμενος, Τί μοι ὄφελος, λέγει, εἰ οἱ νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται; The indicative λέγει would naturally be altered to λέγων when the order of the words was lost.

§ 60, p. 351. Πλάτων πάλαι τὸ διὰ σπουδῆς γεγονέναι τόνδε τὸν τρόπον λέγει. Omit τό.

§ 67, p. 355. ἐπαινῶν Πλάτων τοὺς βαρβάρους ὡς διαφερόντως ἀσκήσαντας μόνους ἀληθῶς φησὶ καὶ ἄλλοθι πολλαχοῦ καὶ ἐν Ἕλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις, ὧν καὶ ἱερὰ πολλὰ ἤδη γέγονε διὰ τοὺς τοιούτους παῖδας. The sentence is evidently incomplete, wanting an object for ἀσκήσαντας and an explanation for τοιούτους παῖδας. We are helped to supply what is wanting by a comparison of the passage referred to (*Symp.* 209) in which Diotima describes the action of Eros Philosophus, who seeks immortality by begetting, not human children, but true and beautiful thoughts, εἰς Ὅμηρον ἀποβλέψας καὶ Ἡσίοδον... ζηλῶν, οἷα ἔκγονα ἑαυτῶν ἀπολείπουσιν,...τίμιος δὲ παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ Σόλων διὰ τὴν τῶν νόμων γέννησιν καὶ ἄλλοι ἄλλοθι πολλαχοῦ ἄνδρες καὶ ἐν Ἕλλησι καὶ ἐν βαρβάροις...ὧν καὶ ἱερὰ πολλὰ ἤδη γέγονε διὰ τοὺς τοιούτους παῖδας, and again by the phrase in 212 B καὶ αὐτὸς τιμῶ τὰ ἐρωτικὰ καὶ διαφερόντως ἀσκῶ. I think however that Clement was more likely to take as the object of ἀσκήσαντας an ordinary word like φιλοσοφία, which he has used several times just before, than the less intelligible ἐρωτικά; and a general word, such as γράμματα, is more suitable than ποιήματα or νόμους, which would apply only to a particular case. I should propose therefore to read ἀσκήσαντας <τὴν φιλοσοφίαν>, μόνους ἀληθῶς φησὶν <ἔκγονα ἑαυτῶν καταλείπειν τοὺς φιλοσόφους τὰ γράμματα> καὶ ἄλλοθι κ.τ.λ.

§ 70, p. 358. Ἡράκλειτος γὰρ οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνως φησὶν, ἀλλὰ σὺν θεῷ μᾶλλον Σίβύλλῃ πεφάνθαι. This is the MS. reading which Dindorf, following Hervetus, alters by reading Σίβυλλαν. The reference to the famous words describing the prophetic power of the Sibyl, Σίβυλλα μαινομένῳ στόματι ἀγέλαστα καὶ ἀκαλλώπιστα καὶ ἀμέριστα φθεγγομένη χιλίων ἐτῶν ἐξικνεῖται τῇ φωνῇ διὰ τὸν θεόν, will be made plain if we alter the meaningless μᾶλλον into τὸ μέλλον.

§ 71, p. 359. προέστησαν (φιλοσοφίας) Αἰγυπτίων τε οἱ προφῆται...καὶ Περσῶν οἱ μάγοι· οἱ μέν γε καὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος προεμήνυσαν τὴν γένεσιν...Ἰνδῶν τε οἱ γυμνοσοφισταὶ, ἄλλοι τε. Here we have a list of barbarian philosophers, among them the Magi. After οἱ μάγοι read οἳ καὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος, omitting μέν γε, which may be merely a dittography of μάγοι.

§ 80, p. 366. Ἀντίλοχος...ἀπὸ τῆς Πυθαγόρου ἡλικίας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐπικούρου τελευτὴν, γαμηλιῶνος δὲ δεκάτῃ ἱσταμένου γενομένην ἔτη φέρει τὰ πάντα τριακόσια δώδεκα. Omit δὲ as caused by dittography of the following syllable. Similar examples may be found in § 48, p. 345 where μὴ is inserted from the following μετὰ, § 54, p. 347 *fin.* where οὐ has been foisted in from the preceding θεοῦ, iii. § 4, p. 511 ἡμεῖς εὐνουχίαν μὲν...μακαρίζομεν, μονογαμίαν δε...θαυμάζομεν, συμπάσχειν δὲ δεῖν λέγοντες καὶ ἀλλήλων τὰ βάρη βαστάζειν, where the second δὲ is owing to the following δεῖν, § 6, 512 ἥλιος κοινὰς τροφὰς ζώοις ἅπασιν ἀνατέλλει δικαιοσύνης τε τῆς κοινῆς ἅπασιν ἐπ' ἴσης δοθείσης, where τε should be omitted on the same ground.

§ 81, p. 366. ναὶ φασὶν γεγράφθαι, πάντες οἱ πρὸ τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ Κύριου κλέπται εἰσὶ καὶ λῃσταί. πάντες μὲν οὖν οἱ ἐν λόγῳ—οὗτοι δὴ οἱ πρὸ τῆς τοῦ λόγου σαρκώσεως—ἐξακούονται καθολικώτερον. Read ἄνευ λόγου for ἐν λόγῳ, δὲ for δὴ, and ἐξελέγχονται for ἐξακούονται, 'All who spoke without the teaching of the Word—and these are they who lived before the Incarnation of the Word—are convicted in general terms.'

§ 83, p. 367. (Speaking of the burning of the Grecian fleet as caused by the inaction of Achilles) ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν διὰ μῆνιν—ἐπ' αὐτῷ δ' ἦν καὶ μηνίειν καὶ μὴ—καὶ μὴν οὐκ ἀπεῖργε τὸ πῦρ, καὶ ἴσως συναίτιος, ὁ δὲ διάβολος αὐτεξούσιος ὢν καὶ μετανοῆσαι οἷός τε ἦν καὶ κλέψαι, καὶ ὁ αἴτιος αὐτὸς τῆς κλοπῆς. It seems necessary to insert οὐκ before the first ἦν in order to mark the contrast between the accessory and the sole cause. There would have been no reason for referring to the wrath of Achilles, unless it were intended to oppose it to the αὐτεξουσία of Satan. καὶ μὴν should be omitted as a dittography of the preceding words.

§ 90, p. 371. ἀγαθοῦ δ' ἂν ἀνάγκη θεοῦ ἀγαθὸν τὸν λόγον. For ἂν read εἶναι.

§ 91, p. 372. Clement is never very exact in his quotations, but the inaccuracies in his report of St. Paul's sermon at Athens seem to pass the bounds of possibility. Dindorf, however, who goes out of his way to change προστεταγμένους (which is the reading of the best MSS. in Acts xvii. 26) into προτεταγμένους, has no scruple in printing ζητεῖν τὸ θεῖον εἰ ἄρα ψηλαφήσειαν ἢ εὕροιεν ἂν, καίτοι οὐ μακρὰν ἀπὸ ἑνὸς ἑκάστου ἡμῶν ὑπάρχοντος, where the original has τὸν θεὸν εἰ ἄρα γε ψηλαφήσειαν αὐτὸν καὶ εὕροιεν, καί γε...ὑπάρχοντα. Here τὸ θεῖον and the omission of αὐτὸν and of γε after ἄρα and the change of καί γε into καίτοι are quite in Clement's style, and ἢ for καὶ, though it spoils the sense, is found in some of the MSS. of the G.T., but ἂν is merely a dittography of the preceding syllable and ὑπάρχοντος is a scribe's corruption to suit the preceding genitive.

§ 92, p. 372. (We accept that philosophy) περὶ ἧς...λέγει Σωκράτης· εἰσὶ γὰρ δὴ, ὥς

φασι, περὶ τὰς τελετὰς ναρθηκοφόροι μὲν πολλοί, βάκχοι δέ τε παῦροι, πολλοὺς μὲν τοὺς κλητοὺς, ὀλίγους δὲ τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς αἰνιττόμενος. The text of *Phaedo* 69 has φασὶν οἱ περὶ τὰς τελετὰς, but Clement wrote φησὶ, as we may judge from the following αἰνιττόμενος.

§ 94, p. 373. εἴτ' οὖν κατὰ περίπτωσίν φασιν ἀποφθέγξασθαί τινα τῆς ἀληθοῦς φιλοσοφίας τοὺς Ἕλληνας θείας οἰκονομίας ἡ περίπτωσις... εἴτε κατὰ συντυχίαν οὐκ ἀπρονόητος ἡ συντυχία, εἴτ' αὖ φυσικὴν ἔννοιαν ἐσχηκέναι τοὺς Ἕλληνας λέγοι τὸν τῆς φύσεως δημιουργὸν ἕνα γιγνώσκομεν, καθὸ καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην φυσικὴν εἰρήκαμεν, εἴτε μὴν κοινὸν ἐσχηκέναι νοῦν τίς ὁ πατὴρ καὶ τίς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ νοῦ διανομὴν σκοπήσωμεν. The first thing here is to improve the punctuation, which is throughout most unintelligent in Dindorf's edition, by placing a comma between Ἕλληνας and θείας, and again after συντυχίαν, and λέγοι, and νοῦν, and a full stop after συντυχία. Then insert τις between λέγοι and τὸν, and for ἕνα γιγνώσκομεν read ἐννοίᾳ φυσικῇ (which has dropped into the line below in the shape of φυσικὴν) γιγνώσκομεν (or perhaps better γιγνώσκεσθαι or γιγνωσκόμενον). The second sentence will then stand thus: εἴτ' αὖ φυσικὴν ἔννοιαν ἐσχηκέναι τοὺς Ἕλληνας λέγοι τις, τὸν τῆς φύσεως δημιουργὸν ἐννοίᾳ φυσικῇ γιγνώσκομεν, καθὸ καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην εἰρήκαμεν· εἴτε μὴν κοινὸν ἐσχηκέναι νοῦν, τίς ὁ τούτου πατὴρ...σκοπήσωμεν, 'if one should say that the Greeks had a natural intuition, we know the Creator of nature by natural intuition, as we have also stated (that we know) justice: or if he should say that they possessed a common reason, let us consider who is the author of this.'

§ 95, p. 374. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ τὰ ἴδια σπείροντες οἳ πλείονα ποιοῦσιν. Read, as in Prov. xi. 24, οἳ τὰ ἴδια σπείροντες πλείονα ποιοῦσιν. The intrusive relative οἳ was doubtless a marginal correction of the incorrect article.

§ 99, p. 376. ὃ δὲ μεθ' ἑτέρου ποιεῖ ἀτελὲς ὂν καθ' αὑτὸ ἐνεργεῖν, συνεργόν φαμεν καὶ συναίτιον ἀπὸ τοῦ συναιτίου αἴτιον ὑπάρχον, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑτέρῳ συνελθεῖν αἴτιον γίγνεσθαι ὠνομασμένον. Dindorf accepts Sylburg's emendation ὑπάρχον for ὑπάρχειν. Comparing this with the account given of a joint cause in p. 934, I propose to read after ἐνεργεῖν, συνεργὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑτέρῳ συνεργεῖν φαμὲν, καὶ συναίτιον τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ σὺν αἰτίῳ αἴτιον ὑπάρχειν ἢ αἴτιον γίγνεσθαι ὠνομασμένον, unless αἴτιον γίγνεσθαι should be omitted as a gloss.

§ 153, p. 413. In the quotation from Philo, Dindorf fails to remove some blots which had been noted by earlier editors. ἐνδείκνυται should be ἐνδείκνυνται, τὰ Αἰγυπτίων γράμματα should be τὰ Ἀσσυρίων γράμματα, and for γραμματικὴν below we should probably read γράμματα.

§ 178, p. 425. μόνη αὕτη ἐπὶ τὴν ἀληθῆ σοφίαν χειραγωγεῖ...οὐκ ἄνευ τοῦ σωτῆρος τοῦ καταγαγόντος ἡμῶν τῷ θείῳ λόγῳ τοῦ ὁρατικοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν ἐπιχυθεῖσαν ἐκ φαύλης ἀναστροφῆς ἁγνοιαν ἀχλυώδη. Here there is no government for ἡμῶν or for τοῦ ὁρατικοῦ, and καταγαγόντος is unmeaning. Perhaps the true reading may be τοῦ καταλλάττοντος ἡμᾶς τῷ θείῳ λόγῳ <καὶ σκεδάσαντος ἀπὸ> τοῦ ὁρατικοῦ.

§ 180, p. 426. Commenting on the words of the *Timaeus* p. 22, Ἕλληνες ἀεὶ παῖδές ἐστε...οὐδὲ (ἔχετε) μάθημα χρόνῳ πολιὸν οὐδέν, Clement writes ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων φησὶ τὴν οἴησιν αὐτῶν βραχύ τι διαφέρειν μύθων· οὐ γὰρ μύθων παιδικῶν ἐξακουστέον οὐδὲ μὴν τῶν τοῖς παισὶ γενομένων μύθων· παῖδας δὲ εἴρηκεν αὐτούς γε τοὺς μύθους, ὡς ἂν μικρὸν διορώντων τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησιν οἰησισόφων, αἰνιττόμενος τὸ μάθημα τὸ πολιὸν, τὴν παρὰ βαρβάροις προγενεστάτην ἀλήθειαν, ᾧ ῥήματι τέθεικε τὸ παῖς μῦθος. The words βραχύ τι διαφέρει μύθων are taken from *Tim.* 23 B τὰ νὺν δὴ γενεαλογηθέντα...παίδων βραχύ τι διαφέρει μύθων, which Clement, if we may judge from his phrase παῖς μῦθος, seems to have understood as if μύθων and παίδων were in apposition. I should propose therefore to insert παίδων before βραχύ τι—the similarity of ending explains its loss after αὐτῶν—to insert οὐκ before ἐξακουστέον (childish stories may still be told to children, it is the παῖς μῦθος which is forbidden), to read ἀντιτέθεικε for τέθεικε, so as to provide a government for ῥήματι—the ἀντι would easily disappear after ατι—and perhaps προγενεστέραν for προγενεστάτην. As we have immediately below ἄμφω κοινῶς τοὺς μύθους αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς λόγους παιδικοὺς εἶναι παριστάς, I should further be inclined to change αὐτούς γε τοὺς μύθους into αὐτούς τε τοὺς μύθους καὶ τοὺς λόγους.

§ 181, p. 427.

τόνδε γὰρ ἀνθρώποισι νόμον διέταξε Κρονίων,
ἰχθύσι γὰρ καὶ θηρσὶ καὶ οἰωνοῖς πετεηνοῖς
ἔσθεμεν ἀλλήλους, ἐπεὶ οὐ δίκη ἐστὶ μετ' αὐτῶν·
ἀνθρώποισι δ' ἔδωκε δίκην ἣ πολλὸν ἀρίστη.

Εἴτ' οὖν τὸν ἅμα τῇ γενέσει φήσει νόμον εἴτε καὶ τὸν αὖθις δοθέντα πλὴν ἐκ θεοῦ, ὅ τε τῆς φύσεως ὅ τε τῆς μαθήσεως νόμος εἷς. Here φήσει is Sylburg's emendation accepted by Dindorf for the MS. φύσει. The future tense is unmeaning, and φύσει is implied by ὁ τῆς φύσεως νόμος in the line below, answering to ὁ τῆς μαθήσεως, as φύσει νόμον answers here to τὸν αὖθις δοθέντα. I provide

a construction for νόμον by removing the full stop after ἀριστη, when it becomes merely a resumption of νόμον in the first line. I should further restore Hesiod's μὲν in the second line, which has been assimilated to the preceding γὰρ, and put πλὴν after θεοῦ to begin a new sentence.

J. B. Mayor.

MR. WALKER ON THE GREEK AORIST.

In discussing the last two instalments of Mr. Walker's morphological investigations it is necessary to keep in mind the ulterior purpose with which he pursues them. Mr. Walker expects to get some evidence to rehabilitate the old doctrine of the Graeco-Italic *Spracheinheit.* I have no prejudice against the doctrine, the case against which has possibly been sometimes pushed too far, but the point is so important that it necessarily claims a front place in what little I have to say. I am afraid I do not fully understand Mr. Walker's position on this question. He is bringing out a feature of 'Graeco-Italian'; and since it is not a survival but a definite new departure in language, it must if proved have considerable cogency in determining the mutual relations of Greek and Italic. The languages have in common their (retention of the primitive ?) feminine nouns in *-os*, much of the formation of the pluperfect, and, if we accept Mr. Walker's theory, an aorist indicative in *s* made up by the help of the perfect from an *s* subjunctive and optative. These common features, even if we were to add to them others for which some case might be made, are meagre enough when compared with the large resemblances both in phonology and in morphology which have been unsuccessful in convincing scholars of an Italo-Keltic unity. All that is allowed is that the Kelts and Italians were contiguous in some pre-historic period, so that new developments in language passed from one tribe to the other. Probably Mr. Walker means no more than the view corresponding to this: the Greeks were once contiguous to the Italians on the other side, though presumably with very much less communication between them and their neighbours than the ancestors of Brennus and Camillus enjoyed. In such a view we need not quarrel with him, though we may perhaps object to the use of 'Graeco-Italian' in this connexion. It would be more justifiable to speak of our own language as 'French-English' since the Norman invasion. If Mr. Walker does mean more, a thorough discussion of the tremendous difficulties of the doctrine involved would be needed before such details as the *s* aorist could be handled. But I must not dwell further on this ambiguity, which would not matter were it not for the certainty that there are plenty of respectable scholars of Latin and Greek in this country who have scarcely an idea that the old doctrine has ever been questioned. I think moreover we shall find that a desire to bring the classical languages into closer morphological contact is in many cases the determining cause of Mr. Walker's abandoning views which at present hold the field, and which as generally simpler and less artificial than his own we shall be tempted to prefer until we see the case against them, as well as the case for an alternative. On this point I need do no more than endorse the criticisms of the Master of Christ's (*C.R.* ii. 163), whose observations might well be taken, *mutatis mutandis*, to characterize the later instalments of Mr. Walker's ingenious and scholarly speculation. A student wishing to judge any such speculations fairly will naturally begin by examining the treatment of the subject in the pages of the great systematizer of modern comparative philology. He will find in the second volume of the *Grundriss* how Brugmann marshals the evidence of all branches of the Indogermanic family with a lucidity all his own, and presents an account which, whether it convinces us or not, must be described as clear, consistent and plausible in a very high degree. Mr. Walker consequently presents his theory under a great disadvantage if he does not attempt to show weak points in such a system which may predispose us to look leniently upon the weak points discoverable in his own.

Before passing from these general criticisms to notice individual points in Mr. Walker's last two papers, I might mention one or two recent investigations in verb morphology which should I think be taken into account. One is the virtual discovery of the Sanskrit type *ájāiṣ*, applied by

Bezzenberger to solve the riddle of ἄγεις (see Brugmann *Grd.* ii. 896), and by Bartholomae to '*erās* = *āsīs*,' as well as several other formations (see his *Studien* ii. p. 63 *sqq.*). On the subject of the Greek, Italic and Keltic *ss* aorist a very important contribution has been made by Bartholomae (*B.B.* xii. 80 *sqq.*); and the same question has been acutely attacked by Mr. Giles (*Camb. Philolog. Soc. Tr.* 1889, p. 126 *sqq.*) on very different lines. I am not endorsing here any of this literature, but I mention it as likely to modify in some way the investigations before us.[1]

I proceed to take a few points from these papers in order. One I take from paper viii. (*C.R.* v. 451), because Mr. Walker asks us to lay special stress on it, connecting it in advance with the papers to follow. His treatment of the difficult word for 'spring' contains some points that need further proof. Thus when it is said that the Attic ἔαρ must have lost a ϝ, not a σ, we remember that the author has been laying some stress on the explanation of τιθέασι as = τιθε-σαντι. Mr. Walker may if he likes save his ἔαρ by annexing Johansson's τιθε-ϝ-αντι, but of course that involves more inconvenient results still. I am not proposing to re-examine ἔαρ ἦρος *ver* here, only staying to remark on the Greek that the explanation ought perhaps to take the exactly similar κέαρ κῆρος into consideration, and on the Latin that the Old Norse *vâr* is a much more obvious parallel than the Greek ἔαρ, whether or no ἦρ be brought in. I think that this word is much too ambiguous to illustrate the general propositions Mr. Walker lays down at the end, though I should not quarrel with them in themselves. The consensus of the Indo-Iranians and the Slavo-Lithuanians is not enough to prove a word Indogermanic, simply because these two languages are proved to have belonged to the same dialectic division of the parent speech, as is shown by their treatment of the palatals and velars. Nor can any warning be more important than that which forbids our applying to one language morphological observations established in another—unless, as I should prefer to put it, these completely satisfy the known phonetic and other conditions of both. But Mr. Walker is hardly entitled by his theory of ἔαρ *ver* to hint that 'the connexion between' Greek and Italic 'is of the closest.'

[1] Since this paper was written, Streitberg's very important article on the 'Dehnstufe' has come out, materially affecting several of the points discussed here (*Ind. Forsch.* iii. 305 *sqq.*).

The three propositions with which the present theory of the Greek Aorist is introduced will be best examined under the details of the proof. I may observe here that the second, which is far more plausible than the first—(the third is generally admitted, if we drop the 'Graeco-Italian')—must be extended beyond Greek and Italian if it is to be allowed. Mr. Walker will hardly venture to assign the Sanskrit (and Iranian) *s* aorist to a different origin, and in that case the extension to the indicative must belong to the proethnic period (rather an unsafe region, by the way, for us to assert or deny morphological processes alleged to have happened therein). If the theory is modified in this direction, it may very well be regarded as a kind of extension of Mr. Giles's theory to the Indogermanic: the *s* subjunctive and optative being simply forms of *es* 'to be' tacked on to a verbal root-noun. One difficulty at least will result, besides the *a priori* risk of speculating for a dialect in which we have no history and no comparative process to guide us. The most prominent feature of the Sanskrit *s* aorist, which is probably shared by Greek, Italic and Germanic, is the so called *vr̥ddhi* of the root in the active indicative. This is intelligible on the ordinary theory: I am disposed still to adhere to my own conjecture[2] (*Am. Journ. Phil.* x. 286) that it originated in roots with initial vowel, where the augment contracted with the root in its strong and weak forms. But it constitutes a rather serious difficulty to Mr. Walker's account.

The identity of the suffixes of aorist and perfect is obvious in Greek, with one or two considerable reservations: their assimilation is easily explained by the ordinary accounts, such as Brugmann's. But the 3rd plural is a more serious difficulty than Mr. Walker thinks. His hypothetical μεμας depends on the Sanskrit *-us -ur*. But unfortunately this is conclusively shown by Zend to be a combination of two suffixes existing in Indo-Iranian, *-r̥r* and *-r̥š* (see Bartholomae, *K.Z.* xxix. 586). Even if the *s* were original in Sanskrit, we could not possibly reconcile the vowels. This upsets the external authority for μεμας, and, as we have seen, Mr. Walker is unable to support it without entirely separating μεμάασι and τιθέασι. This difficulty (to say nothing of others) must be surmounted before the Graeco-Italian identity of aorist and perfect can be maintained. And when we reflect on the remarkable coincidences undeniably

[2] See, however, Streitberg, *l.c.* p. 391 *sqq.*

existing, without any historical connexion, between formations in languages totally distinct, we shall probably feel that a much more startling identity of Greek and Latin phenomena would hardly bear the weight laid on this very doubtful one. Moreover, did not Germanic likewise merge its aorist and perfect? As to Mr. Walker's assertion that no one has ever conjectured an original *s* indicative corresponding to *essem* and *ferrem*, it is not going very far to bring up *abhārṣīt* (Vedic) and the Greek ἔφερσε (Hesych.); while Lithuanian gives us some forms that presumably started from the indicative (see Brugmann *Grd.* ii. 1172). It seems to me at least possible to take στῆσα = *starem*, γήθησα = *gauderem*, etc., as historically accurate equations (barring the restoration of intervocalic σ in Greek by analogy of the consonant stems), and to put them both down as *Injunctives*. The Injunctive (or unaugmented indicative past tenses) included two main uses, one quasi-conjunctive, as commonly in Sanskrit, the other indicative, where past time was inferred from the context, as presumably was the case in the pre-historic stages of Achaian (Homeric) Greek and of Italic, and other languages which wholly or partially dropped the use of the augment in the indicative. The equation I suggest will hold also for the 3rd plural: γήθησαν = *gaudērent*, from Idg. *gāu̯edhēsent*, if we may for the moment assume the early extension of *s* aorists to the derivative verbs.[1] In equating στῆσαν and *stārent* we have to allow for the coincident extension of the strong ablaut of the singular: compare Skt. (middle) *asthiṣata* and ἔστασαν, also δόσαν = *dărent*, Skt. *adiṣata*, against the conceivably original sing. ἔδωσα. The completion of the tense in Latin by the help of such analogies as *amem*, *ament*, with *ē* throughout, would be a very natural process, and this would anchor the form to the subjunctive mood, while from the older injunctive forms *dixem*, *diximus*, *dixtis*, *dixent*, two may well have gone to add another tributary to the newly forming stream of the aorist-perfect indicative. The suggestiveness of Mr. Walker's comparisons must be my excuse for launching out on a supplementary guess of my own towards the solution of that perennial problem, the imperfect subjunctive in Latin. While I am thus employed, I may as well add one or two more hints in the same line. What if *ferrēs* is really to be compared with the Skt. *abhārṣīs*, adopting Bartholomae's principle that this rather mysterious suffix appeared originally as *ēi̯* in the singular and *ī* in the plural, with inevitable levelling in both directions? The appropriation of the whole tense from injunctive to subjunctive remains as before. And lastly, let us notice the phenomena of the *s* aorist in a root like *trā*, with an irreducible *ā*, in Latin and Sanskrit: the extant 1st pl. mid. *atrāsmahi* in the latter will allow us to construct the active corresponding. In the singular, *(a)trāsam* = *(in)trārem*; **atrās(s)* **atrāst* would be **intrās* **intrāst*, while the coexistent *atrāsīs atrāsīt* will on my theory be *intrārēs intrāret*. Then in the plural *atrāsma* would be **intrāmus*, *atrāsta* is *intrāstis*, and **atrāsan intrārent*. Here **intrās* and **intrāmus* naturally do not survive their likeness to the present, and **intrāst* is the only form which has not been actually used in one way or another.

I must hasten on to notice a few points of detail suggesting themselves in Mr. Walker's last two papers. The account of the types στήω and σταίην as sigmatic (Idg. *sthāsō*, *sthəsi̯ēm*) is plausible enough, and might very well be accepted without in any way impugning the originality of ἔστησα, which will be either a *ss* aorist or a reformation on the analogy of the ἔδειξα type. Of course the analogy of σταῖμεν will explain the retention of ι in σταίην perfectly, but one must confess that the optative *sthəi̯ēm* practically rests on Greek evidence alone, though the Sanskrit *stheyām* will give us some trouble if we discard the help from this quarter. The hypothetical unthematic aorist—which simply means a past tense of the 'root-class' or εἶμι-conjugation—raises a number of very knotty questions. Are there in consonant stems the traces we should expect of the weakened root in a formation said to survive only in the middle? What is the relation of δέχαται to ἐδέγμην, and of ἅλεται to ἆλτο? In this last question I should agree with Mr. Walker that ἆλτο is not a sigmatic aorist (cf. Brugmann *Grd.* ii. 1283), but the equally unsigmatic subjunctive will not suit him so well. The wide extension of the *ss* aorist is a point on which I have always felt that Bartholomae made a strong case. Mr. Walker's extension of it to the ἔστησα type is an alluring suggestion, to which I know no objection except its cutting off *starem*.

I pass on to paper x., many points in which may fairly be allowed as probable without accepting the thesis upon which

[1] For the 3rd pl. *-ent*, levelled to -αν(τ) in Greek by contamination of -α(τ) = *-ṇt* and -εν(τ), see Streitberg in *Ind. Forsch.* i. 82 *sqq.*

they are based. That the past tenses of οἶδα, εἶμι and εἰμι reacted upon one another is very likely indeed, but that does not depend on the doctrine of an unreduplicated perfect, as set forth in Mr. Walker's earlier papers. The introduction of the parallel root *vei̯* to help out *ei̯* is an excellent proposal: we may compare the way in which three roots (*sē*, *i̯ēk* and *vei̯*) make up the conjugation of ἵημι. I should be inclined also to accept the main points in the suggested genesis of ἤειστθα and ἤδειστθα, with some reservations noted below. But I am afraid I remain entirely unconvinced as to the main thesis which these forms are supposed to confirm. As far as I can see, it relies simply on two undeniable facts, (1) that in Greek the *s*-aorist and the perfect active had the same person-endings, except in the 3rd plural, and (2) that in Latin the perfect and aorists coalesced (as they coalesced in Germanic). But both facts are easily understood on very much simpler assumptions, and apart from this resemblance no two sets of forms could be much less alike than the Greek and the Latin: what resemblances in detail they have are shown at once by other languages to be inherited. Some observations remain to be made on points of the proof. I do not understand how *monerim* is connected with a perfect stem: surely it is a 'first aorist optative' like *faxim*, *capsim*, *amarim*, etc.? That ϝείδω should be the true Homeric subjunctive of ϝοῖδα is natural enough, as it is the normal form of the perfect subjunctive. ϝειδέσω on the ordinary view is the *-es-* aorist subjunctive of the root *veid*, and was only attached to the perfect because it happened to be unreduplicated and in need of a past tense such as ἠϝείδε(σ)α would supply. The usefulness of δέδια as an analogy force I should question: it is itself a comparatively late and decidedly restricted product of analogy. A Homeric 'ἤδησθα' might stand I imagine for ϝείδεσθα (unaugmented), by the familiar misinterpretation of an early E. Of course the *-θα* suffix is not 'retained' here, as it only came in from the perfect owing to the close association just mentioned. But I think the association may well have begun at a time even prior to the loss of intervocalic σ, so that the similarity of ϝοῖδα and ϝείδεσα could be continued by the development of ϝείδεσθα ϝείδεσε to supply the place of the doomed *ϝειδεσς *ϝειδεστ. The Latin *vīdisti* represents apparently a very similar independent process at work on the *-is-* aorist—(if we are really compelled to adopt this rather unwelcome formation to explain an otherwise unsolved phonetic peculiarity). The augmenting of this aorist with ἠ- has surely no necessary connexion with the digamma initial? Ἠβουλόμην, ἠδυνάμην, etc., show that this substitute for the augment—best taken perhaps as a preposition identical with Latin *ē*—was free to join any verb. Its frequency with digammated roots may well mean nothing more than the recognized change of ἐϝ- to εὐ- in the primitive Achaian dialect, joined presumably with one or two genuine cases of ἠ- accounting for ἑώρων and its congeners.

Mr. Walker will hardly expect to pass without protest the 'conditions under which ι becomes in its strong form ει or ῑ respectively.' Adherents of the newer philology have learnt to regard ῑ and ῐ as standing on a different platform from ει, though few would care to regard the position of ῑ as finally settled. But the lax use of 'become' here is very unfortunate, however little intended, as there are far too many still who would innocently speak of an ῐ 'strengthened' to ει, as though our science were bound for ever to the phraseology of the old Indian grammarians. To restore a 'lost imperfect of εἶμι' as ἶν ἶς ἶ ignores the fact that we have in Sanskrit *áyam*, *āís*, *āít*, perfectly normal forms which would be very hard to explain if the type *ábhūs*, *ábhūt*, ἔφῡς, ἔφῡ (as yet not fully accounted for)[1] had to be followed. The *áyam* is exactly represented by *ἦα, which borrowed an ι subscript from the plural. Then we can interpret ἤια as a contamination of ἦα and *ἤεα, without questioning the tradition: the regular (unaugmented) 3rd pl. 1st aor. ἴσαν would help the process. On my supposition *īrem* (= *ei̯sm̥*) is the 1st sg. injunctive aorist, of which ἴσαν is 3rd pl., *īrent* having the long vowel of the singular. One or two small points and I have done. The 'unvoiced σ in ἦσαν from οἶδα' and the 'voiced σ in ἦσαν from ἦα' can hardly be accepted without a proof. As to τιθέασι, etc., the development of a new 3rd pl. primary suffix *-αντι* out of the aorist *-αν*, by the proportion *-ν* to *-ντι* familiar in all verbs, is the simplest explanation: the new suffix *-αντι* was added to the base τιθε- just as the new past suffix *-σαν* was added in the imperfect. The plural of the reduplicated *-μι* verbs is of course a

[1] *bhū* is the proper reduction of the dissyllabic root *bheue*; and there is no real difficulty in supposing that Sanskrit and Greek independently levelled the singular to the plural. Note that the type is not found in Iranian.

problem in any case: we can hardly doubt that the original forms *τιθ-μεν *τιθ-ατι have been reacted on in a pre-historic period of Greek by the forms of the unreduplicated conjugation, Idg. *dhəmês dhênti*, *θέμες *θέντι (cf. the 2nd aorist). In that case the Doric τίθεντι is clearly more original, but the Ionic accent may very well represent the consciousness of another form after the type of τιθέασι, Boeot. διδόανθι: the evident antiquity of this type is certainly a point in favour of Johansson, as referred to above. In the verb *esmi* there were two forms in the plural, *ésnti* and *sénti*, *ἔατι and *ἔντι, and the ultimate forms of these (ἔαντι, ἐντί) probably did more than anything else to fix the alternatives in τίθημι.

Here I must close my remarks, in which I have ventured perhaps rather farther than is wise from the safe paths of merely negative criticism. The novelty of Mr. Walker's ideas and the long-felt fascination of this field of verb morphology must be my excuse. Two impressions remain in my mind as I account to myself for a general lack of conviction produced by these very original researches. On the one side is the absence of the necessary destructive criticism, which might clear away the structures occupying at present the ground Mr. Walker wishes to annex. On the other is the feeling that Mr. Walker is before all things a classical scholar, with the inevitable prejudice in favour of Greek and Latin as better able to tell us the secrets of primitive language than any other dialects can be. A heavier sprinkling of words from Zend and Sanskrit, Gothic, Old Irish, Lithuanian, and sources less classical still, would doubtless send off the pure scholar or the archaeologist with a shrug to more congenial pages in the *Review*, but it would produce more effect upon students of a subject more and more imperatively demanding the thorough traversing of the whole field.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

Cambridge, March 16th.

ON ST. JOHN'S METHOD OF RECKONING THE HOURS OF THE DAY.

ALL admit that, with the exception of the Fourth Gospel, the New Testament (Mt. xx. 3, 5, 6, 9, xxvii. 45, 46; Mk. xv. 25, 33, 34; Lk. xxiii. 44; Acts ii. 15, iii. 1, x. 3, 9, 30, xxiii. 33) reckons 'the hour' from sunrise (or sunset in Acts xxiii. 33 where 'of the night' is added). But it is contended that St. John may have adopted a different reckoning, namely from midnight (or mid-day).

Westcott (*Gospel of St. John*, p. 282) mentions 'two passages' which 'furnish a sufficient presumption' that the reckoning from midnight was general in the Roman province of Asia and was adopted by John. One of these refers to the death of Polycarp, another to that of Pionius who 'is said to have been martyred (at Smyrna also) at the tenth hour.'[1] The latter, if Pionius died in A.D. 250, is not cogent concerning the usage of 100 A.D. As to the former, Westcott says, 'This'—the eighth hour—'from the circumstances, must have been 8 A.M.' But Lightfoot (*Apost. Fathers* P. II. Vol. i. p. 612) says 'The hour of the day we have no means of testing. "The eighth hour" might mean either 8 A.M. or 2 P.M.'; and, though he pronounces the former the more probable, he adds, 'Either is consistent with the narrative.'

But, upon close examination, the evidence as to Polycarp will be found in favour of 2 P.M. and incompatible with 8 A.M. For it would appear that Polycarp was not brought into the stadium till (*Epist. Smyrn.* 9) the 'sports' had begun. When he was led into the stadium, the excitement was at its height (8), 'such a tumult that no man's voice could be so much as heard.' The words (*ib.* 9), '*at length*, when he was brought up (λοιπὸν προσαχθέντος αὐτοῦ)'—perhaps 'at length' is rather strong for λοιπόν, but I am quoting Lightfoot's translation—imply that the martyr had to wait his turn till the 'sports' were concluded; and this is further implied by (*ib.* 11) the proconsul's threat, 'I have wild beasts at hand here and I will throw thee to them,' taken with what follows. The people shout for a lion to be let loose on Polycarp, upon which the Asiarch replied that (12) 'It was not lawful for him, since *he had brought the sports to a close* (πεπληρώκει τὰ κυνηγέσια).' Now it is most unlikely that 'the sports' could have been 'brought to a close' in time enough to allow Polycarp to be examined by

[1] The reference to the authority, in the case of Pionius, is not given.

the Proconsul, and a fire to be extemporized to consume him, and all this by 8 A.M. on a February morning (*ib.* 21, πρὸ ἑπτὰ Καλανδῶν Μαρτίων).

The passages in John bearing on the subject are the following:—

(*a*) i. 39 'about the tenth hour.' The Baptist is here introduced as 'looking upon Jesus as he was walking (περιπατοῦντι).' The walking does not necessarily imply anything in the nature of a journey. Two disciples of the Baptist, wishing to know Jesus, ask 'Where abidest thou?' They 'came therefore and saw where he abode; and they abode with him that day (παρ' αὐτῷ ἔμειναν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην): it was about the tenth hour.' There is nothing here conclusive either way; but the most natural supposition is that they took the evening meal there and remained for the night as well as the remainder of the day. (It should be hardly necessary to quote, for 'day' used loosely in connexion with hours after or before sunset, Mk. xiv. 30 'to-day, even this night,' and Matth. xxvii. 19, where Pilate's wife speaks of the dream she had had 'this day.')

(*b*) iv. 6 'about the sixth hour.' This was the hour at which Jesus rested at 'Jacob's well,' wearied with the journey, while the disciples went into the city to buy food. Now, if this was 'the sixth hour *of the afternoon*,' i.e. 6 P.M. as in modern reckoning, we have to suppose that the woman came to the well shortly after 6 P.M. and that the dialogue followed afterwards (lasting long enough to allow of the return of the disciples to interrupt it): then the woman returned to the city and told her story to the men; and then the men came out to Jesus, heard His words, welcomed Him, and induced Him to remain with them. Even if this occurred in the summer it crowds a great deal into a small space of time; but if it occurred in winter it is almost impossible.

Here rises the question of the time of year, and of the bearing on this point of John iv. 35 οὐχ ὑμεῖς λέγετε ὅτι Ἔτι τετράμηνός ἐστιν καὶ ὁ θερισμὸς ἔρχεται; ἰδοὺ λέγω ὑμῖν ἐπάρατε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑμῶν καὶ θεάσασθε τὰς χώρας ὅτι λευκαί εἰσιν πρὸς θερισμόν. The words 'lift up your eyes' appear to mean 'lift up your eyes to the truth as it is in heaven,' 'discern the true harvest'; and the most probable rendering is, 'You (ὑμεῖς emph.) the children of men, who talk of earthly seed and earthly harvest, say, or are in the habit of saying, "Four months more and the harvest [of earth] will come"; but I tell you the harvest [of heaven] is white already.'

It appears (Tristram, *Land of Israel*, p. 399 and 583, quoted by Westcott, John iv. 34) that corn sown *just after Christmas* was four inches high on 20 Feb., and that the harvest lasted from about 15 April to 15 May. This gives an interval of 'four months' between seed-time and the average time for the middle of harvest, and points to a common proverb by which the farmers in Galilee exhorted one another to patience, after seed-time was over. (The ἔτι does not mean 'more,' and creates no difficulty; comp. the saying of Joseph to Pharaoh's butler, Gen. xl. 13 ἔτι τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ μνησθήσεται Φ. τῆς ἀρχῆς σου, '*Three days hence*, Pharaoh will remember thy office': = so *ib.* 19 and vii. 34.

Now it might seem at first sight as if all the bearing of the 'four months' upon the actual time of year disappears as soon as it is admitted that the words probably constitute a proverb. But in fact, all the point of our Lord's words consists in *the exact application of the proverb to the time of utterance, and in the contrariety between what the proverb said* about the earthly harvest and what He said about the spiritual. For the former, the seed had only just been sown, and the fields were bare; for the latter, the harvest was white for reaping, if the disciples would only 'lift up their eyes' and discern it. Consequently, though the words are probably proverbial, their use here is strongly for winter as the time of utterance.

This makes it all the more unlikely that 'the sixth hour' meant the last hour in the evening. In the winter the Samaritan woman might naturally come to the well in the early afternoon; and in the winter people might naturally be travelling at noon. And the rest of the narrative will suit a winter noon-tide. Jesus had not intended to stay there; He merely rested at noon because He was 'tired out' (κεκοπιακώς)'; but the talk with the Samaritan woman led the Samaritans to come out to see Him in the afternoon; and the consequence was that they induced Him to remain in their city for that night and the next.

(*c*) iv. 52 'Yesterday, about (?) the seventh hour (ἐχθὲς ὥραν ἑβδόμην), the fever left him.' [Winer quotes for the accus. Acts x. 3, Rev. iii. 3. But in Acts the best MSS. ins. περί: Rev. οὐ μὴ γνῶς ποίαν ὥραν ἥξω possibly contains some corruption concealed under the marginal γνώσῃ: in any

case, the juxtaposition of γνῶς, and the solecisms with which Rev. abounds, make it worthless as an instance bearing on the present passage. Possibly the original was ЄХΘЄСЄІС (comp. Plutarch, *Timoleon*, ed. Holden, index, εἰς with the meaning of ἐν, temporal, εἰς ἕνα καιρόν xii. 3, and he compares Polyb. xxiv. 34, 10 εἰς τὴν ἐπαύριον ἐξῆλθε)].

But let us assume that, so far as the hour is concerned, the text is correct. Westcott says (*ad loc.*) that 'the uncertainty of the site of Cana causes a little difficulty in determining the time required for the journey from Capernaum to Cana. This may however be fairly reckoned at about four or five hours. Comp. Jos. *Vit.* ch. 17; a night journey from Cana to Tiberias.'

Now Josephus tells us that he travelled from Cana to Tiberias all through the night (δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς)—and he had every motive to travel fast, as his object was to secure Tiberias from being brought over by his enemy. Moreover he was journeying downhill, and it would take longer to go uphill from the border of the low-lying lake to the uplands of Cana. We may therefore reckon Josephus' journey at 7 to 8 hours and the return journey at 9 or 10; this gives about 17 hours of journeying, too much to be done at a stretch.

The most probable supposition is that the father started from Capernaum very early in the morning, say at 4 or 5 A.M., and reached Jesus in eight or nine hours, at 1 P.M. ('the seventh hour'). After the delay necessary for rest and refreshment, he started on the return journey, but stopped when night came on, and resumed his journey next morning. His servants did not start to meet him on the afternoon of the boy's recovery; for, by the time they had convinced themselves that danger was over, say 2 P.M., it was too late to allow them to reach Cana before sunset. But they started very early in the morning and met their master 'when he was by this time descending (ἤδη αὐτοῦ καταβαίνοντος)'—a phrase which may here mean (a little more precisely than in iv. 49, 'Sir, come down') the descent from the table-land to the border of the lake.

But on the supposition (adopted by Westcott) that the words of Jesus were spoken at 7 P.M., we have to ask how it was that the father (who most probably started before sunrise) was so late in finding Jesus, taking, say, fourteen hours to reach Him. Also, the pressing petition to Jesus ('Come down, ere my child die') is much more natural at 1 P.M., when there was time for the journey to be at all events commenced, than at 7 P.M., when it would be rather unreasonable to ask a Prophet to begin a journey that would last, as it did for Josephus, 'all through the night.' This last argument is all the more forcible because this incident occurred only a few days after the dialogue in Samaria, and therefore probably in the winter; so that the sun would have set long before 7 P.M.

(*d*) xix. 14 'about the sixth hour.' This passage states the hour when Pilate pronounced sentence on Jesus; and, as the context stands, is unquestionably incompatible with Mk. xv. 25, which fixes the Crucifixion at 'the third hour.' But the omission of Mk. xv. 25 by Mt. and Lk. indicates some early obscurity as to the exact hour.

In any case the interpretation of 'the sixth hour' as 6 A.M. involves other extreme difficulties: for (Westcott on John xviii. 28) 'the Roman court could be held at any time after sunrise,' *but not before;* but at 6 A.M. the sun would only just have risen, so that the Chief Priests could not expect to begin the trial till that time. And yet, according to this interpretation, we have to suppose that (xviii. 29–32) the dialogue between Pilate and the Jews, (xviii. 33—37) the dialogue between Pilate and Jesus, (xviii. 39—40) the expostulation of Pilate with the Jews and the choice of Barabbas instead of Jesus, (xix. 1) the scourging, (xix. 2, 3) the clothing with the purple robe and the crown of thorns and the offering of mock homage, (xix. 4—7) the exhibition of Jesus in this condition to the Jews and Pilate's further expostulation with them, (xix. 8—11) Pilate's re-entry into the Palace and further dialogue with Jesus, (xix. 12) Pilate's subsequent attempts (ἐκ τούτου ἐζήτει) to procure an acquittal, and the recalcitration of the Jews, (xix. 13) the leading of Jesus to Gabbatha and (apparently) the erection of a tribunal (βῆμα, not τὸ βῆμα) there—*all occur after 6 a.m. in the course of about half-an-hour*, so as to justify the writer in saying that the final sentence was pronounced 'about 6.30 A.M.' (Westc. *Gosp.* p. 282, 'If we suppose that the time approximately described was about 6 A.M. it is not difficult to fit in all the events of the trial'). If to this we were to add Mt.'s incidents of the washing of Pilate's hands, and the message about his wife's dream, and Lk.'s supplementary trial of Jesus by Herod, and the mocking by Herod's soldiers, and the sending back

from Herod to Pilate, the difficulty—if it did not amount to an impossibility before—would certainly amount to one now.

Strong evidence would be needed to make us believe that John departed from the synoptic method of reckoning the hours of the day. The substance of the synoptic Gospels—it is generally admitted—was widely read and recognized as authoritative at the time of the composition of the Fourth Gospel. The Fourth Gospel—according to a very ancient and general tradition—was composed to supplement them and to give a more spiritual aspect of Christ's life, but not to supersede them. But if the Fourth was intended to be read with the Three, would it not have been a grievous and even culpable error to introduce, without warning or even suggestion of difference, a method of reckoning the hours (and more especially as regards the Passion, where the four authors cover the same ground and all enter into considerable detail) wholly different from that of the Synoptists, and certain to create confusion in the minds of all readers? So far, the evidence alleged by Westcott (and I have dealt with no other) appears insufficient to prove such a departure.

EDWIN A. ABBOTT.

THEOPHILUS AD AUTOLYCUM II, 7.

ἀλλὰ καὶ Σάτυρος, ἱστορῶν τοὺς δήμους Ἀλεξανδρέων, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Φιλοπάτορος τοῦ καὶ Πτολεμαίου προσαγορευθέντος, τούτου μηνύει Διόνυσον ἀρχηγέτην γεγονέναι· διὸ καὶ φυλὴν ὁ Πτολεμαῖος πρώτην κατέστησεν. Λέγει οὖν ὁ Σάτυρος οὕτως·

Here follows the genealogy purporting to connect the Ptolemies with Dionusos; after which Theophilus continues:—

Ἡ μὲν οὖν πρὸς Διόνυσον τοῖς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ βασιλεύσασι συγγένεια, οὕτω περιέχει. Ὅθεν καὶ ἐν τῇ Διονυσίᾳ φυλῇ δῆμοι εἰσὶ κατακεχωρισμένοι· Ἀλθῆς ἀπὸ τῆς γενομένης γυναικὸς Διονύσου, θυγατρὸς δὲ Θεστίου Ἀλθέας· Δηϊανείρης ἀπὸ τῆς θυγατρὸς Διονύσου καὶ Ἀλθέας, γυναικὸς δὲ Ἡρακλέους, ὅθεν καὶ τὰς προσωνυμίας ἔχουσιν οἱ κατ' αὐτοὺς δῆμοι· Ἀριάδνης ἀπὸ τῆς θυγατρὸς Μίνω, γυναικὸς δὲ Διονύσου, παιδὸς πατροφίλης, τῆς μιχθείσης Διονύσῳ ἐν μορφῇ πρύμνιδι· Θεστὶς ἀπὸ Θεστίου τοῦ Ἀλθέας πατρός· Θοαντὶς ἀπὸ Θόαντος παιδὸς Διονύσου· Σταφυλὶς ἀπὸ Σταφύλου υἱοῦ Διονύσου· Μαρωνὶς ἀπὸ Μάρωνος υἱοῦ Ἀριάδνης καὶ Διονύσου· οὗτοι γὰρ πάντες υἱοὶ Διονύσου.

I give the passage 'with all faults' as it stands in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* tom. vi., coll. 1057—60, since I am here concerned only with the obscure words underlined. An Appendix containing the conjectures and emendations of J. H. Nolte speaks thus of the clause in question:—

Locus haud dubie corruptus. Neque interpretum explicationes neque Toupii ep. p. 177 et Meinekei Anal. Alex. et Mulleri *Frag. Histor. Graec.* iv. p. 660, coniecturae probabiles sunt. Legendum πρυμνητοῦ aut προσύμνου (cf. Clem. Alex. *Prot.* p. 29 P et Arnob. c. nat. 5, 29) alibi olim proposui.

Toup *l.c.* remarks: 'Appello omnes monstrorum averruncatores, an quidquam viderint hac lectione monstrosius,' and comparing the statement in Hom. *Od.* Λ 325 rewrites the passage with confidence ('procul dubio') as follows: τῆς μιχθείσης Διονύσῳ ἐν ἀμφιρύτῃ Δίᾳ. Meineke *op. cit.* p. 347 hazards τῆς μιχθείσης Διονύσῳ ἐν ὀροφῇ πρυμναίᾳ, which C. Müller *l.c.* rightly condemns as 'nimis quaesita' and unwarranted by tradition. He himself offers with some hesitation ἐν κορυφῇ δρυμώδει, citing Diodorus v. 51, 4: Διόνυσος δὲ νυκτὸς ἀπήγαγε τὴν Ἀριάδνην εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ καλούμενον Δρίος. As an alternative he suggests that the words παιδὸς...πρύμνιδι may have crept into the text from some such gloss as the following: τῆς Μίνω παιδὸς καὶ Πασιφάης τῆς μιχθείσης [Μινοταύρῳ] ἐν [βοὸς] μορφῇ πρινίνῃ.

It will be seen that these scholars unanimously proceed on the assumption that the words παιδὸς...πρύμνιδι are descriptive of Ariadne. Dr. Jackson, however, who first drew my attention to the passage, observes that in that case the iteration of the word Διονύσῳ is strange. It is not used more than once in any of the parallel clauses, and had a repetition been required we should have expected the pronoun αὐτῷ. This may be taken as an indication that the words παιδὸς...πρύμνιδι cover the name and eponym of another deme.

Assuming, then, that in the clause παιδὸς πατροφίλης, τῆς μιχθείσης Διονύσῳ ἐν μορφῇ πρύμνιδι we have to look for the name of a

fresh deme and its mythological derivation, we first note that the MSS. read not πατροφίλης—which is a conjecture of Wolf's—but πατροφίλας. Now it is true that πατροφίλας is an incredible form for a prose writer of the second century of our era; but so also is πατροφίλης. The probability is that such a writer would not have used such a compound at all; and, had he done so, he would assuredly have written πατροφίλου for its genitive case singular. But the form πατροφίλας, though foreign to prose, would be perfectly legitimate in verse; indeed it actually occurs in an epigram by an anonymous author, *Anth. Pal.* vii. 221, 2. This consideration leads me to suppose (1) that the words παιδὸς πατροφίλας are the beginning of a hexameter verse, and (2) that they have ousted from the text the name which they were intended to illustrate.

Can we, it may be asked, go a step further and restore the lost eponym? I think we can, though in the absence of documentary proof the matter must of course remain conjectural. Among the traditional amours of Dionusos there is one to which the words παιδὸς πατροφίλας seem peculiarly applicable, and that one is not Ariadne. For Wolf's suggestion that πατροφίλος is used ironically to denote 'betraying her father' is a mere makeshift. The Greek for 'loving her father,' whether in jest or earnest, would be φιλοπάτωρ (cp. φιλομήτωρ, φιλάδελφος, κ.τ.λ.): our word must be passive (cp. Ἀρηίφιλος, Λεώφιλος, κ.τ.λ.) and means 'loved by her father,' an epithet which in its present connection suits Pallene and no one else. The main outlines of the story are these. Dionusos journeying through Thrace encountered King Sithon—

Παλλήνης γενέτην θανατηφόρον, ὅς ποτε κούρης
οἶστρον ἔχων ἀθέμιστον ἁμαρτιγάμων ὑμεναίων,
συζυγίην ἀνέκοπτεν· ἀμετρήτους δὲ δαΐζων
μελλογάμους μνηστῆρας ἀπέθρισεν, ὧν ὑπὸ λύθρῳ
κτεινομένων καναχηδὸν ἐφοινίσσοντο παλαίστραι.

(Nonnos: *Dion.* xlviii. 93—7.)

Undeterred by the fate of previous wooers, Dionusos demanded Pallene as his bride,

καὶ αἰτίζοντι Λναίῳ
φρικτὸς ἀνὴρ κήρυξε παλαισμοσύνην ὑμεναίων.
(Id. *ib.* 101—2.)

Pallene in the guise of a wrestler entered the lists. The god was victorious, wedded his antagonist, and slew her importunate parent. It is patent that the phrase παιδὸς πατροφίλας exactly hits off the daughter of this δυσέρωτα τοκῆα (Id. *ib.* 205).

But we have still to examine the words ἐν μορφῇ πρύμνιδι. Despite Wolf's attempted rendering 'forma obversa' and W. G. Humphry's 'aliena forma,' πρύμνιδι is a *vox nihili*. Correction must, I think, be based on the foregoing legend. The only metamorphosis there described is that Pallene, the personified promontory, met Dionusos *in the guise of a female wrestler*. Hence I submit that possibly, if not probably, we should read ἐν μορφῇ γυμνάδι. The Γ of γυμνάδι may by a well-known error (see Bast, *Comment. Palaeog.* p. 710) have passed into the short-limbed Π, and the meaningless πρύμνιδι have resulted from the consequent confusion. But if γυμνάδι be accepted as palaeographically possible, it must be confessed that ἐν μορφῇ γυμνάδι is an odd phrase to denote 'in the guise of a female wrestler.' In fact, for a writer of plain prose I should say that it was out of the question: at the same time it appears to me just such an extravagant expression as we should look for in a poet of the decadence. I am therefore inclined to suppose that ἐν μορφῇ γυμνάδι formed part of the verse quotation from which I conceive the words παιδὸς πατροφίλας to be an excerpt. I refrain from including τῆς μιχθείσης Διονύσῳ in the inverted commas, although as the text stands παιδὸς...Διονύσῳ is a passable hexameter, because it seems to me probable that the writer would cull two isolated phrases or perhaps the first five feet of a line, rather than one complete verse and three words from the middle of another without interposition of his own.

In brief, I hold that Theophilus, who in Book ii. is constantly quoting scraps of Greek poetry, penned the passage somewhat as follows:—

1. Ἀριαδνεῖς ἀπὸ τῆς θυγατρὸς
2. Μίνω γυναικὸς δὲ Διονύσου·
3. <Παλληνεῖς ἀπὸ Παλλήνης>
4. 'παιδὸς πατροφίλας τῆς
5. μιχθείσης Διονύσῳ 'ἐν μορφῇ
6. γυμνάδι'· Θεστιεῖς κ.τ.λ.

Line 3 would be likely enough to drop out before line 4, since both begin with ΓΑ and both end with ΗϹ, the resultant text being the MS. reading.

I gather, then, that in the Alexandrine φυλὴ Διονυσία there was a ninth deme called

Pallene. This in itself will not appear improbable, when we recollect that it was the Greeks in Alexandria who were thus divided into tribes and demes (see Pauly, *Real-Encyc.* ed. 2, col. 1378 *fin.*), and that at Athens there was in fact an important deme belonging to the tribe Antiochis which bore the name Pallene (see Indices to *C.I.G.* and *C.I.A.*).

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

AD BABRII FABULAS NUPER REPERTAS.

BABRII fabulam inscriptam *υἱὸς καὶ λέων γεγραμμένος* e tabulis ceratis Lugdunensibus inde a vs. 12 sic repraesentavit collega meus aestimatissimus van Leeuwen in *Mnemosyne Batava* a. 1894, 2, p. 225 :

καὶ δή ποτε στὰς τοῦ λέοντος οὐ πόρρω
"κακειστε . . . . . σὺ τὸν ψεύστην
ὄνειρον ὄμμα[σιν πα]τρὸς δείξας
15 *ἔχεις με φρουρᾷ πε[ριβα]λὼν γυναικείᾳ.*
τί δὴ ἐπὶ σοὶ λόγοισιν κοὐκ ἔργον ποιῶ"
τοίχῳ δὲ χεῖρας (del. v. L.) *ἐπέβαλε τὸν λέοντα τυφλώσων.*
σκόλοψ δὲ τούτῳ ὑποδυνακεκαθαιμώσδους
τῆς σαρκὸς εἰσδὺς ησηνυσθποιων
20 *θερμὰ δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἦν.*
ὁ πρέσβυς οὕτως οὐκ ἔσωσε τὸν παῖδα
μέλλοντα θνήσκειν. ταῦτα τλῆθι γενναίως
καὶ μὴ σοφίζου· τὸ χρεὼν γὰρ οὐ φεύξει.

Locum foede depravatum, in quo diductis litteris significavi verba corrupta aut suspecta, sic corrigere conatus sum :

καὶ δή ποτε στὰς τοῦ λέοντος οὐ πόρρω
κάκιστε [θηρῶν, εἶπε φάς,] σὺ τὸν ψεύστην
ὄνειρον [ἄλλως] ὄμμασιν πατρὸς δείξας
15 *ἔχεις με φρουρᾷ πε[ριβα]λὼν γυναικείᾳ.*
τί δ' ἠπύω λόγοισι κοὐκ ἔργον ποιῶ; (!!)
τοίχῳ δ' ἐπέβαλε τὸν λέοντα σιφλώσων.
σκόλοψ δὲ τούτῳ (?) *σὺν ὀδύναις καθ' αἱμώδους*
τῆς σαρκὸς εἰσδὺς σῆψιν ἤνυσ' ἐμποιῶν· (!!)
20 *θέρμα δ' ἀπ'* (*ὑπ'* ?) *αὐτὸν ἦ [γαγ' ἐκ βίου θᾶττον* ?].

Vs. 13] non male van Leeuwen *κάκιστον, εἶπε, θηρίον*, sed si re vera *κακειστε* est in tabella, alio opus est supplemento. Praefero tamen meo supplemento id quod Polak (qui in sequenti Mnemosynes fasciculo de his fabulis scribet), mecum communicavit : *κάκιστε [, φησί, θηρίων] κ.τ.ἑ.*, quod ipsa simplicitate commendatur. Eidem debetur quod versui proximo intuli supplementum. Furiae paraphrasis : *τὸ ὄναρ—ὃ αὐτὸς ἑώρακεν ἐν ὕπνοις μάτην*, unde non praeferendum arbitror [*μάτην*] *ὄνειρον κ.τ.λ.* Vs. 17] *τυφλώσων* pro *ἀφανιῶν* accipi posse vix credo. In idem se incidisse mihi scripsit Polak. Vs. 18] *τούτῳ*, scil. *τῷ παιδί*, usurpatum pro *αὐτῷ* suspectum. Cogitavi de *τούτου*, sc. *τοῦ τοίχου*, sed aegre careo pueri significatione. *αἱμώδους* proleptice dictum esse vix est quod moneam. Vs. 19] Hesseling dederat *εἰσδύσης ἤνυσε ποιῶν*. Ceterum quod e.g. dedi dubitationi valde obnoxium esse me non latet, nam et accentus in voce tradita *ποιῶν* pugnat cum metro Babriano et parum respondet paraphrasis Bodleiana *ἄλγημα ὀξὺ καὶ φλεγμονὴν μέχρι βουβώνων εἰργάσατο*. Prior quidem difficultas tolleretur coniectura *π[λ]εῖσ[τον] ἤνυσ(εν) πῦον*, sed altera restat. Accentus premit etiam *ποιῶ* vs. 16 et *ὑμῶν* fab. v, 9. Vs. 20] De forma *θέρμα* pro *θέρμη* consulatur Lobeck *ad Phrynichum* p. 331. Reliqua correctio incerta. Paraphr. Bodl. habet *πυρετός τε ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀνάψας τὸν παῖδα θᾶττον τοῦ βίου ὑπεξήγαγεν*. De sequentibus plane satisfaciet Polak meus, cuius sagacitati imprimis commendo vs. 16 et 19, de quibus ipse despero. Mediocriter enim placet quod praeterea venit in mentem *τί δὴ ἐπὶ σοι λόγοισι κοὐκ ἔργῳ (οις?) θύω*; i.e. *μαίνομαι*. Nihil ibi auxilii est in paraphrasi *ἃ τί δέ σοι ἐγὼ ἄρτι ποιήσω*;

In fabula *ἔλαφος καὶ κυνηγέται* (tab. vii. *init.*)

τὸν δ' οἱ πόδες μὲν οἷς τὸ πρόσθεν ἠθύμει
διέσωζον· ὡς δ' ἦλθεν εἰς μέσας ὕλας,
ὄζοις τὰ κέρατα συμπλακεὶς ἐθηρεύθη κ.τ.ἑ.

recte improbat van Leeuwen Hesselingii coniecturam *ὡς δὴ δ' ἦλθεν*. Equidem nihil melius reperio quam *ὡς δ' εἰσῆλθεν*.

H. VAN HERWERDEN.

Scribebam Traiecti ad Rh. Kalendis April. 1894.

PLAUTUS *CAPT.* v. 851.

Horaeum scombrum et trugonum et cetum et mollem caseum ?

Mr. Hallidie, in his recent edition of the play in Macmillan's Classical Series (London and New York, 1891), comments thus: 'ὡραῖος applied to fish properly means "in season" (Soph. *Fr.* 446) and ὡρ. τάριχος = "fish pickled in season," *i.e.* when at their best. In Latin the word does not occur elsewhere; its proper meaning "in season" is out of place here and it is generally translated "pickled," but there seems to be no instance of its meaning this in Greek. Ussing takes it to mean "qui uere, τῆς ὥρας, uenit," *i.e.* "spring-mackerel," but the epithet would be superfluous if the season were spring and absurd if it were not. Possibly it means "young," cf. Ar. *Eq.* 1008, περὶ σκόμβρων νέων.' Weise, also, in his *Die Griechischen Wörter im Latein*, p. 121, says:—'Nach der Art des Präparats erhielten diese eingesalzenen Fische verschiedene Namen, je nachdem sie mager oder fett, in grossen oder kleinen Stücken, halb oder ganz mariniert wurden. Zur mageren Sorte gehörte das von Plautus *Capt.* 851 erwähnte *horaeum* = ὡραῖον sc. τάριχος, d. h. das zur rechten Zeit, nämlich im Frühjahre, von jungen Thunfischen bereitete.'

It seems to me, however, that the commentators on this passage have wasted their efforts in trying to find a remote allusion. The natural meaning of *horaeum* would be 'of the season,' *i.e.* '*fresh*'; and that is, I believe, the meaning here; for—

1. The fact that τάριχος ὡραῖον occurs in Alex. Πονηρ. 1, 5, meaning pickled fish is no proof that τάριχος is to be supplied here.

2. ὡραία πηλαμύς = 'tunny of the season' apparently in Soph. *Fr.* 446.

3. If the tunny was commonly pickled, it would lend point to the speech of the parasite here for him to specify that as a particular delicacy in this case the fish was to be fresh.

4. As the parasite is here making a show of his extreme hunger and his extravagant desires, he would quite naturally mention a very large fresh fish, such as at Rome so notoriously often graced the great feasts of the wealthy, rather than the smaller young fish which are said to have been used for pickling in the spring. This is especially probable from the connexion in the rest of the verse, as both the other two species mentioned are wont to grow to a great size in the Mediterranean.

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PLAUTUS, *STICHUS* 700.

Mr. W. M. Lindsay's correction of *amica* in the beginning of this verse to *mica* is most brilliant and, to me at least, convincing; I should, however, write *Iam mica* or *mica tu.* A reference to the new edition of the *Dictionary of Antiquities* (*Micare digitis*) will supply many instances where this guessing at the number of fingers held up was equivalent to drawing of lots. In the 713th verse—*bibe, tibicen: age si quid agis: bibendum hercle hoc est; ne nega*—I suggest that the difficulty may arise from *hercle* which is possibly a mistake for *helce, i.e.* ἕλκε 'toss it off.' This scene is full of Greek. The line might have run:

Bíbe, tibicen: áge si quid, agis: bíbedum: ἕλκε hoest! né nega.

or *hoc sis.*

Arthur Palmer.

PROPERTIANA.

II. 10, 21—24.

Ut caput in magnis ubi non est tangere signis
Ponitur hic imos ante corona pedes;
Sic nos nunc, inopes laudis conscendere carmen,
Pauperibus sacris vilia tura damus.

Currum and *culmen* are well-known suggestions for *carmen* and either would do very well if the only task proposed were to find a noun which would suit *conscendere*. But it is also necessary to make the idea harmonize with a metaphor in the pentameter. And I think the key is supplied by Horace's words: 'Te nihil attinet Tentare multa caede bidentium Parvos coronantem marino Rore deos fragilique myrto.' Propertius says: 'I cannot offer meat sacrifices, only cheap frankincense.' *Carnem* will be an easy change from *carmen*: and the distich may be thus written:

Sic nos nunc inopes lau*t*is conscindere car*nem*,
Pauperibus sacris vilia tura damus.

'Too poor to cut up flesh with expensive rites': *sacris* being supplied from the second verse.

Lautis has been proposed but not with this construction: *ludis conscindere tauros* has also been suggested.

III. 10, 21.

Sit mensae ratio, noxque inter pocula currat,
Et crocino naris murreus ungat onyx.

Night should not come just yet (vs. 30). Read:

nosque inter pocula curr*ant*.

'Let our cups go swiftly round.'

III. 20, 22.

Non habet ultores nox vigila deos.

Read *vigilata*, not *vigilanda*.

III. 18, 24.

Scandenda est troci publica cymba senis.

Troci N. *troci* D.V.: *torvi* vulgo.

Perhaps *Orci*. Propertius *may* have identified Orcus with Charon (Gloss. Philox.: *Orcus, Charon*): if not, *senis* may be changed perhaps to *semel*, if *senis* is too irreverent an epithet for Orcus, *i.e.* Dis.

IV. 4, 13.

Murus erant montes: ubi nunc est curia saepta,
Bellicus ex illo fonte bibebat equus.

I propose the following arrangement:—

Murus erant montes: ubi nunc est curia, saepta;
Bellicus ex illo fonte bibebat equus.

'Where the senate house stands now, there were cattle-pens.'

III. 21, 25.

Illic vel studiis animum emendare Platonis
Incipiam aut hortis, docte Epicure, tuis.
Persequar aut studium linguae Demosthenis arma.

Vel has been changed to *aut* by Müller, the sequence *vel—aut* being solecistic. *Studiis* is not in itself likely, is not coordinate with *hortis*, and gives offence owing to *studium* recurring so soon. Hence Broukhusius has changed it to *stadiis* or *spatiis*. *Stadiis* has found acceptance with Bährens, but is unlikely, as a Greek word, if for no other reason. *Spatiis* is no doubt possible. But how does *vel* come to be in all the good MSS.? Perhaps Propertius wrote:

Illic *vestibulis* animum emendare Platonis
Incipiam.

Vestibula might mean the porticos in the Academus. It would of course be more suitable to the Porch of the Stoics: and I would not deny that Propertius might have been thinking of them.

A. Palmer.

NOTES ON VERGIL.

Verg. *G.* ii. 77, and *G.* iii. 189.

(*a*) 'Udoque docent inolescere libro.'

(*b*) 'Etiam inscius aevi.'

Modern commentators seem doubtful about the meaning of 'udo' and 'inscius aevi' in these passages. However that may be, it seems clear that Symmachus the orator took the words as simply applying to youthful vigour. At least he makes use of the passages in extolling the early elevation of Gratian to the throne. I will quote the passage at length as interesting if not

instructive. 'Et mehercule tenacius rapit inperii disciplinas teneritudo primaeva: virtus, cum cito inchoat, diutius perseverat. nempe *virentibus ramis* artifex rusticandi alienum germen includit, ut novella praesegmina coagulo libri *uvidioris* (?) inolescant. audio in edomandis equis *aevi*, ut ait [vates], *inscios* aptius essedis colla subiun[gere].' *Laud. in Grat.* ch. 6 (Seeck p. 331). (uvidioris is Kiessling's reading for the MS. ubidiovis.)

Verg. *Ecl.* iv. 46.

(*c*) Talia saecla suis dixerunt currite fusis Concordes Parcae.

The same speech (ch. 9) shows that Symmachus did not regard 'Talia saecla' as vocative, as some moderns and Servius have done, whatever his view of the accusative may be: 'Et vere, si fas est praesagio futura conicere, iamdudum *aureum saeculum currunt fusa* Parcarum' (*Laud. in Grat.* ch. 9, Seeck p. 332). W. C. F. WALTERS.

HENRI ESTIENNE.

PROFESSOR ENGLAND has done well to defend Henri Estienne from the charges brought against him by Prof. Tyrrell and Dr. Sandys. Had they been better acquainted with that great man's life and character, they would, I feel sure, never have brought them. Prof. England has perhaps forgotten that a similar accusation used to be current against Estienne's edition of Plutarch, until recently it was disproved by Sintenis, who showed that every one of Estienne's conjectures could be traced to some MS. or other. Estienne, like all the other editors of his time, did not give references to the authorities for his readings, but he was quite incapable of inventing readings.

In conclusion, why do Englishmen persist in calling him by that absurd name 'Henry Stephens'?

ARTHUR TILLEY.

[A reply from Professor Tyrrell to Professor England's article has been received too late for publication in this number, and will appear in July.]

SCHULZE'S EDITION OF BAEHRENS' CATULLUS.

Catulli Veronensis liber, recensuit Aemilius Baehrens. noua editio a K. P. SCHULZE curata. Lipsiae, Teubner, 1893. Pp. lxxvi, 127. 4 Mk.

THE first edition of Baehrens' Catullus, which now that the second has appeared will fetch fancy prices, was in the rigour of the term an epoch-making work. But it exhibited a text of the author much corrupted by unprovoked or unlikely or incredible conjecture; so that the task of revision was delicate, and the choice of a reviser was not easy. It was not easy; but scholars who are acquainted with the histtory of Catullus' text and with the metres he wrote in, who know how to edit a book and how to collate a manuscript, who are capable of coherent reasoning or at all events of consecutive thought, exist; and to such a scholar the task might have been allotted.

It has been allotted to Mr. Schulze, who says, 'Munus nouae huius libelli editionis post praematuram Aemilii Baehrensii mortem curandae ita suscepi, ut quoad fieri posset quam plurima eorum, quae ille ad Catulli carmina et recensenda et emendanda contulisset, retinerem ac seruarem.' Out of Baehrens' conjectures Mr. Schulze has found it possible to retain six. The first of these is the merely orthographical correction 2 6 *lubet* for *libet* or *iubet*. Two more are specimens of Baehrens' most despicable trifling: 6 9 *heic et illeic*[1] for *hec et illo*, as if forsooth that were a less and not a greater change than the old *hic et ille*; and 21 13 *nei* for *nec* instead of the usual *ne*, as if *nec* were not a perpetual corruption of *ne* in the MSS. of authors who never wrote *nei* in their lives. The three others, 68 139 *concipit*, 100 6 *egregie est*, 111 2 *ex nimiis*, are

[1] The text has *illei*, whether from a misprint or from an improvement of Mr. Schulze's.

somewhat above the low average of Baehrens' conjectures.

But the emendations which place Baehrens next to Haupt among the post-Lachmannian correctors of Catullus are the things which Mr. Schulze has not found it possible to retain. Take for shortness' sake the 64th poem only. I will not be unreasonable and complain that Mr. Schulze omits Baehrens' correction of v. 73 *illa ex tempestate ferox quo tempore;* because I know that Mr. Schulze has never seen or heard of that correction. It occurs in Baehrens' commentary, and Mr. Schulze has not read Baehrens' commentary. That I affirm securely: if you ask 'whence then did Mr. Schulze learn (p. 97) that Baehrens had proposed *prompta* at 68 39?' I reply that he learnt it from Schwabe's edition of 1886; and if you ask 'how does he know (p. v) that Baehrens abandoned in the commentary some of his earlier conjectures?' I reply that he knows it from Iwan Mueller's *Jahresbericht.* For if he had read the commentary he would not merely know that Baehrens abandoned some conjectures but he would know which those conjectures are; and he does not. He still represents Baehrens as proposing *quaecumueis* at 64 109, though Baehrens in the commentary said 'quam formam minime latinam non debui olim exemplis male fidis deceptus recipere.' And this barbarous and repudiated depravation, and the frivolous *heic* at 269, are all of Baehrens that Mr. Schulze finds it possible even to mention within the 400 verses of the 64th poem. The transposition of 216 and 217, *nascente* in 275, *incultum cano... crinem* in 350, *residens* in 387, *Amarunsia* in 395,—these may be found at least recorded in the editions of other scholars, but not in this book which bears on its front 'recensuit Aemilius Baehrens.' The transposition is accepted both by Riese and by Postgate, the emendation of 350 by Riese Postgate and Schwabe, the emendation of 387 is approved by Schwabe and accepted by Riese and Schmidt: but no vestige of these corrections survives in the monument reared to their author's memory by the Oedipodean piety of Mr. Schulze.[1]

Baehrens' are not the only emendations which Mr. Schulze finds it impossible to retain or even to record. Which is the finest correction ever made in Catullus I will not undertake to say; but one of the first half-dozen is Froelich's 'non est sana puella nec rogare | qualis sit solet *aes* [*et* MSS.] imaginosum,' which Baehrens of course accepted. Mr. Schulze ousts it for 'nec *rogate* | qualis sit: *solide est imaginosa.*' But no reader is likely to waste a glance on these Berlin goods if Froelich's restoration is left glittering in the apparatus criticus; so Mr. Schulze does not leave it there: he suppresses it. *Quaecumque adeo possunt afferre pudorem,* says Ovid, *illa tegi caeca condita nocte decet.*

One clue Mr. Schulze appears to possess: if he sees the name of Lachmann he follows it, 'errabunda regens tenui uestigia filo.' I say advisedly *the name.* At 63 5 he expels the emendations of Auantius and Bergk and writes 'deuolsit *ile*': it is not sense, but it is Lachmann's. A still more pleasing instance of simple faith occurs at 63 74 where Mr. Schulze reads with Lachmann 'roseis ut huic labellis sonitus abiit *celer.*' Lachmann himself, 'uir egregius' as Haupt calls him 'et multo quam imbecilli capiunt maior,' had a reason for adding *celer:* his theory of the pagination of the archetype made this verse the 18th line on the 41st page, while the 18th line on the 39th page was 'aliena quae petentes velut exules loca *celeri,*' whence he took the hypermetrical word to repair the deficiency here. But Mr. Schulze does not hold Lachmann's theory, for on p. lxiv he retains a note of Baehrens' which says 'tota ista numerorum singularum in V paginarum paginarumque uersuum computatio a Lachmanno instituta et ab Hauptio [quaest. Cat. p. 39–49; op. I 28 *sq.*] multis defensa ad nihilum recidit'; nor is it through inadvertence that he retains this note, for he has taken the trouble to write 'ab Hauptio' where Baehrens wrote 'a Hauptio' and to add the reference to the opuscula. He has abandoned then the basis of Lachmann's conjecture, but to the conjecture he adheres; and why not? its merit is not that he thinks it has a basis but that he knows it is Lachmann's. Again, when Lachmann has emended a passage, Mr. Schulze allows no one to improve Lachmann's emendation, because he does not know whether the improvement is an improvement and he does know that it is not Lachmann's. At 66 58 the MSS. have '*gratia* Canopieis incola litoribus,' Lachmann emended *Graia,* and Baehrens improved this to *Graiia,* which Lachmann of course would have adopted, as any one can see who turns to his note on Lucr. i 477 or remembers, as Haupt says, 'quotiens ex antiquae scribendi consuetudinis recordatione maxime Lachmannus in Catulli carminibus fructum ceperit.' But no painting of

[1] 'Tam bene de poeta suo meruit, ut dignus sit, cuius memoria pie colatur,' p. v.

the lily for Mr. Schulze, who ejects *Graiia* and replaces *Graia* in the text. I do not know all the salutations with which his idol will hereafter welcome him to Elysium, nor durst I write them down if I did; but from what happened to Eichstaedt and Forbiger I can tell that *mancipium* and *simius* are two of them. At the end of the note however Mr. Schulze ventures on a suggestion of his own: 'fortasse *grata*.' It is news then to this editor of Catullus that for 300 years no text was printed with any other reading than *grata*: history for him begins with 1829: he supposes Scaliger and Heinsius and Bentley and the rest of them went on content with *gratia* till Lachmann came upon earth to tell mankind that it was a trisyllable.

This brings us to Mr. Schulze's own emendations. One of these, *monendum est te* for *monendum est* at 39 9, is no worse than the *monendum te est* and *monendus es* of others, so that the odds against it are only two to one. Then in several places he writes *uoster* where the MSS. are divided between *uester* and *noster*. Catullus may of course have used that form, but this divergency of the MSS. affords not the slightest ground for thinking that he did: *uester* and *noster* are interchanged not in his text only, but in all authors whose MSS. are medieval; and they are interchanged not because those authors wrote *uoster* but from the cause exhibited in Mr. Schulze's own note at 71 3: '$\overline{\text{urm}}$ VM: $\overline{\text{nrm}}$ g.' At 10 25 *sqq.* Mr. Schulze punctuates 'quaeso, inquit, mihi, mi Catulle, paulum | istos: commoda nam uolo ad Serapim | deferri,' but omits to say whether this means 'I wish my emoluments to be carried to Serapis' or 'I wish to be carried to Serapis in an obliging frame of mind.' Finally he emends 29 20 thus:

hunc Galliae timent, timet Britannia.

Two metrical solecisms in one line.

Baehrens' spelling, which was bad, Mr. Schulze has corrected as well as he knows how. He knows how to spell *sicine nequiquam* and *condicio;* so these words are rightly spelt. He does not know how to spell *umidus iucundus sodalicium* or *multa;* these words therefore retain their Baehrensian forms.

Baehrens' apparatus criticus was, as usual, a model of lucidity and order. Take a few examples of what it now is. At 68 140 the text has 'noscens omniuoli plurima furta Iouis,' where 'furta' is an old and generally accepted correction for the 'facta' of the MSS. An editor who knows his trade expresses this fact by writing 'furta *uulgo*, facta V.' Mr. Schulze's note is 'plurima facta VM plurima furta *uulgo*': to occupy the printer he writes 'plurima' twice where it ought not to be written at all; to delay the reader he puts the note wrong end foremost. At 113 2 is a still wilder scene: text, 'Maeciliam: facto consule nunc iterum': note of a competent workman, 'Maeciliam *Lachmannus*, Mecilia G, Mecilia O, Maecilia *uulgo*, Mucillam *Pleitnerus*': note of Mr. Schulze, 'Mecilia OM Mecilia G | facto VM | Maecilia: facto *uulgo* Maeciliam: facto *Lachmannus* Mucillam: facto *Pleitnerus*.' Another revelation of the amateur encounters us in such places as 64 386: the text is 'saepe pater diuum templo in fulgente reuisens,' which is the MS. reading, so that of course there should be no note at all unless some conjecture is to be mentioned: Mr. Schulze writes 'reuisens VM.' Why not 'saepe VM, pater VM, diuum VM, templo VM, in VM, fulgente VM'? Elsewhere Mr. Schulze's ignorance of how things are done and inability to learn have made his notes completely unintelligible, and a reader who wants to know what the MSS. give must consult another edition. Take 61 46 *sq.*: text, 'quis deus magis est ama- | tis petendus amantibus': note, 'amatis VM magis a magis *Scaliger* anexiis *Hauptius* magis est ama-tis *Bergkius*': problem, what is the MS. reading? From other editions you learn that it is 'magis amatis est.' These are the sights which may now be seen in what was once the apparatus criticus of Baehrens: for appropriate comments I refer the reader to Cic. *Phil.* ii c. 41.

Now for the prolegomena. The prolegomena, I need not say, were the kernel of Baehrens' edition. In them he demonstrated, what no one suspected before but every one acknowledges now, that the Oxoniensis (O) and the Sangermanensis (G) are the authorities on which the text of Catullus rests. All that is now in dispute is whether the other MSS. are quite useless, as Baehrens held, or only almost useless, as his opponents hold. His prolegomena are thus the chief landmark in the criticism of Catullus' MSS., and there were two reasons why they should have been kept intact: their intrinsic merit, and their historical interest. Errors they may contain; and Bentley's Horace and Lachmann's Lucretius contain errors, but Mr. Schulze has not yet been invited to revise those works.

Baehrens held that G and O are the only

copies ever made of the lost archetype V, and that the other MSS. (ς) are all derived from G. His disputation ran as follows. When G and O disagree, ς almost always side with G; and they side with it not only in corruptions but in false conjectures which its corrector has introduced and which they cannot have got from any ancient MS.: therefore ς are derived from G. On the other hand all ς, or nearly all, often agree in one reading when G and O agree in another: therefore ς, except perhaps the Datanus, are not derived straight from G but from an apograph of G containing conjectures. The few instances where ς agree with O against G are partly due to true conjectures in this apograph, partly, where the difference is very minute, to accident: the Santenianus (L) has marginal readings taken from O, but whether O was ever transcribed entire he doubts. Where G and O and ς all three differ, the reading of ς is conjectural. As to the Datanus (D), which has at least one interpolation from Thomas Seneca, none of its readings (*posquam, demostres*, etc.) are necessarily genuine but may be sham-antique: sometimes, like almost all other MSS., it gives better readings than GO, but these are conjectures: it is so interpolated that he does not trouble to decide whether it comes straight from G or through the same apograph as the others, for from G it comes: else why does it agree with G in error where O preserves the truth, and why, above all, does it reproduce almost every reading of G's corrector? questions which also apply to the rest of ς. He then discusses the marginal variants found in G: these must have been in the archetype because the scribe of G says he had only one exemplar: many of them appear in ς, which shows that they had most of them been copied into the apograph of G from which ς are derived.

Baehrens' arguments are now expunged, and in their place stands printed matter composed by Mr. Schulze. He sets out to demonstrate that all our MSS. come from a single codex, and fills more than two pages with passages which prove, or do not prove (the very first is 'I 5 *est* pro *es* codd. omnes sinceri' where of course 'sinceri' just begs the question), what might have been proved in two lines: I notice that this form of exercise is now much in vogue with amateurs who wish to be critics and think this is the way. The archetype, he holds, was four times transcribed: one transcript is O, another G: 'librorum OG praestantiam magnus numerus locorum ostendit, quibus *soli* [my italics] ueram lectionem aut certe meliorem quam ceteri *omnes* [mine again] codices praebent.' The list begins 'I 9 *quod* OG ς plerique: *quidem* ς complures,' and contains '42 22 *nobis* OG ς plerique: *uobis* ς pauci' and '61 100 *uolet* OG ς plerique: *nolet* D, *nollet* AL': Mr. Schulze is proving what is indisputably true and denied by nobody, and yonder is how he proves it. Then follow a number of places where ς agree with g (*i.e.* the corrector of G) in opposition to OG, and then (p. xliii) these incredible words: 'uel hac re eorum opinio refutatur, qui, ut Baehrensius et qui eum secuti sunt, omnes ς ex G fluxisse opinentur. nam cum codd. ς saepe cum G facere supra uideremus, qua re illi ut ς ex G descriptos esse putarent inducti sunt, hic non minorem numerum locorum congessimus, quibus ς cum g consentiunt.' And pray what is g? simply the corrector of G: the fact then that ς agree with the corrections found in G proves that Baehrens was wrong in supposing ς to be derived from G! This is no malevolent fiction of mine: it is what Mr. Schulze has written and Messrs. Teubner printed. But in the next sentence Mr. Schulze faintly remembers what g is, so he says that if the corrections in G are derived, as he holds, from some lost copy of the archetype, 'manifestum est fieri potuisse ut etiam ς non ex G, sed ex eodem illo codice correcto fluerent': *fieri potuisse!* so evaporates our refutation of Baehrens. 'Atque adeo g ς inter se conspirant, ut ex eodem codice interpolato descripti esse uideantur': yes, and Abraham and Isaac were so much alike that they appear to have been brothers.

Next we have places where ς agree with OG against g; then 'Og ς saepius contra G facere uidemus,' and of this 'frequent' phenomenon five examples are given, one of which is an example where it happens, and four of which are examples where it does not happen; then passages where D and the rest of ς desert G and agree with O are quoted, legitimately, though in stupefying disorder, to prove that ς are not derived from G. Some of these are places where G is wrong and ς are right, on which Mr. Schulze remarks (p. xlvi) 'qua in re ut sane concedendum est facile fuisse librariis uitia illa corrigere, ita mirum est, quamuis sescenties in transcribendis corruptelis scribas summa religione uti uideamus, illas a *cunctis* [Mr. Schulze's italics] felicissime esse correctas.' *Cunctis!* why, who ever dreamed of maintaining that each of the scribes made these corrections for himself? Baehrens, as

I have related, held that ς were all derived from a single apograph of G, and that all corrections common to all ς were derived from that apograph. But because Messrs. Teubner allow Mr. Schulze to maul Baehrens' work out of all recognition, he appears to think that he can with equal ease obliterate it from human memory. Then passages are quoted where ς have the reading which by comparing O we infer to have been G's original reading now erased by the corrector g. All these examples of ς agreeing with O against G are of course valid *prima facie* objections to Baehrens' theory. Baehrens' answer was 'talia, si falsa sunt, mero casui adtribuas : sin recta, aut casui aut Italorum ingenio.' This perhaps is not plausible; but on the other hand Mr. Schulze has no ground for concluding 'praeter duo illa apographa codicis V, G et O, tertium sumendum est, ex quo deriuati sunt g ς, uel potius, cum inter hos quoque D quidem et qui cum eo consentiunt et M insignem obtinere locum uideamus, quartum.' All readings which ς share with O they may have derived from O.

But in order to prove that ς are authorities independent of O and G Mr. Schulze now quotes a page and a half of readings from ς which he thinks better than O's and G's. They are all obvious conjectures, except one which is an exploded corruption, one in which he misreports the MSS., one which is probably interpolated from Quintilian, and the following two: '65 16 *Battiadae*] *bactiade* B ς pauci: *actiade* O, *acciade* G. 66 5 *sub Latmia*] *sublamia* B: *sublamina* O, *sublimia* G ς plerique.' But *bactiade* may be a conjecture, as that was one of the many ways they spelt this name in the 15th century; and *sublamia* may be no more than a corruption of *sublamīa*. Therefore Mr. Schulze is mistaken in saying 'nonnulla ea habent expressae sinceritatis signa, ut facere non possimus quin eis fidem habeamus.' Against the view that the good readings in ς are conjectures he has this notable argument: 'nemo quidem credet, eundem correctorem, quem aliis locis hominem indoctum cognouimus, hic illic mira sagacitate optimas correcturas suo ingenio inuenisse.' *Eundem correctorem!* Remember that on p. xlvi it suited him to assume that readings common to all ς must, if conjectures, have been made by each scribe for himself: now, when for instance at 64 120 he finds one MS. and one only giving *praeoptaret*, and giving it merely in the margin, he assumes that this reading must, if a conjecture, have been made by the scribe of the common archetype of all ς.

Then we deal particularly with the two MSS. which Mr. Schulze regards as holding an 'insignem locum' among ς. First D, which 'ceteris codicibus hisce praestat locis': the places are 23 in number (and in several of them, since the list is of Mr. Schulze's making, other MSS. read just the same as D), some of them obvious conjectures, some bad corruptions, one probably interpolated from Seneca, one in which Mr. Schulze contradicts his own apparatus criticus, and these two,—1 2 *arrida*, 25 11 *insuta*, the latter of which is worth something if it is really in the MS.; but these two readings are not found in D by other collators and rest on the testimony of Mr. Schulze; and if any one, after hearing what I shall shortly say about M, chooses to accept Mr. Schulze's testimony, let him. Then follow passages, proving nothing, where D 'optima tradidit' in company with OG or O or ς; then our old friends the 'priscae uerborum formae' which are no doubt D's most plausible feature; but Mr. Schulze has drawn up the list, so it contains eleven which are also found in G or O or both: it is true that what he set out to prove was that D is not derived from O or G but from a separate apograph of V; but that was some pages back, so he has forgotten it. Lastly, crown of glory, 'uersum 65 9 paene solus tradidit,' *alloquar audiero numquam tua loquentem.* Then are duly enumerated D's faults, its blunders and interpolations, among the latter 68 47 *omnibus et triuiis uulgetur fabula passim*, which would do D even greater credit than *alloquar audiero* but for the mischance that we know it was written by Thomas Seneca.

'Neque minus insignem locum inter ς codex M tenere mihi uidetur, qui et ipse magnum numerum bonarum lectionum praebet': this is the Venetus excerpted by Ellis. There follow two pages of these 'bonae lectiones,' many of which of course are bad (one of them is 68 50 where M has the false *alii* and the right reading *Alli* is in O!), while of those which are not bad only one is peculiar to M. True, the reader would never guess this, for Mr. Schulze only notes the agreement of other MSS. in about a third of his examples, and leaves you to draw the false inference that in the other two thirds, where he does not note their agreement, they do not agree: in another writer this suppression of facts would argue fraud, but no such hypothesis is necessary in the case of Mr. Schulze,

Not one of the readings quoted has any sign of genuineness. But 'accedunt priscae formae': *e.g. Bithynia, Phrygii, coetus, labyrintheis, cachinni!* Others of these are not peculiar to M but found also in O or G or both or ς: the reader has guessed, before I tell him, that Mr. Schulze sometimes states this fact and sometimes conceals it. Others contradict his apparatus criticus, as 23 1 *seruos. Neptumnus* at 31 3 and *antemne* at 64 234 are not the readings of M but merely Mr. Schulze's interpretation of its readings: it has *neptūnus* and *antēne*, which are identical with the *neptunnus* and *antenne* of other MSS. 'Etiam in his lectionibus complures sunt quas non ingenio scribae deberi manifestum est, ut'—then one of Mr. Schulze's lists, comprising for instance 76 18 *extrema*, which is undisguisedly a conjectural accommodation of G's and O's *extremo* to the gender of *morte;* and 25 5 *oscitantes*, which is in G, so that Mr. Schulze need not be at all afraid of our imputing it 'ingenio scribae.' These readings, he placidly continues, are confirmed by the fact that most of them are found in other MSS. (such is the 'insignis locus' occupied by M), 'whence we may readily infer that the good readings peculiar to M are also derived from V.' On this logic it is the less necessary to comment, because there are only two good readings peculiar to M. They are *thuniam* for *thimiam* at 31 5 and *hinsidias* for *insidias* at 84 2. And these two—does my reader flatter himself that he has lost by this time the power to wonder at anything? I promise to amaze him now—these two readings, the only two good readings peculiar to M which Mr. Schulze can find, are not in M at all. They are figments of Mr. Schulze's. A facsimile of M has been issued by Count Nigra and may be seen at the British Museum: the handwriting is beautifully clear and the ink is beautifully black: and M gives *thimiam* and *insidias* just like any other MS. We see then that Mr. Schulze the collator is in no way inferior to Mr. Schulze the critic, Mr. Schulze the metrist, and Mr. Schulze the logician. And with such a collation of such a MS. has Mr. Schulze sullied Baehrens' apparatus criticus from end to end. Worse: whereas he says that M is derived from V, he exhibits it throughout as an independent authority, and you find 'arido VM' at 1 2 and you find 'dabis VM' at 116 8 and you find 'VM' on every page between.

Last comes the question of marginal variants in the archetype. Mr. Schulze has taken Baehrens' list of the variants in G, and has mixed up with it all the variants he can find in ς and especially in his precious M; and he, who has himself collated that codex, has done so without discovering what is patent to every one who sets eyes on the facsimile, that nine tenths of its variants are from a later hand. It is clear, he then proceeds to say, that these variants found their way into M and ς not from G but from some other MS.: 'nam cum G octoginta omnino praebeat atque inde ab c. lxvii nullas, M 155 per totum librum Catullianum aequaliter distributas habet.' If you say you have three sons at a school where there are 100 boys, Mr. Schulze will ask whether you are the father of the remaining 97, and if you disclaim the honour he will tell you that in that case you cannot really be the father of the three. But he has another argument: 'quodsi omnes ς ex G descripti essent, ponendum est singulares codicum O, M, B, L, aliorum duplices lectiones a scribis horum librorum fictas esse; id quod uel propterea fieri non potest, quod multae earum in textu aliorum extant codicum.' First, observe the ratiocination: because many of the variants in OMBL etc. are found in the text of other codices, therefore the variants in OMBL etc. which are not found in the text of other codices cannot have been invented by the scribes of OMBL etc. Secondly, it is not true that the hypothesis which derives ς from G compels us to suppose that these marginal variants have been invented by the scribes of the MSS. in whose margins they occur: what one naturally supposes is that the variants in the margins of MBL etc. (I do not know what O is doing here, nor does Mr. Schulze) have been taken from those other MSS. in whose texts they occur; and this is what Mr. Schulze must disprove before he will persuade any one that these variants come from the archetype. But he cannot disprove it: all he can do is to say 'nam si [30 9] in B *inde* al *idem*, in GDL *inde*, in O *idem* legitur, quis dubitet, quin in communi archetypo, codice V, duplex illa scriptura fuerit?' That V had the dittography is possible, since O has one reading and G the other; but B proves nothing unless Mr. Schulze can show that it did not get its *inde* from G and its *idem* from O. He however, as if he had proved his point, sails away with 'iam cum M et B neque ex O neque ex G fluxisse certum sit.....,' and concludes 'itaque ea quoque, quae de uariis lectionibus codicum Catullianorum exposuimus, etiam codices deteriores quos uocant in recensendis poetae carminibus adhibendos

esse aperte docent.' Yes, and if I had been in Venice a week before Mr. Schulze and had scribbled conjectures of my own in the margin of M while the librarian's back was turned, Mr. Schulze, who cannot tell one handwriting from another, would have copied them all into his list, and they would now adorn pp. liv—lix of his prolegomena, and he would be maintaining that M got them from the archetype.

Such are the contents of a book which carries on its title-page the name of Aemilius Baehrens and the monogram of B. G. Teubner.

A. E. Housman.

JEBB'S *GROWTH AND INFLUENCE OF CLASSICAL GREEK POETRY.*

The Growth and Influence of Classical Greek Poetry. By R. C. Jebb, Litt. D., M.P. Macmillan and Co. 1893. Pp. xvi. 290. 7*s.* net.

Professor Jebb has published in this volume the course of eight lectures on the poetry of Ancient Greece which he delivered in 1892 at the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore. Beginning with a brief sketch of the rise of Greek civilization, he proceeds to discuss the early epic as it appears in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and the Hesiodic poems, the lyric with a special lecture on Pindar, and the Attic drama, concluding with an essay on the permanent power of Greek poetry.

The foundation upon which the course of lectures was delivered is a Lectureship of Poetry, and the subject is dealt with in no narrow or scholastic spirit. That one of the first of living scholars should address himself to a popular exposition, in so clear and simple a form as this, of the principles and masterpieces of Greek poetry, is a sign of the times no less interesting than welcome. The study of Greek in the old sense is on its trial as an important part of humane education; it seems certain that within a few years it will cease to be any necessary part of the best type of school or college course. Those who believe that this change is a change for the better rest their case largely on the broad distinction between scholarship as a means, a set of gymnastic exercises for certain faculties, and scholarship as an end only worth following for itself. The compulsory study of Greek is not so much being forced out or argued down as melting away, but the study of Greek for the mere love of it is making extraordinary advance: perhaps it is not going too far to say that Greek has never been studied so much as now, nor on the whole so well.

And indeed it is when a distinguished scholar steps out of the charmed circle and in some such way as this communicates his results to a larger public than that of scholars, that he puts his own achievement to one of its highest tests. That there is a sense in which the technique of scholarship, like the technique of all acquirements, is an end in itself, an 'energy' in the Aristotelian sense, no one would deny. But it is an energy subordinate and ancillary in its nature, and if pushed higher only develops into pedantry. Scholarship as an end in itself is not a technique, but a spirit; its ultimate value to its possessor no less than to the world at large may be measured by the extent and force of its effect on the whole of life. The power of simple, true, and melodious expression is one of the first ways in which this effect should manifest itself. A life spent among the masterpieces of literature has been somehow spent wrongly if they have not saturated the scholar with something of their own virtue.

But further, it is in such popular treatment of the classics as these lectures supply that even more certainly than in commentaries or technical discussions the distinction is clear between the really fine scholar and the scholar who is only of the second order. The one thing is after all very much a matter of industry, of verifying references, where you can continually approximate to exactness by merely taking pains enough, and even the pastime of conjectural emendation is a game played by strict rule. But to put in intelligible language the exact truth about a Greek author, or about any aspect of the Greek life and spirit, is a work not only of acquirement but of genius. There is perhaps no subject in the world where the inexact truth is so easy to reach; none certainly where, when reached,

it is so useless and so worse than useless. To praise Professor Jebb's scholarship has long been superfluous, and in any case would come ill from one who is little better than an amateur; to say that his book stands this other test is praise neither superfluous nor slight.

That these lectures satisfy this test in varying degrees is of course inevitable. There are some parts of Greek literature —their earlier lyric poetry is a notable instance—where the exact truth is unattainable from mere want of documents; and the same is perhaps to some extent true —though the missing documents here are not manuscripts—of the Greek drama. It is not then surprising that the chapters on Homer and on Pindar should stand out very prominently from the rest of the book. It would be impossible to improve upon the sketch here given in the small compass of some fifty pages, of the spirit and substance of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. One may specially note the careful and discriminating comparison of the Homeric epic and the French *Chansons de Geste;* the extremely fine passage on the characters of Achilles and Odysseus; and that on the social position of women in the world of the *Odyssey*, with the two remarks, so curiously illuminative, on the use of the word *μίξεσθαι* in *Odyssey* vi. 136 and on the popular version of the meeting between Odysseus and Nausicaa current in Corfu at the present day. Not less admirable is the short essay on the Hesiodic epics with which this chapter concludes; in the contrast between the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* on the one hand and these poems on the other the author has, without forcing the note, skilfully conveyed the curious way in which Homer is at once Greek and not Greek with an exactly true value; for, as he points out, the Homeric epic as we possess it was created by the instinct of the Asiatic Ionians, and the manner of the *Works and Days* was in a sense more purely Greek. Modern criticism is perhaps too apt to gloss over the fact that Homer and Hesiod were habitually bracketed, as it were, by the Greeks themselves; and if as we follow down the history of Greek literature we keep hold in our mind of what one might call the Hesiodic tradition, much of what is difficult otherwise will be a good deal more intelligible, and the hard dry manner which meets us (and sometimes repels us) in much of the Attic drama, or in the prose of Xenophon and the Orators, will take its natural place, alongside of such a phenomenon as their excessive admiration of Sparta, as part of the curiously narrow ideal of the average Greek *bourgeoisie;* a type far from being either romantic or heroic in its combination of the precisian without moral fervour and the man of the world who never could succeed in being a gentleman.

In the chapter on Pindar Professor Jebb is on ground that he has made peculiarly his own. The description of Olympia at the great festival is extraordinarily vivid and appreciative; and in the masterly analysis of the First Olympian, no less than in the general remarks which follow on the poet's movement and manner, it is 'from out the ghost of Pindar in him' that the criticism comes. Let one brief passage on the Pindaric diction, a model of fine and succinct expression, stand as a specimen of the insight and lucidity which inform the whole:—

'Particular notice is due to the stamp of his diction. Other great poets have been distinguished by more delicate felicity, more chastened beauty of phrase, more faultless and unimpeachable taste. Sappho and Simonides, to take only lyric examples, exhibit even in the few fragments that remain certain charms of this kind which Pindar lacks; but there is one gift in which he is absolutely alone. It is one which could find full scope only within the grand framework of the Dorian choral lyric,—the faculty of shaping magnificent phrases and giving them exactly their right setting in the spacious verse, so that they at once delight the ear and charm the imagination.'

Pindar, fortunately perhaps for himself, is too difficult for use as a schoolbook, and the ground about him is not so clogged with masses of obsolete criticism as it is in the case of his great Athenian contemporary. There is no form of Greek poetry of which we know so much as we do of the Attic drama; 'it is,' says Professor Jebb, 'that which we can hope to see most nearly from the Hellenic point of view'; yet there is no form of Greek poetry of which our knowledge is, on the whole, more confused and ineffective. 'Modern criticism,' he says, 'has pondered particular sayings of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides; it has brought these sayings together, arranged them under heads, digested them into formulas, linked them by ingenious reconciliations, until for each of the three dramatists, it has evolved a certain body of philosophy or theosophy. Such efforts,' he hastily adds, 'have an interest and a value of their own.' Is he

so sure that they have? or did he shrink from breaking with the traditions of the lecture-room? At all events, the inevitable rubric *Ethical and Religious Views of Sophocles* follows in the margin in due course: and in a good deal of this chapter the author seems to be writing without ease, and even with a certain loss of grace. That *Welcker distinguishes two kinds of trilogy used by Aeschylus* may be what Professor Jebb's audience wished and expected to hear; it is not quite what one wishes he had told them. Does it matter, is it really relevant to the growth and influence of classical Greek poetry, what Welcker distinguishes?

In the eighth or concluding lecture, on the Permanent Power of Greek Poetry, Professor Jebb reaches what is really the most difficult part of his task. The importance of the exact truth becomes here more vital than ever, and any criticism more useless that is dictated by some standard of supposed critical orthodoxy. It is thoroughly satisfactory to find that in the temper and lucidity of his observations Professor Jebb is not hampered by any such dictation, though here and there he adopts a tone towards current conventions that may seem almost needlessly deferential. The antithesis between 'Hebraism' and 'Hellenism,' so light-heartedly laid down by Matthew Arnold forty years ago, was even then only a brilliant and stimulating paradox; with the advance of years it has lost most of its stimulating force and nearly all its gloss. The marriage of Faust and Helena is a piece of imaginative scholasticism which only shows how carefully scholasticism should keep clear of imagination if it does not wish to make itself ridiculous. One of Professor Jebb's predecessors in the chair of Greek at Glasgow published a treatise on Greek syntax with a preface upholding the study of Greek as the true safeguard of orthodoxy in religion and politics, and the bulwark against Jacobinism and atheism. We may smile at this now; we can hardly afford to smile at the phrase Hebraism *versus* Hellenism while scholars and critics continue to repeat it with such imperturbable gravity. Yet this celebrated antithesis was founded on what is really a dexterous confusion of language, and neither logically nor historically will it bear examination. It expressed with added piquancy the supposed antithesis of art and morality, doing so on the large assumption that Greek art does not convey moral ideas and that Hebrew literature is not a form of art. So too with the specious contrast between classical and mediaeval art as though the two represented opposing forces. One of the chief triumphs of modern scholarship—and one for which it may be forgiven many shortcomings—is that it has worked out the proof line by line of what could before be only held as a matter of instinct and belief, that mediaeval art is the direct and legitimate descendant of Greek art, and that the two speak a mutually intelligible language: nor need we cavil if this capital result has been reached mainly by the irregular troops of the army while its solid phalanx remained drawn up against a line of phantoms. In the history of art there are many periods; every great invention—the dactylic hexameter, the brick arch, the use of oil as a medium for pigments—divides in a sense the art before it from the art after; but before and after, the art is essentially the same. I remember hearing the captain of the famous Oxford Eleven of 1884 remark, when talk was running on the great variety of Mr. Spofforth's bowling, that he really bowled only two sorts of balls, those that were on the wicket and those that were not. There are and always have been two sorts of art; but these are not classical and mediaeval; they are good art and bad. The classics may serve in a way as a touchstone of pseudo-mediaevalism, as the great mediaeval art does of pseudo-classicism. But here too the world moves on. No one of moderate intelligence would now repeat the incredible conduct of Goethe at Assisi: nor has it yet, I suppose, been retaliated by Mr. Schultz or Professor Ramsay visiting Athens and refusing to go to see the Parthenon.

From such contracted views Professor Jebb is as far removed by the temper of his mind as by the width of his knowledge. No more just and appreciative statement could be made of the actual permanent value of Greek poetry than is made in the following words with which these lectures conclude:

'The claims of classical Greek poetry to a permanent hold upon the attention of the civilized world are of two kinds, intrinsic and historical. Viewed in regard to its intrinsic qualities, this poetry is the creation of a people in whom the gifts of the artist were more harmoniously united than in any other race; it bears the impress of their mind in the perfection of its form; it is also the spontaneous and profoundly suggestive expression of their life and thought. Viewed historically, this poetry is the fountain-head of poetical tradition in

Europe; it has supplied the typical standards of form, it has also furnished a varied wealth of material and illustration; even where it has not given a direct model it has operated by the subtle diffusion of an animating spirit; it has become blended with various other influences of later origin, and to every such alliance it has contributed some intellectual distinction which no other element could have supplied. So far from being adverse to those religious and ethical influences which are beyond the compass of its own gift to modern life, it is, rightly understood, in concord with them, inasmuch as it tends to elevate and to refine the human spirit by the contemplation of beauty in its noblest and purest form. On the high places of Greek literature, those who are worn with the troubles or disturbed by the mental maladies of modern civilization can breathe an atmosphere which, like that of Greece itself, has the freshness of the mountains and the sea. But the loneliness of Oeta or Cithaeron is not there; we have around us, on those summits, also the cheerful sympathies of human life, the pleasant greetings of the kindly human voice. The great poets of ancient Hellas recall to one's mind the words in which Aeschylus described the kinsmen of Niobe who worshipped their ancestral deity on the mountain-heights of Mysia:—

The seed of gods,
Men near to Zeus; for whom on Ida burns,
High in clear air, the altar of their Sire,
Nor hath their race yet lost the blood divine.

Humanity cannot afford to lose out of its inheritance any part of the best work which has been done for it in the past. All that is most beautiful and most instructive in Greek achievement is our permanent possession; one which can be enjoyed without detriment to those other studies which modern life demands; one which no lapse of time can make obsolete, and which no multiplication of modern interests can make superfluous. Each successive generation must learn from ancient Greece that which can be taught by her alone; and to assist, however little, in the transmission of her message is the best reward of a student.'

J. W. Mackail.

SITTL'S EDITION OF FIRMICUS.

Iulii Firmici Materni matheseos libri viii. Primum recensuit Carolus Sittl. Pars I. Libri 1—4. Teubner, bibliotheca scr. gr. et lat. 1894. 2 Mk. 40 Pf.

The editor truly says of this book, almost unknown to scholars owing to the scarcity of copies, what holds equally of a Greek book, treating also of a mock science, the *Oneirocritica* of Artemidorus,[1] 'silvam rerum et sententiarum memorabilium libri continent.' I myself watched the market for many years before I secured one of the old editions. Of late Bonnet, Jahn, Haupt, Chr. Kelber ('Anfang eines Wörterbuchs z. d. libri math. des Firmicus, 1883'), H. Dressel ('lexikalische Bemerkungen zu Firmicus Maternus, Zwickau, 1882') have bestowed pains on Firmicus. Usener, with his usual sagacity, has discovered fragments of Sallust in the prologue, which have already found a place in Maurenbrecher's edition of the histories of that author.

It is to be hoped that some one will undertake a lexicon to Latin astrological writers, including not merely Manilius and Firmicus, but portions of the Clementine recognitions, and other writings bearing upon the subject.

The belief in the influence of the stars on human destiny has coloured modern languages to an extent of which we are scarcely conscious. Firmicus is represented to some degree in our current lexicons, but new words, or new senses of old words, have still to be gleaned from his pages.

Take a few specimens: *altitudo* ii 3 §§ 1 bis 2 bis 4 5. c. 8. 23 § 11. 27 § 21 bis. *cardo* ii c. 13. 27 § 23. *domicilium* ii 2 §§ 1 3 bis 5 6 7 9. 3 §§ 5 bis 7. *domina* ii 24 § 2. *dominus* ii 2 § 3 bis. 23 §§ 2 bis 11 bis. 24 §§ 1 4 5. 26 § 3. *domus* i 5 § 7. ii 2 § 8. 3 § 7. c. 8. 23 § 11. 27 §§ 24 quater 26 bis (also in Clem. recogn. ix 17 bis 21 f. 23 bis. 24 bis 32). *dodecatemorion*

[1] See Reichardt in comm. philol. Jenenses, v (1894) 109—152, who finds traces of Stoic teaching in Artemidorus; a glance at Rigault's notes will show how much antiquaries owe to a writer now little read.

ii c. 11. iii 2 § 27 bis. 5 § 42 bis 13 § 15 quinquies. *antiscia* ii praef. §§ 2 5 ter 6 c. 27 passim. *anaphora* ii tit. ad calc. c. 7. iv 10 § 5. *cataphora* iv 10 § 5. *chronocrator* ii 24 § 1. *benevolus* ii 23 § 2. 26 §§ 2 5. *malevolus* ii 26 §§ 2 5 (cf. *malevolentia* Macrob. somn. i 19 § 20). *minutum* $= \frac{1}{60}$ *pars* $= \frac{1}{1800}$ *signum* ii c. 5. 6 § 1 bis. cf. *minutiarum brevitatem* i 4 § 2. *feminina* and *masculina signa* ii c. 2 (*Libra* e.g. is masculine, *Taurus* feminine). *respicio* ii 23 §§ 2 11. 27 §§ 18 19 20 22. *video* ii 27 §§ 18 bis 21 bis. *cacodaemon* ii 27 § 17 bis (cf. Clem. recogn. ix 17 f. 22 f.).

In Firmicus, as in Apuleius, we observe an enthusiastic devotion to the reformed paganism. See i 10 § 17 *Sol optime maxime, qui mediam caeli possides partem, mens mundi atque temperies, dux omnium atque princeps* cet. and the remarkable chapter (ii 27) on the life and conversation, sternly ascetic (§ 20 *si te rectum videndi votum ab omni scelerum liberavit invidia et si purgatum animum et memorem divini seminis geris, aggredere hoc opus*), which befits him who would read the secrets of the heavens. Firmicus is careful to remark that neither astrologers nor soothsayers can foretell the future of empire (§ 7 *solus enim imperator stellarum non subiacet cursibus et solus est, in cuius fato stellae decernendi non habeant potestatem*).

Sittl seems to have done all that is possible to secure a pure text, but no ancient manuscript contains all the books, and gaps occur in all.

One obvious correction has escaped the editor.

iv 2 1 Si se Luna Saturni applicaverit stellae et crescens lumine ista se Saturno societate coniungat vel si ad Saturnum feratur, matri viduitatem et *mulierum locorum* dolores decernit.

Read *muliebrium locorum;* if confirmation be required, turn to iv 23 3 Luna cum Saturno in horoscopo si fuerit partiliter inventa, faciet primos nasci aut primos nutriri, sed matribus miserum pondus viduitatis imponit aut facit eas in templorum conversationibus detineri et ex necessariis aut *muliebribus locis* grave valetudinis discrimen indicit.

JOHN E. B. MAYOR.

WOHLRAB'S *REPUBLIC* OF PLATO.

Platon's Staat. Erstes Buch. Erklärt von MARTIN WOHLRAB. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1893. 60 Pf.

THE present edition of the first book of the *Republic* does not lay claim to anything beyond an elementary character. Questions of textual criticism are excluded, and the exegetical notes are for the most part brief and dogmatic, on the Aristotelian principle δεῖ πιστεύειν τοὺς μανθάνοντας. But within the limits which the editor has prescribed for himself the quality of the work is good, although one could have wished that some fresh light had been thrown on some of the more difficult sentences in what is in some respects one of the most puzzling books of the *Republic.*

The introduction, extending over sixteen pages, treats of the dramatis personae, the date of action, of the argument and purpose of the dialogue, and finally of the relation between the first and the remaining books of the treatise. Wohlrab is, as might have been anticipated, a believer in the structural unity of the *Republic*, the composition of which he assigns to the last period of Plato's literary activity, relying mainly on the formal connexion between the *Republic* and the *Timaeus.* This is perhaps the best working hypothesis—οἷον ἐπίβασίς τε καὶ ὁρμή—on which to begin the study of the *Republic*, but he will be an unusually σκληρός τε καὶ ἀντίτυπος ἄνθρωπος who can hold to it as he advances.

The text of Paris A in the *Republic* is (apart from a few clerical errors) so much better than most of the emendations which have often replaced it that one is (on grounds of principle) glad to find Wohlrab retaining it even where it is probably wrong. Thus in 328 C he keeps the ἐλλείπεται of A and H, although in view of *Theaet.* 188 A ἄλλο γ' οὐδὲν λείπεται περὶ ἕκαστον πλὴν εἰδέναι ἢ μὴ εἰδέναι it is more than probable that the ἓν λείπεται of Θ and a marginal corrector in A is right: in the extremely difficult passage 333 E, where (in spite of Boeckh in his *Kleine Schriften* iv. pp. 326 ff.) it requires a heart of iron to resist the emendation of Schneider (in general the most conservative of editors),

he retains the reading of A with the addition of *καί* before *ἐμποιῆσαι* from Π^2 at the cost of converting into manifest nonsense the manifest sophistry which we must allow to Plato in this part of the argument: and in 335 A he retains *ἤ* before *ὡς* where it is not only ungrammatical (which is not the point) but too harsh a solecism for the refined conversational style of the *Republic*. On the other hand in one or two passages Wohlrab forsakes the MSS. with insufficient reason, as in 331 D, where the *οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, ἐγὼ ὁ Πολέμαρχος τῶν γε σῶν κληρονόμος;* is quite in harmony with Polemarchus' *προθυμία*, and perhaps in 343 B, where the use of *διανοεῖσθαι* may to a certain extent be compared with 470 E.

The explanatory notes are clear and sensible, if somewhat slight. Wohlrab's explanation of the difficult *οἷον γε* (A has *τε*) *σύ, ὦ φίλε* in 336 E is the same as Schneider's, and probably right, but requires support in the face of the doubts recently thrown on the text by Apelt, whose ingenious emendation *ἰού, ἰού, ὦ φίλε* (in Fleckeisen's *Jahrbuch* for 1891 p. 557) will hardly convince Platonic scholars. There are many passages in which one might differ from the editor's interpretation of his author, but enough has been said to show the general character of this edition. Readers of the *Republic* would have preferred if Wohlrab had done for the *Republic* what he has done for the *Theaetetus* and other dialogues — brought Stallbaum up to date.

J. ADAM.

DUPUIS' *THEON SMYRNAEUS.*

Théon de Smyrne. Exposition des connaissances mathématiques utiles pour la lecture de Platon traduite pour la première fois du Grec en Français. Par J. DUPUIS. Épilogue: Le Nombre de Platon (Mémoire Définitif). Paris: Hachette et Cie.

THIS is an elaborate and ambitious work, which is not likely to find many readers either among mathematicians or scholars. Besides a translation of the text, accompanied where necessary by diagrams, it contains a scholarly account of the material available for the formation of the text of Theo, various appendices on points of special interest, elaborate indices, and a treatise on the Number of Plato, the fifth which has proceeded from the pen of the indefatigable author. The translation (so far as the present reviewer can judge) is only fairly accurate. Thus on p. 3 'nous donnerons ici un sommaire et un abrégé des connaissances nécessaires et la tradition des théorèmes mathématique les plus utiles' is an incorrect rendering of '*κεφαλαιώδη καὶ σύντομον ποιησόμεθα τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ ὧν δεῖ μάλιστα τοῖς ἐντευξομένοις Πλάτωνι μαθηματικῶν παράδοσιν*': on page 5 there is a more serious error in translating a quotation from the *Epinomis* (992 B), for an essential point of Platonic doctrine is ignored when *τὸν τοιοῦτόν φησιν ἐκ πολλῶν ἕνα γεγονότα εὐδαίμονά τε ἔσεσθαι καὶ σοφώτατον ἅμα καὶ μακάριον* is rendered by 's'il y en a *un seul qui soit tel* (mathématicien), c'est celui-là qui sera favorisé de la fortune et au comble de la sagesse et de la félicité.' It would be easy to multiply such instances, but it is right to say that the exposition of the more properly mathematical part of Theo is probably more accurate.

The chief interest of the book however is in the appendix on the Number, apart from Dupuis' interest in which the translation would probably never have been executed. It is unfortunate that Theo in his otherwise meritorious dissertation has steered clear of the one serious and important mathematical *crux* in Plato. Such help as he gives is merely incidental and accessible in other sources, such as Nicomachus. Although it is easy to attack, or even to overthrow, the theory of Dupuis, it may be interesting to know the final conclusions which have been reached by so diligent an investigator in this fascinating field of inquiry. Dupuis abstains from any attempt to connect the Number with the argument of the *Republic* as a whole, and confines himself entirely to the mathematical side of the problem. Retaining the best authenticated text, that of Parisinus A, he interprets the passage (*Republic* 546 B, C) as follows. *θεῖον γεννητόν* denotes the stars: *ἀριθμὸς τέλειος* the great year. The *αὐξήσεις δυνάμεναί τε καὶ δυναστευόμεναι* ('producing and produced') he identifies with the Pythagorean *τετρακτύς* 1, 2, 3, 4: this comprises (*λαβοῦσαι*)

the three ἀποστάσεις (2, $\frac{3}{2}$, $\frac{4}{3}$, the intervals of the octave, the fifth, and the fourth) and four ὅροι, which are αὐξόντων καὶ φθινόντων according to the order in which you take them, and ὁμοιούντων καὶ ἀνομοιούντων because two cords of equal tension give forth like sounds if one is twice the length of the other, and unlike sounds if the conditions are different. It will be observed that Dupuis does not regard the first section of the passage as expressing any single number at all. To come to the second. ὧν ἐπίτριτος πυθμήν is $\frac{4}{3}$, ὧν ('among which') having as its antecedent αὐξήσεις: πεμπάδι συζυγείς is 'plus 5.' This gives $\frac{19}{3}$. The words τρὶς αὐξηθείς, according to Dupuis, denote three successive multiplications, but what the multipliers are has to be discovered from the sequel. In other words, the unknown quantities of the equation (for such, in common with most recent writers on the subject, Dupuis believes the Number to be) are contained in τρίς. We thus reach $\frac{19}{3} \times xyz =$ what? The first harmony (according to Dupuis is $100 \times 100 = 10{,}000$: the second is (ἰσομήκη μὲν τῇ) $100 \times (4{,}800 + 2{,}700) = 100 \times 7{,}500 = 750{,}000$. Having reached this stage, Dupuis adds the harmonies together and pronounces the ἀριθμὸς γεωμετρικός to be 760,000. The equation $\frac{19}{3} \times xyz = 760{,}000$ is satisfied by interpreting x as 3, y as 4, and z as 10,000. Such is Dupuis' solution of the Number: those who have busied themselves with the subject, will be able to appreciate its value; those who have not, will not, and need not, care.

J. Adam.

CORPUS GLOSSARIORUM LATINORUM III. V.

Vol. III. *Hermeneumata pseudodositheana* edidit Georgius Goetz. Accedunt Hermeneumata medicobotanica vetustiora. Lips.: Teubner. 1892. 22 Mk.

Vol. V. *Placidus liber glossarum, glossaria reliqua.* Edidit Georgius Goetz. 1894. 22 Mk.

The four volumes now published contain the bulk of the glosses thought to deserve publication. Supplements will be appended to vol. i, which is devoted to a general discussion of glosses and glossaries. Vols. vi vii, on which Goetz is now engaged, will contain a general glossary. In this the glosses will be critically revised; as yet the exact reproduction of the MSS. is all that has been aimed at. Hence it appears premature to suggest corrections, until the editor's final results are known. Already many valuable contributions have appeared from the pen, among others, of H. Nettleship; the latest, and not the least instructive, in the fifth volume of the 'Commentationes philologae Jenenses'; (1) 'De Festo Pseudophiloxeni auctore scripsit Albertus Dammann,' pp. 1—48; (5) 'Hermeneumata Vaticana emendavit illustravit Immanuel David,' pp. 197—238. It is a pleasure to welcome the latter critic, who signs himself 'Lesbius.' Bryennios does not stand alone among the Greeks of today.

Sometimes doubts are expressed whether great scholars, as Scaliger, Lindenbrog, Ruhnken, who devoted so much time to the correction of glosses, might not have been better employed; but no one will share the doubt who is acquainted with the progress of lexicography. Many words have found their way into the dictionary on the authority of a gloss, which later research has discovered in authors of name. For a long time to come this tracing of glosses to the rock from which they were hewn will afford interesting occupation to the student. I give three examples which I have lately noted.

Aug. enarrat. in ps. 139 12 a.m. bestiis subrexerunt. corp. gl. v 443 5 bestiis subrigi ad bestias mitti. Paucker spicileg. 163 seq. Vict. Vit. iii 27. Non. 50 2. Rönsch in Hilgenfeld's Zeitschr. 1880, 379, 440. Rufin. h. e. (ed. Cacciari, Romae 1740, 4to) iv 15 p. 210: Proconsul dixit: bestias habeo paratas, quibus subrigeris, nisi cito paenitueris. vii 11 f. devorandi, inquit, bestiis subrigantur, where Cacciari reads *subigantur*, supposing that *subrigantur* of the printed copies is a misprint. viii 7 p. m. p. 476: iubentur alii vere criminosi bestiis subrigi. ix 6 p. igitur apud Tyrum Phoenicis urbem tres quidam iuvenes correpti cum se christianos esse confiterentur, bestiis subriguntur.

Aug. in ps. 66 10 p.m. renovabitur iuventus nostra sicut aquilae; tantummodo nos vetustatem nostram ad petram Christum conteramus...Sive illa vera sint, fratres,

quae dicuntur de serpente, vel quae dicuntur de aquila, sive sit fama potius hominum quam veritas...Tu esto talis, ut iuventus tua renovari possit sicut aquila. et scias eam non posse renovari, nisi vetustas tua in petra contrita fuerit. . . Tu ergo talis noli esse: sed esto talis quod contra invenis, id est, ut praeterita obliviscaris, in anteriora te extendas; ut vetustatem tuam in petra conteras. Here the mention of the serpent made me suspect that *vetustas* = *senecta* or *senectus*, the 'slough,' but I was not fully assured till I found in corp. gl. v 621 30: meratrum est herba de qua comedunt serpentes et exuunt vetustatem.

Add to lexicons *conviciosus* Hier. in ps. 38 hom. 2 2. Aug. c. sec. resp. Iul. i 11. in ps. 21 enarr. 1 7. corp. gl. iv 325 10. Hildebrand gl. Paris. 429 p. 79. *conviciose* Aug. serm. 126 8. c. Petil. iii 18. Acron on Hor. s. i 5 65.

JOHN E. B. MAYOR.

VOLLMER ON PUBLIC FUNERALS AT ROME.

De funere publico Romanorum, scripsit FRIDERICUS VOLLMER. Commentatio ex supplemento undevicesimo Annalium Philologicorum seorsum expressa. 8vo. 319--364 pp. Leipzig: Teubner. 1 Mk. 20.

THIS is the first exhaustive treatise on the subject. A *funus publicum* was an official funeral, not one merely to which the public was invited, as Guhl and Koner (*Life of the Greeks and Romans*, p. 590 English translation) thought. It corresponds in many respects to the funeral of a United States Congressman, being at the public expense, costly, and stopping public business. Vollmer's treatment is lucid and logical.

§ 1 states the origin of the custom. The *funus collaticium* was paid for by voluntary contributions; such, for instance, were the funerals of Valerius Poplicola and Menenius Agrippa; other forms of the *collaticia* appearing in funerals the expenses of which were met by burial societies; and in the field the military funeral of the common soldiers paid from the *follis*. When the state paid the expenses through the quaestor, acting under the instructions of the consul, who was obeying a senatus consultum made for the purpose, then the *funus* became strictly *publicum*. The first Roman *funus publicum* positively known was that of Servius Sulpicius Rufus 711/43. Syphax and Perseus were buried at the expense of the state, but as guests of the commonwealth; their funerals were not properly *publica*. Vollmer gives a list of thirty-four *funera publica*, the last being Caracalla's 971/217. The custom survived into mediaeval and modern times.

§ 2 is a closer examination of the meaning of *funus publicum*; a state funeral expressed the public sorrow. Toward the end of the Republic the state not only paid the expenses, but undertook the whole management of the funeral. This included the eulogy by a magistrate, often a place of burial, but never the erection of the monument itself—except in case of the emperors—nor any cult of *manes*.

§ 3. The decree was made by the senate, either independently, or at the suggestion of the emperor; and finally by the emperor alone, when the senate became a *nominis umbra*. The consuls executed the decree through the quaestors. The funerals were always *indicta*, and often accompanied by *ludi*.

§ 4. The order of the ceremonies was as follows: expositio corporis mortui (vel imaginis) in foro, contio totius populi praesentibus ordinibus senatorio et equestri virorum et mulierum, pompa militum, imaginum comitatio amplificata, laudatio a magistratu habita, portatio mortui per honoratos viros, agmen magistratuum et pontificum, ludi magistratuum et pontificum, ludi militares circa rogum, incensio rogi per magistratus. There was a *iustitium* and mourning by the women for a year.

§ 5. It was decreed in honour of distinguished men; not for women until the time of Augustus, but afterwards to women of the emperor's family. In the municipia, at least, boys and young men were so honoured for the sake of their families.

§ 6. The cost is not easy to discover. Vespasian's funeral cost *sestertium centies*, but numbers are rarely given. *Decies* is stated in some Italic titles; at Surrentum HS c; at Pompeii HS ∞ ∞ for an aedile and IIviro iuri dicundo.

§ 7. In the *municipia* the custom was general. The oldest instance is the funeral

of the poet Lucilius 651/103. Sometimes the honour was accepted, and the money declined.

§ 8. *Funus censorium = amplissimum = imperatorium.* Contrary to the opinion of Nipperdey and Becker, the funus censorium was carried out by the consuls or duoviri. The expression dates from Augustus, who wished to be buried in a censor's robe.

§ 9. Documenta, 17 pages; chiefly from the *Corpus Inscriptionum.*

The article in the *Dictionary of Antiquities* follows Marquardt (*Privatleben*[2] i. 350 *sq.*) in regarding the funerals of Syphax and Perseus as *funera publica;* the f. censorium being the magistrate's funeral of highest grade; but Marquardt adds that the f. c. was not due to the censor's edict. Vollmer thinks the story about Valerius Poplicola is due to Valerius Antias and consequently untrustworthy as far as any *vote* of the people is concerned; and, with reference to Menenius, he utterly discredits Dion. Hal. (6, 76). This is the weak part of the treatise, and we must regard the *funus publicum* and *collaticium* as still confused. Military funerals, both of privates and officers, were not necessarily *publica;* the *senatus consultum* is the decisive thing; often, as in the case of Hirtius and Pansa, the funeral was both *militare* and *publicum.* As to Syphax and Perseus, their funerals were in a sense public, but Vollmer is right in separating them from the ordinary class. The value of his treatise is conditioned by the importance of the subject; but at any rate the author seems to have exhausted the topic.

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PRAECHTER'S *TABULA* OF CEBES.

Cebetis Tabula. Recensuit CAROLUS PRAECHTER. Lipsiae in Aedibus B. G. Teubneri. 1893. 60 Pf.

THIS little edition contains within brief compass the results of much industry and learning. A preface of eleven pages discusses the relationship of the MSS., in regard to which the editor substantially agrees with Müller, except that he refuses to consider the Vatican codex as the archetype of the second class of MSS. A full apparatus criticus accompanies the text, which is followed by a brief index of non-classical words and usages likely to furnish evidence as to the date of composition of the *Tabula.* A single point of interest may be referred to. In section 3 of chapter 26 it is said of the individual who has triumphed over 'the greatest beasts' (meaning Ignorance and Error and the like) *οὐ μὴ διοχληθήσεται οὐδὲν οὔτε ὑπὸ Ὀδύνης...οὔτε ὑπὸ ἄλλου κακοῦ οὐδενός. ἁπάντων γὰρ κυριεύει καὶ ἐπάνω πάντων ἐστὶ τῶν πρότερον αὐτὸν λυπούντων καθάπερ οἱ ἐχιόδηκτοι* (so A, but Praechter adopts Casaubon's conjecture *ἐχιοδεῖκται*). *τὰ γὰρ θηρία δήπου τὰ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους κακοποιοῦντα μέχρι θανάτου ἐκείνους οὐ λυπεῖ διὰ τὸ ἔχειν ἀντιφάρμακον τοῦτο* (for which *οὕτω* is read by Praechter after Schweighäuser). Praechter's note on this passage is as follows: 'An fuit apud veteres opinio eos qui serpentis morsui supervixissent, ab eius bestiae impetu immunes esse? Quod si testimoniis confirmetur, ut *ἐχιόδηκτοι* sic statim *τοῦτο* (ex *ἐχιόδηκτοι* intell. *τὸ δεδῆχθαι*) servari possit.' This suggested interpretation of the reading of the MSS. so plainly suits the whole context of the passage that it can hardly fail to be right. Mithridates is said to have fortified himself against poison by the abundant use of the homoeopathic method: can any one supply a specific illustration of a similar belief in regard to the bite of snakes?

J. ADAM.

FROEHDE ON *DE NOMINE* OF PROBUS.

Valerii Probi de nomine libellum Plinii Secundi doctrinam continere demonstratur. Scripsit OSCAR FROEHDE. Commentatio ex supplemento undevicesimo Annalium Philologicorum seorsum expressa. 8vo. Pp. 159–203. Leipzig: Teubner, 1892. M. 1, 20.

Froehde is well known by his work on Charisius, and in this monograph has made a strong case for the Plinian source of Probus' work. He shows first that the *libellus de nomine*, the authorship of which has heretofore been a matter of doubt, is really a work of Probus. The complete text of the work is printed in parallel columns with parts of Charisius; and from the agreement and disagreement, the common citation of texts, and some mistakes common to both, it seems highly probable that both drew from a common source; and as this source for Charisius is known to be Pliny, the conclusion is that the original doctrine is contained in Pliny's 'dubii sermonis octo' referred to in the catalogue given by the younger Pliny *Ep.* 3, 5, 5. The contribution of J. W. Beck in the *Berliner Wochenschrift* 1892, Nos. 50 and 51, is also valuable, as showing that many Plinian fragments are concealed in the works of the grammarians, and that before many years it may be possible to reconstitute the book in a measure.

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ANNOUNCEMENTS AND RECENT CONTRIBUTIONS TO LATIN LEXICOGRAPHY.

Among the necessary preliminaries of the great Latin *thesaurus* now in hand, are new texts and special lexicons. From the eighth volume of Wölfflin's *Archiv* I glean various particulars of interest. Few writers were already furnished with a better index than Sallust, but Bert. Maurenbrecher (C. Sallusti Crispi historiarum reliquiae. Lips. 1893) has superseded Dietsch by a fuller collection of fragments and a complete *index verborum.* The index to the Optatus of Car. Ziwsa (corp. scr. eccl. xxvi. Vindob. 1893) is full of matter for the grammarian and lexicographer. Caelius Aurelianus is an important witness for African Latin: a pupil of Bücheler's, Heinr. Friedel, has published prolegomena to a new edition (De scriptis Caelii Aurelianensis Methodici Siccensis. 1892. 4to).

While Bishop Wordsworth and his colleagues have finished about one half of the vulgate N.T., others have devoted their attention to the Old Latin versions, on which many scattered labourers have been at work since Sabatier and Bianchini. Thus Joh. B. Ulrich published in 1893 a programme: 'De Salviani scripturae sacrae versionibus.' Ph. Thielmann, a well-known authority on the later Latinity, communicates to the eighth volume of the *Archiv* studies on the books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus. He thinks it unpractical to attack the question of the Old Latin from its most difficult side, the gospels and Pauline epistles. By the help of the Bavarian Academy, having obtained collations of many mss., chiefly from Paris and Italy, he announces a critical edition of wisd. ecclus. Judith, Esther, Tobit. Hugo Linke in Breslau proposes to begin an edition of the 'Itala' with two sections, (1) the Pentateuch, (2) Joshua—2 Esdr.; he reports that the palimpsest Vindob. 17, first published by Belsheim, may shortly be expected in a trustworthy form.

Few fragments of grammar are more instructive than the Appendix Probi (Keil's Gramm. iv 197—9). Keil however contented himself with Endlicher's apparatus, but Prof. v. Hartel has photographed the text from ms. Vindob. 17 (cent. viii), and Wend. Förster (Wiener Studien xiv, 1892, 278—322, also separately issued) by the help of Bücheler, Usener, Zangemeister, Leo etc. has been able to restore the text in many places. Some Tironian notes still defy the most skilful decipherers.

P. Geyer (Archiv viii 469—481) finds traces of Gallic Latin in Marcellus Empiricus (in the critical edition of Helmreich, Teubner, 1889).

Dr. Valentine Rose, known by his Anecdota, Cassius Felix, Vitruvius, etc., has undertaken to edit Theodore Priscian for the *bibliotheca Teubneriana;* an edition of '[Apuleius] de medicaminibus herbarum' is shortly expected. Lessing, who published 'Studien zu den Script. hist. Aug. Berl. 1889,' has in hand a lexicon to these biographies. Maxim. Ihm adds a comprehensive index and commentary to the veterinary writer Pelagonius of Salona (cent. iv, biblioth. Teubn.).

John E. B. Mayor.

THE ORIGIN OF THE LORD'S SUPPER: A REPLY.

THE little essay in which I propounded my historic doubts as to the origin of the Lord's Supper, and submitted to the judgment of experts some new views on the subject, has called forth many criticisms expressed alike publicly and privately. As yet the views to which I inclined, of the Pauline origin of the Lord's Supper as an institution, and its connexion with Eleusis, have only been publicly accepted and defended by one eminent theologian, Professor Pfleiderer; but various reviewers, English and foreign, agree with the views of my paper up to a certain point. It is not however easy to stop short at a given point: this I tried, and only after three or four rewritings did I see how far it was necessary to go in order to avoid the gravest difficulties. On the whole I venture to say that my essay, put forth with professed diffidence, has stood fire better than could have been anticipated.

Perhaps the most decided rejection of my arguments is to be found in Mr. Mayor's criticism in the *Classical Review* of April. I am allowed by the courtesy of the editor to examine briefly that criticism. But the *Classical Review* is scarcely a suitable place for detailed controversy of a theologico-historical kind; I shall therefore use the privilege with great moderation, and do little more than reply to arguments which have already appeared in the pages of this *Review*.

I will not follow Mr. Mayor in the details of his grammatical argument as to the meaning of the phrase 1 *Cor.* xi. 23 ἐγὼ γὰρ παρέλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου. This has been matter of infinite controversy. Mr. Mayor, after Winer and other authorities, thinks that in the phrase it is implied that St. Paul received the institution from Christ not directly but through the Apostles or tradition. But this is denied by a host of authorities on the other side. To mention only one or two English theologians, Lightfoot (on *Gal.* i. 12) writes 'I do not think the distinction drawn by Winer and others between λαμβάνειν παρὰ Κυρίου and λαμβάνειν ἀπὸ Κυρίου (1 *Cor.* xi. 23), as denoting respectively direct and indirect communication, can be insisted on.' Alford more boldly says 'the distinction is fallacious: cf. *e.g.* 1 John i. 5.' Principal Edwards (*comm. ad loc.*) says 'Chrysostom, Calvin, Estius, Bengel, Osiander, Olshausen, Alford, Evans &c. understand' (the phrase) 'to mean an immediate communication made by the risen Lord to the Apostle himself. It is the only interpretation of the words that adequately explains why the Apostle should mention the thing.'

I confess to some surprise that Mr. Mayor has treated the view that we have here to do with a direct revelation to St. Paul as if it were a new invention of mine, instead of a view maintained by a number of able critics. In so doing he seems to take the place of a controversialist rather than of a reviewer: and though the controversy is quite courteous it appears in what professes to be a review.

Mr. Mayor complains of my rendering ἐγώ by 'I myself.' I took the rendering from Mr. W. J. Conybeare's excellent paraphrase, but of course it somewhat overshoots the mark. Yet ἐγώ means more than the unemphatic 'I,' and I would submit that the use of ἐγώ and the singular verb raises up a wall of distinction between the phrase above cited and that which Mr. Mayor would regard as a parallel to it, ἃ παρέδωκεν ἡμῖν Μωυσῆς. A tradition would naturally belong to *us*, the Jewish race; a revelation to *me* the seer. When in 1 *Cor.* xv. St. Paul is speaking of what he received from the Apostles, the words ἐγώ and ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου are alike omitted.

Passing from the grammatical criticism of the Pauline phrase, let us consider the wider historical criticism. And here I think that Mr. Mayor's strictures may be more definitely met.

The statement of my essay that the formula of institution 'This do in remembrance of me' does not occur in the text of any Gospel, but is based only on the authority of St. Paul, rests on the critical decision of Westcott and Hort. Mr. Mayor is disposed to dispute that decision. 'Was it likely that St. Luke, the devoted friend and companion of St. Paul, should be ignorant of this account (in 1 *Cor.*) or could knowingly have passed it over in his Gospel?' Surely an argument of this kind can claim very little objective value. That the author of the Third Gospel was acquainted with the Corinthian Epistle, or at all events with the customs of the Pauline Churches, is more than likely. But that he was S. Luke is most doubtful, even most improbable. An argument in precisely the opposite direction

would be more legitimate: 'since the author of the Third Gospel omits words which are a prominent feature of the Pauline account of the Last Supper, he can scarcely have been one of the immediate followers of St. Paul.'

But, proceeds Mr. Mayor, 'does it follow that because' (the words of institution) 'are not recorded by the Evangelists, they were therefore not spoken by the Lord at the Last Supper?' And he goes on to cite instances in which events recorded by one Evangelist are omitted by another, and the like. This is true enough, but not in the present case an argument. What we are searching for is proof that the words in question were uttered before the Crucifixion. It is no proof at all to reply that although the Evangelists do not record the saying, yet it *might* have been uttered. Of course the Evangelists do not record one in a hundred of the sayings and doings of their Lord: yet they can only be witnesses for what they do record. And going by historical probabilities, it must be maintained that their evidence, so far as it goes, is against the institution of the Lord's Supper in the lifetime of the Founder of Christianity, as a rite to be observed in the future.

My essay called in question the existence of any evidence of the custom of the Lord's Supper as a sacrament, before it was introduced at Corinth by St. Paul. To this Mr. Mayor replies that the custom in the very early church is implied by the phrase κλάσις ἄρτου. But the force of this objection is removed by the very fact on which he dwells, that κλάσμα is a sort of technical term for the broken bread used in the common meals mentioned in the *Didachê*. For in that document what is described is not the Lord's Supper of St. Paul and later Christendom, but a εὐχαριστία, which may indeed show something of sacramental character, and probably of Pauline influence (as I am ready to concede), but which is far nearer, as Harnack has pointed out, to the teaching of the Fourth Evangelist than to that of the Corinthian Epistle.

Another of my reviewers, Mr. A. Wright, in an able paper contributed to the *Churchman* (March, 1894) has dwelt on the same point, and seems to regard the breaking of bread as a custom peculiar to the Christian sacrament. His view is extreme. He observes that the phrase *breaking of bread* is 'never found in the Old Testament, nor, I believe, in any pre-Christian author.' 'It was our Lord who introduced a new custom.' This is however a mistake. In Isaiah lviii. 7 both Cheyne and Delitzsch read 'Is it not to break thy bread to the hungry?' And Benzinger in his recent *Hebräische Archäologie*, p. 87, mentions the Jewish custom of breaking bread. It seems to have prevailed in sacrifices (cf. *Lev.* ii. 6) and especially in the funeral feasts (*Jer.* xvi. 7 &c.). As to its precise meaning in Jewish custom we may be doubtful. Certainly to share bread with another in the East constitutes a tie of fellowship with him. But there was much more in the Lord's Supper than a feast of Christian fellowship.

A word must be added as to the relation of the Fourth Evangelist to the Lord's Supper. Most of the critics have borne hard on my statement that this writer seems to intend in his sixth chapter to keep the mystic teaching there contained as regards the body and the blood of Christ apart from the historical tradition of the Last Supper. No doubt the Fourth Evangelist was acquainted with the custom of the Lord's Supper, as with the custom of baptism. He was not disposed to attach great value to rites as such. But as he mentions water in connexion with the new birth, he seems to have appreciated the Christian custom of baptism. On the other hand there is an entire absence of indication that he regarded the attachment of the mystic doctrine of the body and blood to the Christian Communion as desirable. And in describing the Last Supper he follows what seems to be a trustworthy tradition, and yet omits all reference to the founding of a Sacrament. No doubt argument from omission is always dangerous: but in this case it is of double strength and must be allowed some weight. It is far easier to account for the line taken in the Fourth Gospel if the Sacrament were of Pauline origin, and did not date from the Master's lifetime.

A wider historical question is raised when we consider how the ideas embodied in the Christian Sacrament are related to previous history, Jewish and Greek. It seems quite clear that the notion of communion with an unseen power, which is specially implied in the Lord's Supper as accepted by St. Paul and the Christian Church, existed in a lower and embryonic form in the Mysteries of the Heathen, and only required like most heathen beliefs to be raised to a higher sphere, and 'baptised into Christ,' to be fit for a nobler destiny. If the institution of the Lord's Supper was first introduced by St. Paul at Corinth, the probability of some influence of the neighbouring Eleusis can scarcely be overlooked. If it was first intro-

duced elsewhere, the mysteries of Mithras or Sabazius might seem a more probable source. But Mr. Mayor thinks of a purely Jewish origin. He asks 'Was it really necessary that a Jew should be brought in contact with Pagan ceremonial before he could realize the religious importance of commemorative festivals?' The reply is that the Christian Sacrament was far more than a commemorative festival. It implied a fellowship between worshipper and worshipped, a notion of primitive religion, the preservation and development of which was especially due to the more orgiastic forms of Greek religion, the Dionysiac Mithraic and Orphic cults. In origin these cults were not purely Greek: they brought into Greece ideas and feelings foreign to the purely Hellenic religion. And they had, as Dieterich has clearly shown in his *Nekyia*, a considerable influence on Jewish religion also between the time of Alexander and the Christian era. Doubtless St. Paul was a Jew, a Pharisee and the son of a Pharisee, but yet he was to an extent which he himself did not realize under the influence of those Hellenistic ways of thought which in those days a man could no more wholly escape than he could live without breathing. And the Orphic Mysticism in one of its many forms would influence him as it influenced Aeschylus and Polygnotus and Plato and the authors of the Book of Enoch and Philo. Mr. Wright in the paper already cited observes that 'the resemblance between the Christian ordinance and both ancestor-worship and the Eleusinian Mysteries is no doubt real, but I should account for it by the similarity which exists between all ancient religious rites among civilized peoples.' As a generality, this may well pass. But in considering the origin of a rite arising at a known time, and possibly a known place, we must try to go beyond generalities. And it has to be shown that in the middle of the first century A.D., in the Greater Greece of the Levant, any cults existed except those belonging to the Orphic stratum of ideas (using the word Orphic is quite a general sense) which were likely to give precedent for such a rite as St. Paul describes.

The Fathers of the Church had a keen hatred for the Pagan Mysteries, not so much, probably, because they contrasted with, as because they were like their own. Simia quam similis turpissima bestia nobis. But we have changed our point of view. We look on the ape no longer as a caricature of man but as representing a stage in his development. In the same way the Pagan Mysteries acquire interest and dignity when we realize that though they were tainted with formalism, imposture and even obscenity, yet they held the germs of ideas destined for a higher life under the influence of a nobler and purer religion.

PERCY GARDNER.

I AM reluctant to occupy any more of the space of the *Classical Review* with a discussion which scarcely falls within its province, but there are one or two points in Prof. Gardner's reply on which a word of explanation seems desirable.

ἐγὼ γὰρ παρέλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου. The point to which I called attention in this phrase was the variation from the ordinary construction *παρέλαβον παρά.* I never denied that *παρά* may be used with the first link of a chain of tradition—on the contrary, I quoted an instance of it—but, *as contrasted with ἀπό*, the former suggests the closer, the latter the more distant connexion. I further pointed out, what I should think all must admit, the unnaturalness of the expression *παρέλαβον* for an apocalyptic vision; and lastly I said that St. Paul's appeal to the authority of other churches in the same Epistle, in confirmation of his own decision as regards the position of women, made it unlikely that he should have been here insisting on a tradition not accepted by other churches. I do not see that in my discussion of this point I have said anything which could imply that Prof. Gardner was propounding a novelty; not that this would be any reason for condemning it in my own mind: *non enim tam auctores in disputando quam rationis momenta quaerenda sunt.* Nor do I quite understand the distinction he draws between the controversialist and the reviewer. We may distinguish three kinds of useful reviews; the first states what is to be found in the book reviewed, without any attempt at criticism; the second adds to this the expression of the reviewer's judgment; the third adds likewise the reasons for his judgment. This last is to my mind by far the most profitable sort of review, provided that you have a competent and fair-minded reviewer; and this is what it was my aim to give in my notice of the *Origin of the Lord's Supper.*

The argument as to the probability that St. Luke would have included in his account of the institution of the Eucharist those particulars on which St. Paul had laid such stress, was of course addressed to readers

who, with Bishop Westcott and Dr. Hort, believed the Third Gospel to be written by St. Luke. To those who, like Prof. Gardner, hold this 'to be most improbable,' the argument would have to be differently worded, but it would not I think lose its force, supposing that they admit the writer of the Acts to be the same person with the writer of the Gospel.

Lastly, I am not at all concerned to deny that St. Paul may have found an interesting parallel to the Christian Sacrament in the Pagan Mysteries, and I should like to see this subject worked out more fully; at the same time it must not be forgotten that there was much in the details of the Mysteries, which would have been most abhorrent to Christian feeling.

J. B. Mayor.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

ATHENE ERGANE.

Βᾶτ' εἰς ὁδὸν δὴ πᾶς ὁ χειρῶναξ λεὼς
οἳ τὴν Διὸς γοργῶπιν Ἐργάνην στατοῖς
λίκνοισι προστρέπεσθε.

Soph. *Fr.* 724.

This passage has generally and no doubt rightly been brought into connexion with the festival of the Chalkeia celebrated by the craftsmen of Athens (the χειρῶναξ λεώς) in honour of the master craftsmen Hephaistos and Athene Ergane. One element remains on this supposition unexplained. Why do the craftsmen worship their gods 'with winnowing baskets set up'—an element more appropriate surely to Demeter or Bacchus than to the 'operosa Minerva'?

Sophocles makes no mention of Hephaistos, and it is doubtful if *originally* the Chalkeia had anything to do with him. Suidas gives us some valuable information on this point. Χαλκεῖα ἑορτὴ ἀρχαία καὶ δημώδης πάλαι, ὕστερον δὲ ὑπὸ μόνων ἤγετο τεχνιτῶν ὅτε ὁ Ἥφαιστος ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ χαλκὸν εἰργάσατο, and again ἑορτὴ...ἅ τινες Ἀθήναια καλοῦσιν· οἱ δὲ Πάνδημον διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ πάντων ἄγεσθαι. We may I think dismiss the Hephaistos element as ὕστερον, but there still remains Athene the Workwoman and the problem why she demands the winnowing baskets.

The explanation is I think a simple one. The root of the words ἔργον and Ἐργάνη bears another and a more primitive meaning than that in later times usually implied. Ἔργον is a 'land' as well as the result of a craft and Ergane is she of the tilled ground as well as she of the needle and loom, the chisel and hammer. We need go no further than the Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέραι of Hesiod and the ἀνδρῶν πίονα ἔργα of Homer. This meaning is put second in the lexicon but surely came first to primitive man. The 'works' of Ergane changed from ploughed fields to statues as her worshippers changed from rural labourers to city craftsmen and artists, but even χειρῶναξ λεώς dare not omit from the cultus of Ergane her sacred symbol of the λίκνον: she would remember though they might forget.

Yet another curious point remains to be noted. Athene Ergane was figured in art as a Herm. If she were merely the goddess of craftsmen, it is not a little surprising they should have given the figure of their patroness so meagre a specimen of their skill. But for Ergane of the fields, possibly at first a mere landmark, no form could be more natural and appropriate. She was not alone in this simplicity. At Megalopolis Pausanias writes (viii. 32, 4) εἰσὶ δὲ ὑποκαταβάντι ὀλίγον θεοὶ, παρέχονται δὲ καὶ οὗτοι σχῆμα τετράγωνον· Ἐργάται δέ ἐστιν αὐτοῖς ἐπίκλησις Ἀθηνᾶ τε Ἐργάνη καὶ Ἀπόλλων Ἀγυιεύς. Here we have a whole collection of husbandry gods to whom later no doubt the names of particular Olympians were affixed. Aguieus, the primitive form of Apollo, was a husbandman before he became the Delphian, Ergane before she attained local splendour as Athene.

It has been noted by Prof. Robert (*Hermes* xxii. p. 135) that, as dedications to Athene Ergane are set up in the precinct of the Polias, Athene Ergane and Polias are probably identical; if so, there is no need to seek for a separate shrine of Ergane. It is to say the least noticeable that in the shrine of Athene-Polias-Ergane there is a Ἑρμῆς ξύλου, very ancient—Κέκροπος εἶναι λεγόμενον ἀνάθημα—to which could we but add a Σπουδαίων Δαίμων the much disputed Trinity of the lacuna passage (P. i. 24, 3) would stand complete.

Mr. Frazer (*J.H.S.* xiii. part ii. p. 1) in

his article on the pre-Persian temple on the Acropolis has shown incidentally that Polias was the mother goddess of the Erechtheion from whom the later Parthenos, originally but her other aspect, differentiated herself with ever increasing clearness. This Polias this Ergane was the Kourotrophos, the mother of fruits to fields and man.[1]

This brings us back to the Chalkeia and the *λίκνα* and enables us to formulate their function with somewhat more precision.

In an unpublished essay which he kindly allows me to cite Mr. A. G. Bather has shown, with I think a high measure of probability, that the Chalkeia was a ploughing festival closely analogous, as primitive ploughing festivals are, to marriage ceremonials. It was *ἐπὶ παίδων γνησίων ἀρότῳ* and included such elements as the familiar 'yoking of the maiden' and the sowing of seed mixed with the ashes from the plough fire. For the whole question of this primitive sympathetic magic which has left abundant trace in many a tragic metaphor I must refer to the chapter on 'Kind and Korn' in Mannhardt, *Mythologische Forschungen*, where this natural symbolism is traced to the wedding ceremonials of primitive peoples throughout the world. One point however must be noted in detail, *i.e.* the function of the *λίκνον*.

The Pseudo-Plutarch (*Prov. Alex.* xvi. 1255) states *νόμος ἦν Ἀθήνησι ἐν τοῖς γάμοις ἀμφιθαλῆ παῖδα λίκνον βαστάζοντα ἄρτων πλέων εἶτα ἐπιλέγειν Ἔφυγον κακὸν εὗρον ἄμεινον*—the loaves of bread are but the later more civilized form of the seed corn itself, and the seed was the symbol of the child. The new-born child itself was laid for luck in the liknon as its cradle. *ἐν γὰρ λείκνοις*, says the Scholiast to Callimachus *hymn* i. 48, *τὸ παλαιὸν κατεκοίμιζον τὰ βρέφη πλοῦτον καὶ καρποὺς οἰωνιζόμενοι. λίκνον οὖν τὸ κόσκινον ἢ τὸ κούνιον ἐν ᾧ τὰ παιδία τιθέασιν*, and again Servius commenting on the 'mystica vannus Iacchi' (*Georg.* i. 166) says: vannus autem apud eos *λίκνον* nuncupatur: ubi de more positus esse dicitur postquam est utero matris editus.

Athene Parthenos might shirk her motherhood and give the child to Gaia to rear up, but Polias-Ergane, yoked to the plough, lawful wife of the old Herm Ergates, did not disdain the service offered *στατοῖς λίκνοισι*.

JANE E. HARRISON.

[1] Since writing the above it has occurred to me that, in the ceremonies of the Chalkeia (or some analogous Boeotian festival) may be found the true solution of the much discussed archaic plate in the British Museum B. 80 (for literature see Mr. Walters' catalogue, p. 76). Mr. Cecil Smith explains the obverse as a marriage procession, Mr. A. S. Murray as a sacrifice to Athene. A priestess presents to Athene an object that seems to me to be a *λίκνον*. May not the scene be explained by a quasi-joint solution—a marriage procession of Athene, *i.e.* the Chalkeia? On the reverse, the goat is sacrificed, the skin of which, the aegis, was carried to, and put on the newly married goddess or mortal to secure fertility. I throw out the suggestion, but its full discussion must be reserved for a future date.

THE HARBOURS OF CARTHAGE.

IN June 1891 I published an article on the Harbours of Carthage in the columns of this *Review*. And in October 1893 I replied here to the criticisms of Dr. Raimund Oehler in Fleckeisen's *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie* for 1893, pp. 321—332. I have now to reply to the criticisms of Dr. Otto Meltzer in Fleckeisen for 1894, pp. 49—68 and 119—136. It appears that Dr. Meltzer had sent his article to press before he heard of my reply to Dr. Oehler; but he has added a *Nachschrift* in rejoinder.

Dr. Meltzer upholds the orthodox theory. Southward of the citadel of Carthage there are two large ponds in the low ground between the hill and the shore. The northern pond was originally circular, with a circular island in the middle, and formed the harbour for the fleet. The southern pond was originally rectangular, and formed the mercantile harbour. There was a canal between the two harbours, and another from the mercantile harbour to the sea.

My theory is that the ponds have nothing whatever to do with the harbours. I am of opinion that the outer harbour was formed by piers in the sea; and also of opinion that the inner harbour was nearly surrounded by the outer harbour, but that its position is otherwise unknown.

In speaking of Carthage, Appian says that the harbour-mouth was not very far from the land, viii. 121, *οὐ πάνυ πόῤῥω τῆς γῆς ὄντα, sc. τὸν ἔσπλουν τοῦ λιμένος*. This implies that it was an appreciable distance from the land; and that would be impossible unless it lay between two piers. Dr. Meltzer replies, p. 119, *schliesslich erledigen sich freilich alle derartigen erwägungen von selbst durch den blick auf den zusammenhang, in welchem jene angabe steht: sie ist gemacht von dem standpunkte Scipios auf der landzunge aus, dem ausgangspunkte des damms, mit dem er den hafeneingang zu schliessen beabsichtigte, und in diesem sinne ist sie vollkommen zutreffend.* Appian simply says

that Scipio decided on blocking the harbour-mouth by throwing out a dam, and this was practicable because the harbour-mouth was not very far from the land; but Dr. Meltzer wants to make him say that it was not very far from a particular piece of land. Appian, however, has a particular name for this particular piece of land; and calls it by that name in the very next sentence. After saying that the harbour-mouth was οὐ πάνυ πόῤῥω τῆς γῆς, he proceeds to say that Scipio threw out the dam ἀπὸ τῆς ταινίας, ἣ μεταξὺ τῆς λίμνης οὖσα καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης γλῶσσα ἐκαλεῖτο. If he had only meant to say that the harbour-mouth was not very far from this piece of land, he would presumably have put ταινίας or γλώσσης in place of γῆς and altered the arrangement of the sentences. Moreover, on Dr. Meltzer's hypothesis, the harbour lay inland in a hollow with its mouth upon the shore at the point marked 42 in Falbe's map; and if Appian had wanted to say that this point upon the shore was not very far from another point upon the shore, he would never have used the word γῆ to denote one of these points in contradistinction to the other. And then again Appian says that Scipio carried the dam out seaward, προιὼν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος καὶ εὐθύνων ἐπὶ τὸν ἔσπλουν: and that hardly sounds as though the dam was carried from one point upon the shore to another point upon the shore, according to Dr. Meltzer's theory.

Dr. Meltzer admits that the name of Cothon was given to the outer harbour. The name is interpreted by Festus, s.v., *Cothones appellantur portus in mari interiores, arte et manu facti.* And this interpretation is in favour of my theory; for if an artificial harbour is constructed in the sea, it must be formed by piers. In reference to this interpretation Dr. Meltzer says, p. 131, *charakteristisch für Torrs methode ist ihre verwertung, um damit, dh. mit einer unrichtigen auffassung derselben, Vergilius und Servius vermeintlicher weise zu widerlegen. es genügt wohl dem gegenüber festzustellen, dass die worte des Festus die bedeutung haben konnten, Cothones seien künstliche, im binnenlande hergestellte seehäfen. dass sie diese auch haben sollten, mag dabei immerhin nur den wert einer vermutung behalten.* Dr. Meltzer has no ground for saying that I used the passage in Festus to refute the testimony of Virgil. I used it to refute the testimony of Servius; but not without other evidence to the same effect. Dr. Meltzer does not give his reasons for saying that my construction of the passage is erroneous. And perhaps I may be permitted to doubt whether he has any reasons to give; for in the next sentence he commits himself to the proposition that the words *portus in mari interiores* may be represented by the words *seehäfen im binnenlande.* He must either make *in mari* mean *in terra*, or else take *interiores* as equivalent to *im binnenlande* and thus ignore *in mari* altogether. The word *seehäfen* does not give the force of *portus in mari;* for it only means that the sea is in the harbour, whereas the Latin means that the harbour is in the sea.

The name of Cothon was not given to any harbour away from Carthage except the harbour of Hadrumetum; and at Hadrumetum there was a harbour formed by piers, which are still in existence. This coincidence is in favour of my theory that the Cothon at Carthage was a harbour formed by piers. Dr. Meltzer replies, p. 55, *dabei ist jedoch übersehen, dass drinnen im lande an einer stelle, die sich freilich zur zeit noch nähern nachforschungen entzieht, die spuren eines zweiten, von menschenhand gegrabenen hafens sowie die spuren des canals nachweisbar sind, durch welchem derselbe mit dem äussern hafen in verbindung stand.* That is the orthodox statement; and I went down to Hadrumetum fully expecting to find these traces of an inner harbour. But I could not find anything of the sort; and I do not think I could have been mistaken. A man might overlook the remains of a monument, or even of a building; but he could hardly overlook the remains of so big a thing as a harbour, if such remains existed.

Dr. Meltzer supports his statement by references to H. Maltzan's 'Reise in den Regentschaften Tunis und Tripolis,' vol. iii. pp. 46 ff., and C. Tissot's 'Géographie comparée de la Province Romaine d'Afrique,' vol. ii. pp. 154 ff.; and then he adds *wem sie zu sehr unter dem einfluss von A. Daux zu stehen scheinen, dem wird doch die kurze bemerkung von G. Wilmanns im C.I.L.* VIII. *s.* 15 *genügen.* Wilmanns' remark runs thus:—'cum [Hadrumetum] tempore belli Caesariani et portum haberet et cothonem (*bell. Afr.* 62, 63), quorum certa vestigia in ora maris etiam nunc visuntur, saeculo tertio,' etc. This does not agree with the account that Maltzan and Tissot have received from the notorious Daux. According to Wilmanns, the vestiges of the inner harbour are by the shore: but Daux interposes a canal between the inner harbour and shore, and makes this canal more than 280 yards in length. Having seen the place myself, I am not prepared to

attach much weight to either story. I suspect that Daux and Wilmanns both went to Hadrumetum with the notion that a Cothon was necessarily a harbour that lay inland in an excavation; and thus were led to describe various ruins ashore as remnants of that harbour.

Be that as it may, Dr. Meltzer has not only got to prove that there was an inner harbour at Hadrumetum: he has also got to prove that this inner harbour was the Cothon. He says, p. 132, *hier konnte der ausdruck* [*Cothon*] *nur den innern, von menschenhand ausgegrabenen hafen bezeichnen, und die im* b. Afr. 62, 63 *geschilderten ereignisse lassen auch auf nichts anderes schliessen, als dass von diesem die rede ist. welche benennung der äussere, durch molen dem freien meere abgewonnene hafen von Hadrumetum geführt hat, ist dabei eine sache für sich.* Those statements will not bear examination. The two first passages are, 62, 'vigilia secunda Adrumeto ex cothone egressus cum primo mane Leptim universa classe vectus, etc.,' and, 63, 'promunturium superarunt atque Adrumetum in cothonem se universae contulerunt.' These passages simply state that the fleet left the Cothon at Hadrumetum to go to Leptis; and that, after it was driven back from Leptis, it returned to the Cothon at Hadrumetum. There is nothing in them to suggest that the Cothon lay inland in an excavation; or that the fleet started from an inner harbour and returned to an inner harbour. The remaining passage is, 63, 'navibus onerariis, quae erant extra cothonem, incensis omnibusque reliquis ab iis aut subductis aut in cothonem compulsis.' This passage simply states that, when Caesar came up from Leptis in pursuit, he burnt all the merchant-ships that were not either run ashore or taken into the Cothon. There is nothing here to suggest that the Cothon lay inland in an excavation; and clearly the Cothon cannot here be taken for the inner harbour. If Caesar had burnt all the merchant-ships that were not either run ashore or taken into the inner harbour, he must have burnt the shipping in the outer harbour: and the historian would never have omitted all mention of so important an incident as the capture of the outer harbour.

Dr. Meltzer asserts that the name of Cothon was given to the inner harbour at Carthage as well as the outer harbour. He says, p. 131, *dem wortsinne nach muss also der ausdruck κώθων die ganze hafenanlage von Karthago, den handelshafen und den kriegshafen, zusammen bezeichnet haben.* That is contradicted by Appian, viii. 127, ὁ μὲν Σκιπίων ἐπεχείρει τῇ τε Βύρσῃ καὶ τῶν λιμένων τῷ καλουμένῳ Κώθωνι. If these words mean anything, they mean that one of the harbours was called the Cothon, and the other was not. Dr. Meltzer meets the objection by saying that Appian contradicts himself—p. 132, *Appians darstellung steht im widerspruch mit sich selbst.* There is no explicit statement of his grounds for this assertion, but he leaves no doubt of what they are. Appian speaks of τὸ μέρος τοῦ Κώθωνος τὸ τετράγωνον, and afterwards of τὸ περιφερὲς αὐτοῦ μέρος, and Dr. Meltzer takes these phrases respectively to mean the outer harbour and the inner harbour. But, obviously, this does not show that Appian contradicts himself: it only shows that he contradicts Dr. Meltzer's interpretation of him. My interpretation is that the Cothon was formed by piers which made an angle at one end of the harbour and a curve at the other, like the piers at Hadrumetum; and that Appian's phrases refer to the two ends of this harbour. That is in accordance with his statement, viii. 127, that the round part was ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ Κώθωνος from the square part. And from this point of view his narrative is plain and clear throughout.

According to Appian, viii. 127, the Romans finally took the city by capturing the wall round the Cothon; and they effected this by surprising the round part of the Cothon, while they were threatening the square part. My theory is that the round part was the northern end; and that the curved pier continued the curve of the hills that sweep round from the citadel to the little headland northward of the ponds. In this case the Romans could have attacked the round part from the north. Dr. Meltzer's theory is that the round part is represented by the northern pond. In that case the Romans could not have made their attack from the north, as the way was blocked by the defences on the hills. Accordingly, Dr. Meltzer has to say that they came up from the south-east, where they had established themselves in force upon the χῶμα, or wharf. He states this fully on pp. 129, 130, with references to Falbe's map. But this only removes the difficulty a step; for then there is the question how the Romans got at the wharf, if that lay to the south-east.

Dr. Meltzer supposes that this wharf is represented by some ruins in the sea just opposite the southern pond, and fixes the site by reference to the points marked 44

to 47 in Falbe's map. In that position the wharf would not have been accessible by land from any place except the city itself. But the Romans must have made their attack by land, for Appian says that they brought battering-rams to bear on the defences here, viii. 124. Dr. Meltzer has therefore to suppose that the Romans made their attack from the dam which Scipio threw out to block the harbour-mouth. Thus he says, p. 122, *sollte der damm die hafeneinfahrt wirklich versperren, so muste er auf das χῶμα hin gerichtet sein und dieses erreichen. er hat es bei der südspitze desselben erreicht*, &c., and then again, p. 54, *am folgenden morgen griff Scipio das χῶμα an, was eben nur von seinem damm aus geschehen konnte.* This is nothing but conjecture. In the first place, there is no evidence to show that the dam ran out towards the wharf. No doubt, it would have run towards the wharf, if the wharf were on the east side of the harbour-mouth: but that is simply an assumption. In the second place, there is no evidence to show that the dam ever was completed. The last that Appian tells us of the dam is that the work was making progress—viii. 121, προιόντος τοῦ ἔργου—and then the Carthaginians cut a new mouth at the other end of the harbour, thereby defeating the object of the dam. In the third place, there is no evidence to show that the wharf was attacked from the dam. Appian gives a minute account of the attack, devoting two whole chapters to it, viii. 124, 125; but there is nothing there to indicate that the attack was made from the dam.

Dr. Meltzer here cites the passage in Plutarch, apophthegmata regum, p. 200, ἐπεὶ δὲ παρελθὼν (Σκιπίων) εἰς τὸ τεῖχος, τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας ἀμυνομένων, τὴν διὰ μέσου θάλασσαν οὐ πάνυ βαθεῖαν οὖσαν τοῦ Πολυβίου συμβουλεύοντος αὐτῷ κατασπεῖραι τριβόλους σιδηροῦς, κ.τ.λ. He says, p. 123, *Scipio befindet sich auf seinem damm, am schauplatz jenes kampfes—das müssen die worte* παρελθὼν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος *besagen sollen.* The dam is nowhere called a τεῖχος, nor is there any mention of a τεῖχος on the dam. Then he says, p. 123, *die Karthager leisten aber noch widerstand* ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας, *dh. von der südspitze des* χῶμα *aus.* His interpretation here is arbitrary. But as he supposes that the dam ran out towards the wharf, and thus identifies the τεῖχος with the dam and the ἄκρα with the wharf, he ought to take τὴν διὰ μέσου θάλασσαν for the sea between the wharf and the dam. This would not suit his theory; so he says, p. 123, *es ist der meeresteil zwischen der nördlichen unter den beiden punktierten linien bei Falbe und der küste.* According to Falbe's map this was some way to the westward. Dr. Meltzer has certainly a curious method of translating; but in dealing with the wharf he never is guided by the natural meaning of the evidence before him. He proceeds on the assumption that the wharf was necessarily on the east side of the harbour-mouth, since the Romans could not otherwise have made an attack upon the northern pond, as required by his theory.

My theory is that the wharf was on the west side of the harbour-mouth, and therefore open to attack by land. I have always admitted that this view would be untenable, if there were evidence to show that the dam ever was completed; for in the naval action described by Appian, viii. 123, the ships must have crossed the line of the dam to reach a wharf between the harbour-mouth and the shore. And here Dr. Meltzer says, p. 54, *Scipios sperrdamm war ja gerade fertig, als das seegefecht stattfand; spät am abend endete es, und gleich am folgenden morgen griff Scipio das* χῶμα *an, was eben nur von seinem damm aus geschehen konnte.* This is an interesting bit of reasoning. The wharf could not have been on the west side of the harbour-mouth, if the dam was finished when the naval action was fought. It is clear that the dam was finished then; for the Romans attacked the wharf next morning, and they could not have reached the wharf unless the dam was finished. And why not? Because the wharf was on the east side of the harbour-mouth! It is so easy to prove that a thing was not in any given place, if you only start with the assumption that the thing was somewhere else.

In speaking of the wharf, Appian says that it was defended by a διατείχισμα or παρατείχισμα, viii. 123–125. Now, on my hypothesis, the wharf ran out from the shore to the harbour-mouth, and had a wall across the landward end to keep the enemy off. Dr. Meltzer has to suppose that the wall was intended to prevent a landing on the wharf—p. 122, *gewis nur an einen landungsversuch gedacht*—in which case it must have run right round the sides that faced the sea; and such a wall could hardly be termed a παρατείχισμα or διατείχισμα.

Dr. Meltzer not only asserts that the dam was finished, but that it has never been destroyed—p. 67, *ihn wegzuräumen hat nie jemand anlass gehabt.* And he places its remains between the points marked 41 and

45 on Falbe's map, where I can only see a natural bar across the mouth of a little bay. And then he exclaims, p. 56, *welch enorme länge hätte nun der damm bekommen, welch eigentümliche richtung annehmen müssen, um Torrs hafeneingang zu erreichen.* He does not explain what he means by the *eigentümliche richtung;* and I cannot guess. But the *enorme länge* is no more than is required by the evidence. Appian says that the work was regarded as χρονίου τε καὶ μακροῦ καὶ ἴσως ἀδυνάτου, viii. 121. I may note here that Dr. Meltzer wastes a dozen lines on p. 56 in giving some words of mine a meaning that they do not bear. He really might have seen that what I call in English *the promontory of Carthage* is precisely what he calls in German *die Karthagische halbinsel.*

According to my theory, the square part of the Cothon was the southern end and continued the line of fortifications which formed the angle, ἡ γωνία, the round part being the northern end and continuing the curve of the hills. To the south of the citadel the ground is nearly level, with a solitary hillock a little way behind the southern pond; and I suppose that this hillock was selected for the angular point in the fortifications, as the strongest position available. On p. 55 Dr. Meltzer calls this *eine irrige ansicht* of mine. He does not give his reasons there; but he says on p. 53, *aus den berichten der quellen über die letzte belagerung geht unzweideutig hervor, dass die vielgenannte dreifache befestigungslinie, welche die stadt gegen die landseite (landenge) hin deckte, mit ihrem südlichen ende den see von Tunis berührt haben muss.* He therefore places the angular point considerably further to the south; for it formed the south end of the triple wall, and he says that this abutted on the lake of Tunis. But that is clearly a mistake. Appian states that the Romans carried their entrenchments across the promontory ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, viii. 119, and he distinguishes the lake as λίμνη. As these entrenchments ran from sea to sea, they must have passed between the city and the lake; so the fortifications of the city cannot have abutted on the lake. I had to point this out in my reply to Dr. Oehler, p. 377; and Dr. Meltzer returns to the question in his *Nachschrift,* saying, p. 135, *auch die unrichtige anschauung über den zug der sog. dreifachen stadtmauer in ihrem südlichen teile kehrt wieder, jetzt nicht besser als früher gestützt durch eine deutung von Appian,* viii. 119 *a a., die ja an sich zulässig wäre, wenn es nur auf den landläufigen sinn des einzelnen wortes ankäme, sich aber sofort als unmöglich erweist, sobald man den ganzen zusammenhang und die thatsachen in betracht zieht, die in dieser hinsicht schon seit langer zeit vollkommen sichergestellt sind.* That is simply a bit of bluster. Its value is shown by what he says elsewhere. Thus, on p. 123, he asserts that Dr. Oehler has set right *ein starkes misverständnis* of mine in relation to the sortie described by Appian, viii. 124. Dr. Oehler's interpretation of the passage may be better than my own; but I fail to see how Dr. Meltzer can accept it. Dr. Oehler maintains that, when the Romans were driven away from the dam, they fled in a panic to their camp on the neck of the promontory. In that case, they must have passed between the city and the lake; and this would have been impossible, if the fortifications of the city had abutted on the lake, as Dr. Meltzer supposes.

Strabo says that the inner harbour at Carthage consisted of a little circular island surrounded by a channel with docks on either side in a ring, xvii. 3. 14. And I imagine that the inner harbour was nearly surrounded by the outer harbour; for Appian says that around the docks there was a double wall, and πύλαι which carried the merchants from the outer harbour into the city without passing through the docks, viii. 96. This statement would be pointless, if πύλαι here meant *gates;* for if the merchants had only to walk through gates to reach the city, there would have been no question of passing through the docks in the inner harbour. I therefore suppose that πύλαι here means *channels,* as in Strabo, iii. 5. 5, quoting Pindar, πύλας Γαδειρίδας, Aeschylos, *Prometheus* 729, στενοπόροις λίμνης πύλαις, and Euripides, *I.A.* 803, ἐν πύλαις, cf. 804, Εὐρίπου πέλας. And I rely on passages in Plato and Diodoros as evidence that such channels did exist at Carthage. In reply to this, Dr. Meltzer says, p. 54, *ferner hat πύλαι an der von Torr dafür angeführten stellen durchaus nicht die bedeutung von 'canälen' wie er sie auch für Appian,* viii. 96, *annehmen möchte, freilich ohne irgendwie eine klare vorstellung davon zu geben, welche bewandtnis es dann eigentlich mit diesen canälen gehabt haben sollte.* He does not state his grounds for making these assertions. If the objection is that πύλαι must refer to natural waterways, I may cite Diodoros, xiv. 7. 3, where an artificial waterway at Syracuse is termed a πύλη.

Appian says that there were docks for 220 ships in the inner harbour at Carthage, some on the land around and some on the

island, viii. 96. I maintain that, if the Carthaginian docks were of the same dimensions as the Athenian docks of the same date, the inner harbour cannot be represented by the northern pond, as a frontage of at least 5638 feet would be required where no more than 4442 feet would be available. On p. 66 Dr. Meltzer says that this has been disproved by Dr. Oehler. After reading my reply to Dr. Oehler, he returns to the question in his *Nachschrift*, saying, p. 135, *betreffs der schiffshäuser im Peiraieus darf vor allem wohl auf C. Wachsmuth, 'die stadt Athen im altertum,'* II. i. *s.* 60 ff. (*vgl. B. Lupus, 'Syrakus' usw. s.* 26. 175) *verwiesen werden. ernstlich einspruch zu erheben ist aber gegen den versuch Torrs die sache mit den schmalen schiffshäusern* (2·5 *m*) *in Syrakus zu verschieben. hier heisst es einfach den festgestellten thatbestand zum ausgangspunkt der betrachtung nehmen, nicht ihn nach jeweiligem bedarf ändern.* Wachsmuth's book does not contain a single figure in support of Dr. Oehler's calculations. It is true that Wachsmuth mentions the fact that Graser published some rough and ready measurements, which differed widely from those that afterwards were taken by Lieut. von Alten in the Germany survey. But nobody has quoted Graser's measurements since the publication of the *Karten von Attika.* I have dealt with the statements of Lupus in my reply to Dr. Oehler, p. 376. The rest of Dr. Meltzer's remarks exhibit a strange confusion of thought. It is a *thatbestand* that there are certain walls at Syracuse with intervals of 2·5 m between them. It is not a *thatbestand* that each of these intervals represents a dock. That is merely an hypothesis. And I think my own hypothesis is better, since it is justified by the analogy of the docks at Athens. In reply to Dr. Meltzer's statements on p. 66, to the effect that there is a grave discrepancy between Beulé's measurements and mine, I may remark that the only difference is that Beulé's measurements were given in metres and I have put them into English feet.

Certain remains at Utica having been attributed to an excavated harbour with an island in the middle, I argued against that view, and pointed out that there are similar remains at Carthage with an inscription to mark them as the baths. Dr. Meltzer says, p. 55, *Oehler hat die schwächen jener folgerungen meist schon hinreichend aufgedeckt.* Dr. Oehler took three objections, and I dealt with these in my reply to him, p. 375. After reading my reply, Dr. Meltzer says in his *Nachschrift* that he never attached any importance to the story of the anchor—p. 135, *ich habe sie aber nicht einmal erwähnt.* Then only two objections remain. Dr. Meltzer says, p. 55, *endlich sei noch darauf hingewiesen, dass die umgebung der ruine n.* 67 (*vgl. Tissot,* II, *s.* 799, *C.I.L.* VIII. *n.* 12513) *keinerlei angemessene unterlage für einen vergleich bietet, wie ihn Torr mit gewissen verhältnissen in Utica ziehen will.* The references serve only to identify the ruins at Carthage as those with the inscription to mark them as the baths. The rest is merely a repetition of Dr. Oehler's first objection—*aus der ähnlichkeit des grundrisses allein ist kein zwingender beweis abzuleiten.* And, as I pointed out before, the resemblance goes far beyond the ground-plan, and shows that both ruins belong to structures of the same design and date. I may remark that I have seen both the ruins, and Drs. Oehler and Meltzer have not seen either of them. Dr. Oehler's second objection—*aber sümpfe können sich doch mit der zeit vergrössern*—was directed against my statement that the marsh at Utica must overlap the former coast-line, as it runs right into the orchestra of the theatre. The objection does not touch this point at all; but it must be fatal to my opponent's case. The current topography of Utica is based on the assumption that the former coast-line is marked by the edge of the marsh; and this assumption is untenable, if the marsh has gradually been increasing. But apart from that assumption, there is nothing to suggest that the sea ever ran into the alleged harbour. Dr. Meltzer only says, p. 55, *schliesslich wird es doch dabei bleiben, dass das, was von jeher als der rest des kriegshafens von Utica betrachtet worden ist, diesen auch wirklich darstellt.* If a question could be settled by assertions, Dr. Meltzer would clearly be the man to settle it; but he does not appear to be quite so well qualified for dealing with evidence.

CECIL TORR.

MONTHLY RECORD.

GERMANY.

Neuwied.—At Nieder-Bieber in this neighbourhood, in the course of excavations in the Römer-Kastell, was found a bronze bust of one of the Gordians. The bust is larger than life-size, and a fine piece of work; it will be placed in the Provinzial-Museum at Bonn.[1]

ITALY.

Concordia Sagittaria, Venetia. More inscriptions from the tombs of Roman soldiers have recently come to light (cf. *Class. Rev.* for March p. 182). (1) From a stone coffer, of the Antonine period: .NNIVS...

[1] *Athenaeum,* 28th April.

VIRCO...probably referring to one of the gens Ennius, *sevir* or *duovir Concordiae*. (2) ENAV... | VIT IN (*fabrica*) SAGI[TTARIA | QVI VIXIT·AN...cf. *C.I.L.* v. 8742, *qui militavit in fabrica sagittaria;* probably the Sagittarii Nervii, as in *C.I.L.* v. 8762. (3) Of the time of Constantine, invoking a penalty of so many *follcs* (small coin) to be paid to the treasury by any one disturbing the tomb. The others present no special interest.[2]

Toscanella Imolese, near Bologna. In a sepulchre of the Villanova type have been found a so-called *tintinnabulum*, bell-shaped, ornamented with serpentine patterns, and inlaid with red amber, and a sort of bronze hammer also inlaid with amber, which may have been used for striking the bell. Similar objects have been found before now in Etruscan tombs. With these objects were a bronze handle, two spindle-whorls of vitreous paste, and three boat-shaped fibulae.[3]

Leprignano, Etruria. A bath has been excavated here, which was constructed to make use of the chalybeate water coming from the hill above. Different methods of construction point to restorations during the third and fourth centuries. It appears to have been finally used as a sort of store-house, as shown by fragments of casks, jars, amphorae, and mill-stones. In the remains were found a life-size marble statue of Diana Venatrix, a head of Venus in Greek marble, and a head of Cybele.[3]

At *Teramo*, Picenum, the ancient Interamna, five interesting inscriptions have been found. (1) Q. POPPAEO·Q·F· | MVNIC·ET·COLON | PATRONO. He is mentioned in *C.I.L.* ix. 5074, 5076. Interamna, as we learn from the stone, was both a *municipium* and a *colonia* (see Weber, *Die Röm. Agrasgeschichte*, p. 61). (2) L·FISTANVS L·F·[L·] TETTAIENVS L·F· BARCHA · II VIR[I·I]TER·IN·CAMPVM·EX·C(*onscriptorum*) · D(*ecreto*) · [P]EQVNIA·SOCIORVM·CAMPI·FACIVNDVM·COERAVERE·EIDEMQ·PROBAVERE; on the side of the stone EXTRA MACERIA[M] | IN AGR M... | ... PRECAR...cf. *C.I.L.* ix. 5076. (3) C·F·SILV[ANVS] | BALNEAS RE[FIC. The nature of his office cannot be ascertained. (4) ..VS·DEDICAT EPVL[A | S]ING·DEC· HS·XX·N·SE | V]IR·ET·AVG·HS·X·PLE | B]EI·HS·IIII·N· DEDIT (see Pannella, *Rivista abruzzese*, ann. viii. fasc. vi. p. 285). (5) HERC·NEL (in archaic letters). *Nel.* may be an obscure local title. Cf. *Herculis ponderum*, *C.I.L.* vi. 336. The stone was used as a weight, equivalent to fifty Roman pounds.[4]

Florence.—A well of Roman date has come to light, approached by a flight of steps, with walls of concrete. In one wall was a rectangular niche, lined with marble, perhaps for an image of a river-god. A relief of a river-god has also been found, of Luna marble, probably representing the Arno; the date of the well and relief appears to be about A.D. 200.[2]

Orvieto.—Excavations in tombs have brought to light some good specimens of bronzes and Greek pottery, among the former being a cottabos-stand on three lion's feet, surmounted by a nude figure, and several *simpula*, one with dogs' heads on the handles and a relief of a nude man running. Among the vases are a b.f. lekythos with two warriors in combat, and a r.f. stamnos representing Triptolemos in his winged car and other figures; also a r.f. kylix inscribed ὁ παῖς καλός (int. a youth on horseback; ext. scene from palaestra), anciently repaired.[3]

Capannori, Etruria. In an Etruscan tomb a large jar has been discovered containing a crater, in which were twenty-four gold objects and fragments of burnt bones. The crater has r.f. designs, on one side Theseus slaying the Minotaur, on the other apparently the same hero and Skiron (or perhaps an adventure of Herakles); it is in very bad condition. The gold ornaments consist of a pair of earrings, numerous fragments of a chain, eleven fibulae, and a pin. With the vase, they appear to date about the beginning of the fifth century B.C. The chain is made up of figures of Sirens and other objects.[5]

Corneto-Tarquinii.—Further excavations in the necropolis have brought to light a vaulted tomb with remains of pottery much incrusted and in bad condition. They include three proto-Corinthian lekythoi, a Corinthian aryballos, and a kantharos of bucchero ware; also a green paste scaraboid with an archaic human face on the back, and two running figures on the flat side. Other tombs contained remains of the third century B.C., but nothing of importance beyond a kylix of Italian fabric with a female head in profile. From another tomb of the end of the sixth century came a b.f. kylix, two gold earrings, and a carnelian scarab; on either side of the kylix is a galloping Centaur. Two other tombs contained an aryballos of Egyptian porcelain and gold ornaments, and early pottery (including a Corintho-Attic lekythos) respectively.[2]

Naples.—Remains of a building of Roman times have been discovered, consisting of walls of unburnt brick, with a *suspensura* supported by tiles resting on terra-cotta pillars, and perforated with tubes; it was much blackened on the under side, and was evidently the floor of a *calidarium*, probably of a public bath. Two marble bases have been found supporting the pilasters of an archway, both bearing inscriptions; also two other inscribed slabs of marble. The inscription on one of the bases is of thirteen lines, and gives the dedication to Nicomachus Flavianus of the statue which the base formerly supported. He is styled, *consularis Campaniae*, *proconsul Asiae*, *praefectus urbi iterum*, *patronus originalis*, and appears to have lived about A.D. 400. Part of the inscription seems to relate to another person. Remains of a subterranean chamber, apparently a Roman tomb, have been found, with vestibule and passages; the tomb contained part of an Aretine bowl, with figures of a woman and an old man, and glass bottles.[2] [6]

Altavilla Silentina, Lucania.—An interesting tomb has been discovered with paintings on the walls. On one side are represented two warriors in the local Messapian costume, in the act of combat; behind stands a draped female figure, holding a hydria on her head, and recalling the *hydrophoroi* of the Parthenon frieze. On the opposite wall is a quadriga guided by a winged Nike, and a column representing a *meta*. On the third side, a lion and ibis confronted; above, a cock between a bunch of grapes and a pomegranate. On the fourth side are traces of an armed horseman to whom a female figure holds out a patera. The paintings appear to belong to the third century B.C. In this tomb were found a lekythos with a female head, and a two-handled vase with a youth and a seated female figure.[5]

Syracuse.—At the beginning of last summer Dr. Orsi resumed his excavations in the large Greek necropolis known as Del Fusco; they are now completed, and a report of the results published. The

[2] *Notizie dei Lincei*, Dec. 1893.
[3] *Notizie dei Lincei*, Aug. 1893.
[4] *Notizie dei Lincei*, Sept. 1893.
[5] *Notizie dei Lincei*, Oct. 1893.
[6] *Notizie dei Lincei*, Nov. 1893.

tombs are all of the archaic period, dating from about 800 B.C. down to the fifth century; they have suffered very much from robberies at different times. There are about 120 in all, mostly mere trenches scooped out of the tufa, but some in the form of sarcophagi with or without covers, others with coverings of tiles, and a few, large jars or *ossuaria;* nearly all the corpses had been buried. The majority of the finds were of Greek pottery, including numerous proto-Corinthian vases, specimens of b.f. vases by 'minor artists,' and a few r.f. The following tombs contained the most interesting examples: (No. 16) two r.f. lekythi, one with Eos, in bad condition. (19) A large archaic stamnos in fragments, with palmette-patterns on the shoulders. (20) A large model of a biga, (24) five bucchero kantharoi, (28) twenty-four large bent nails of bronze, and (29) a small proto-Corinthian lekythos with friezes of animals. (41) A b.f. kylix by a minor artist, with unintelligible inscription, (54) a r.f. skyphos of fine style, with 'mantle-figures,' and (65) an amphora imitative of Rhodian or Melian style, with geometrical patterns, a pyxis, and a b.f. kylix. (74) Numerous fragments of b.f. vases: two late kylikes and two large skyphoi, fragments of Panathenaic amphorae, and of a crater in the style of Nikosthenes; fragments of b.f. kylikes in the style of Glaukytes, and another in the style of Epiktetos. (85) A vase terminating in an animal's head, and several proto-Corinthian lekythi, one like that in the British Museum, with two friezes and elaborate patterns; also an alabastron of enamelled ware, with figures of animals. (101) An early Corinthian kylix and stamnos, an early pyxis and lekythos, the latter with three dogs running. (113) Two proto-Corinthian lekythi with dogs and lions, and (115) a b.f. phiale omphalotos with ten 'mantle-figures.' Scattered about were a lekythos with Dionysiac subjects; an olpè with Artemis carrying a stag, attended by a panther, in the style of Pamphaios; an oinochoe with Dionysos, Apollo, and Artemis; an ivory counter with an archaic Artemis carrying a stag; boat-shaped and serpent-shaped fibulae; rings of various kinds, three glazed scarabs, and two iron knives.[6]

Sardinia.—At Terranova Fausania a sepulchre has been excavated containing three Roman tombs on each side, and the following objects: a glass bottle and a lamp stamped LVPATI; sixteen coins of Probus and Carinus; a bi-uncial *as* with Janus and ship's prow, inscribed ROMA; and a lamp with palm and crown. In the neighbourhood were found thirteen lamps, five stamped. Altogether 700 tombs have been excavated in this neighbourhood, containing 350 fragments of pottery, over 2,000 coins, 125 glass bottles, and other unimportant remains. Fragments of a mosaic pavement have also been found, belonging to a fountain, with part of an old Roman aqueduct.[3]

GREECE.

Athens.—Dörpfeld has discovered the site of the temple of Dionysos ἐν Λίμναις, together with statues, reliefs, and inscriptions relating to the worship and rites, and the ceremonies attending initiation into the sacred society of the Ἰόβακχοι. The chief find was a large altar with sacrificial scenes: (1) a man preparing to slay a goat, and an ox tied by the horns to an altar; (2) a Satyr dragging a ram by the horns, and a man about to fell it with a club; (3) Dionysos, Pan, and a Satyr; (4) an inscription. The Ἐννεάκρουνος is now finally identified, and the remains of buildings discovered near it may well be the Odeion. All the finds belong to the second and third centuries of our era, except a head of King Attalos. One inscription gives the name of a new archon eponymos, Epaphroditos.[7]

Delphi.—The Paean to Apollo discovered in the treasury of the Athenians has been published by Dr. Weil; it is not earlier than 300 B.C., and contains several ἅπαξ λεγόμενα. The hymns with musical notes inscribed on slabs have now been published in the *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* (1893, pt. 4); there are six in all, but only two are of any length. They are written in the Paeonic measure, but the rhythmical periods are not easy to make out. The mention of the Γαλαταί lends an air of probability to the conjecture that the hymn was composed a few years after the attack of the Gauls on Phocis in 278 B.C. Probably there was in Delphi an Attic θεωρία for celebrating the miraculous preservation of the holy place and of all Greece.[1] [8]

Livadia.—The cave of Trophonios is conjectured to have been discovered in this neighbourhood, in a grotto-like crypt under a church built on the hill to the north of Livadia. The nature of the place and its mysterious character tally with the account given by Pausanias (ix. 39, 10).[8]

Crete.—Mr. Arthur Evans has made some interesting discoveries in the central part of the island. He has come upon the sites of two hitherto unknown prehistoric cities, one with acropolis and votive grotto containing statuettes of a Mycenaean type, the other with stupendous ruins, perhaps of what was once the principal centre of the Mycenaean civilization, and acropolis and remains of a palace. He also claims to have discovered traces of a Mycenaean system of writing, which seems closely parallel with the Hittite and picture-writing systems. Another system has been discovered, apparently alphabetic, approaching more nearly to the Cypriote syllabary, the objected being reduced to linear forms.[9]

AFRICA.

Matabeleland.—Eight coins, in a fair state of preservation, have been found in the neighbourhood of the ruins at Zimbabye. They are undoubtedly Roman; four are inscribed CONSTANTIVS CAES., another HELENA AVGVSTA, and one represents the wolf suckling Romulus and Remus.[10]

H. B. WALTERS.

Revue Archéologique. July—August. 1893.

2. Espérandieu: list of Roman oculists' stamps, continued. 3. S. Reinach: discusses the terminology of megalithic monuments. 3. Kont: a lengthy analysis of the position of Lessing as an archaeologist. 4. Vercoutre: identifies the subject of relief on the bronze mirror of Bulla regia as an episode in the Nausikaa legend. 5. de la Blanchère: new readings of three inscriptions in the Oran Museum 6. Mayor: notes on the Merovingian rings of the Geneva Museum. Obituary, Julien Havet.

The same. September—October. 1893.

1. Deloche: Merovingian seals and rings, continued. 2. de Vogüé: publishes a vase in form of a bird found at Carthage. 3. Espérandieu: list of Roman oculists' stamps, continued. 4. Kont: Lessing as archaeologist, continued.

Review of Lanckoronski's *Pamphylia*, by Radet. S. Reinach's *Chronique d'Orient*, pp. 221—266.

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[7] *Athenaeum*, 24 March.
[8] *Athenaeum*, 5 May.
[9] *Academy*, 5 May.
[10] *Standard*, 8 May.

Plate xix. (p. 270) gives a statue of a warrior recently found near Vachères (Basses-Alpes) and now in the Musée Calvet of Avignon: M. Saguier thinks it is either the Emperor Magnentius or his brother, Caesar Decentius.

The same. November—December. 1893.

1. Le Blant: publishes a series of terra-cotta panels found in Tunis in the ruins of a basilica S.W. of Kairwan: they represent biblical subjects. 2. Joubin: proposes to substitute Κύμη for Ῥώμη in Strabo xiii. 41. 3. Espérandieu: list of Roman oculists' stamps, continued.

S. Reinach, *Chronique d'Orient*, part ii. pp. 339—386. Obituary, Ingwald Undset. Cagnat, Revue des publications Epigraphiques.

Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχαιολογική. 1893. part iv.

1. Nicolaides: on Kallirrhoe and the Enneakrounos: disputes Dörpfeld's identification of the Enneakrounos and the temple of Demeter: with a disquisition on the Bunarbaschi-Hissarlik-Troy question. 2. Cavvadias: publishes (pll. 12—13) a bronze statuette of Zeus Ammon perhaps from Alexandria; the type is that of a bearded draped human bust, with ram's horns, terminating in the body and head of a snake. 3. Mayer: publishes (pl. 14) fragments of a pedimental composition from Eleusis, representing Pluto carrying off Persephone, in the presence of Athene, Artemis, Hermes, and Hekate. 4. Leper: a fragment of a catalogue of prytaneis. 5. Mylonas: publishes (pl. 15) a folding mirror from Eretria: on the one side is a relief representing Aphrodite on a swan: on the other, a woman, probably Selene, riding on a horse. 6. The same: thirty-three sepulchral inscriptions.

C. S.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie u. Pädagogik. Ed. Fleckeisen u. Richter (Leipzig: Teubner).

1893. Heft 10 contains (1) C. Schirlitz *Die reihenfolge der fünf ersten reden in Platons Symposion.* (2) H. Stadtmüller *Zur Griech. Anthologie*, textual criticisms and other notes. (3) E. Hasse *Ueber den dualis bei Lukianos*, a collection of instances showing that Lucian followed the Attic usage. (4) C. Krauth *Verschollene länder des altertums* (see next number). (5) G. Hubo *Die ausdehnung des gebietes der Helvetier.* (6) M. Kiderlin *Altes u. neues zu Quintilianus* i.—iii., critical notes.

Heft 11 contains (1) C. Schirlitz *Die fünf ersten reden in Plat. Symposion* (conclusion). (2) F. Hultsch *Zur Syntaxis des Ptolemaios*, chiefly on the late Greek for ordinal numbers, such as ἑβδομηκόστομονος for *seventy-first.* (3) C. Krauth *Verschollene länder der altertums*, contending that the ancient Tanais was the river now called the Manich (flowing into the sea of Azov) and that an eastern branch of this river, flowing into the Caspian, was called by Aristotle Araxes, by Alexander Orexartes, by the Romans Jaxartes. This was the Araxes of the Massagetae, about which Herodotus (i. 202—204) has created so much confusion. (4) H. Lewy *Zu Hesychios*, emendations. (5) F. Wilhelm *Zu Tibullus* iii. 6, assigning the poem to Lygdamus and praising it. The number concludes with several isolated emendations, the best of which is one of P. Hennings, who proposes *sublentescit* for *splendescit* in Cic. *de Senect.* 28.

Heft 12 contains (1) F. Mie *Zum fünfkampf der Griechen*, a full discussion, of which the chief novelty appears to be the suggestion that the last two contests of the pentathlon did not take place if one competitor won the first three. (2) F. Susemihl *Zu Arist. Politik*, explaining certain alterations of the text in his third edition. (3) F. Skutsch and F. Vollmer *Ad Statii Silvas*, textual criticisms. (4) F. Philippi *Zur Peutingerschen tafel*, continued. (5) Th. Opitz *Der Trierer Sallusthandschrift*, showing that the MS. agrees usually with *m*, of the second class.

1894. Heft 1 contains (1) O. Froehde *Litteratur-Kunst- u. Sprachwissenschaft.* (2) R. Peppmüller *Griechische bittlieder*, such as the swallow-song. (3) W. Christ *Das Griechische theater*, a summary of recent discoveries and theories, showing how they have affected the meaning to be attributed to such words as θυμέλη, ὀρχήστρα κ.τ.λ. (4) O. Meltzer *Die häfen von Karthago*, first part. Several brief articles of no moment follow.

Heft 2 contains (1) H. Kluge *Der Schild des Achilleus*, illustrating it from objects found at Mycenae, and contending that the scenes were *engraved.* (2) F. Susemihl *Zur Alexandrinischen litteraturgesch.* I. on Aratus and the Stoics, II. on Theocr. *Idyll.* 4. (3) R. Fruin *Zur Fastenkritik*, a discussion of five difficulties, such as 'the interreges of the first two centuries of the republic.' (4) O. Meltzer *Die häfen von Karthago*, conclusion. (5) R. Fuchs *Wundermittel aus der Zeit des Galenos*, an amusing article containing a list of strange remedies (such as 'dirt scraped off the statues in the palaestra') recommended by Galen.

Heft 3 contains (1) H. Düntzer on Πηλέος *bei Homeros*, contending that the word is often scanned as a spondee. (2) W. Christ *Zur Chronologie Attischer dramen*, contending that actors and chorus, in the classical drama, were on a stage raised above the πάροδοι. (3) F. Hultsch *Zu dem Komiker Krates*, on a coin called ἡμίεκτον named by Krates and Pollux as worth 8 obols. (4) W. Schwarz *Zur politik Alexanders des grossen*, complaining of Grote's depreciation of A. (5) H. Magnus *Zur Kritik der Metam. Ovids*, on the O-family of MSS. (6) L. Gurlitt *Ciceros briefschaften u. ihre verbreitung unter Augustus*, contending against the theory that the Tironian edition of Cic.'s letters was published so late as A.D. 60.

Rivista di Filologia e d'Istruzione classica. Ed. Comparetti and Müller (Torino: Loescher).

1893. Fasc. 10—12. The only original article is a continuation of L. Valmaggi's monograph on *La fortuna di Stazio nella tradizione letteraria latina e basso latina.* Several reviews are included.

Anno xxii. Fasc. 1—3 contain (1) G. Turiello *Sui composti sintattici nelle lingue classiche*, continued. (2) O. Nazari *Quo anno Aristophanes natus sit*, contending for 446 B.C. (3) E. Filippini *Delle fonti adibite da Plutarco nella esposizione della guerra Gallica di Cesare*, contending that P. used, besides Caesar himself, Valerius Maximus, Oppius, Tanusius and Asinius Pollio. (4) G. Setti *Studi critici sulla Anth. Pal.* (5) F. Scerbo *La riforma ortografica Latina*, a summary of certain reforms admitted to be correct, with a warning against excessive deference to inscriptions, inasmuch as the same word is often spelt in different ways on the same inscription. (6) F. Nencini *Quaestiones Terentianae alterae*, notes and emendations.

Fasc. 4—6 contain (1) A de Angeli *La musica nel drama greco*, apparently a lecture, containing no novelties. (2) A. G. Amatucci *Appio Claudio Cieco*, another lecture. (3) G. Setti *Studi critici sulla Anth. Pal.*

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

ENGLISH BOOKS.

Aeschylus. Persae. By Rev. T. S. Ramsbotham. 12mo. (Scenes from Greek Plays). Longman. 1*s.* 6*d.*

Allcroft (A. H.) The Decline of Hellas: a history of Greece. 37*s.* 323 B.C. Post 8vo. 184 pp. Clive. 4*s.* 6*d.*

Aristophanes. Wasps. By C. E. Graves. 12mo. 234 pp. Cambridge Press. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Caesar. Gallic War. Book VII. Edited by A. H. Allcroft and W. F. Masom. Post 8vo. 186 pp. Clive. 4*s.* 6*d.*

Dupré (A. M. D.) First Exercises on Latin Construction. Crown 8vo. Limp. Relfe. 1*s.*

Euripides in English Verse, Arthur S. Way. Vol. I. Crown 8vo. Macmillan. 6*s.* net.

Herodotus. Marathon and Thermopylae. Easy selections from, edited by A. C. Liddell. 18mo. Limp. Methuen. 1*s.* 6*d.*

Holden (F. T.) Tripertita. 4th Series. A course of Easy Latin Exercises for Preparatory Schools, arranged to suit the threefold division of the year. 12mo. 124 pp. Longman. 2*s.*

Homer's Iliad. Book XXIV. Edited with notes, introduction, and vocabulary, by Walter Leaf and M. A. Bayfield. 12mo. 126 pp. Macmillan. 1*s.* 6*d.*

Infamia: its Place in Roman Public and Private Law, by A. H. J. Greenidge. Demy 8vo. Clarendon Press. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Juvenal Satires I.—VIII. (Expurgated). A translation, with test papers, by A. H. Allcroft. Clive. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Latin Prose Versions. Contributed by various scholars, edited by G. G. Ramsay. 4to. Half Vellum. Clarendon Press. 21*s.* net.

Latine Vertenda. English Sentences to be turned into Latin, for Junior Forms. 18mo. 136 pp. Simpkin. 1*s.* 6*d.* net.

Quintus Curtius: Selections adapted for the use of beginners, with vocabulary, notes and exercises, edited by F. Coverley Smith. 18mo. 140 pp. Macmillan. 1*s.* 6*d.*

Ritchie (F.) A First Latin Verse Book. 12mo. 64 pp. Longman. 2*s.*

Smith (Sir W.) A Classical Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography, Mythology and Geography, revised throughout and in part rewritten by G. E. Marindin. With numerous maps and illustrations. 8vo. 1020 pp. Murray. 18*s.*

Sophocles. Oedipus at Colonus. Closely translated from the Greek, an experiment in metre, by Arthur Compton Auchmuty. Post 8vo. 80 pp. Simpkin. 2*s.*

—— Plays and Fragments, with critical notes, commentary and translation in English prose. Part VI. The Electra. 8vo. 324 pp. Cambridge Press. 12*s.* 6*d.*

FOREIGN BOOKS.

Alciphron. Reich (H.) De Alciphronis Longique aetate. Diss. 8vo. 68 pp. Königsberg. 1 Mk. 20 Pf.

Apollonius Rhodius. Berckmann (F.) De scholiis in Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica Etymologici magni fonte. Diss. 8vo. 42 pp. Bonn.

Bérard (V.) De arbitrio inter liberas graecorum civitates. (Thèse). 8vo. ii, 124 pp. Paris, Thorin.

—— Essai de méthode en mythologie grecque. De l'origine des cultes arcadiens. (Thèse). 8vo. 385 pp. Paris, Thorin.

Caesaris (C. Julii) belli gallici libri vii. A. Hirtii liber viii. Recensuit, apparatu critico instruxit Henr. Meusel. 8vo. xii, 261 pp. Map. Berlin, Weber. 3 Mk.

—— Für den Schulgebrauch herausgegeben von H. Meusel. Mit einem Anhang: Das römische Kriegswesen zu Caesars Zeit von R. Schneider. 8vo. xv, 238 pp. Map. Berlin, Weber. Boards. 1 Mk. 25 Pf.

Cagnat (R.) L'année épigraphique, revue des publications épigraphiques relatives à l'antiquité classique (1893). 8vo. Paris, Leroux. 3 Fr.

Cassiodori Senatoris variae, recensuit Th. Mommsen. Accedunt I. Epistulae Theodoricianae variae edidit Th. Mommsen. II. Acta synhodorum habitarum Romae a. CCCCXCVIIII. DI. DII. edidit Th. Mommsen. III. Cassiodori orationum reliquiae edidit Lud. Traube. 4to. clxxxiv, 597 pp. 2 photolithographic plates. 28 Mk. Writing Paper. 42 Mk.

[Monumenta Germaniae historica. Auctorum antiquissimorum tom. XII. Berlin, Weidmann.]

Catullus. Ballin (F.) Das amöbäische Hochzeitslied des Catull. Progr. 4to. 39 pp. Dessau.

—— Morgenstern (O.) Curae Catullianae. Progr. 4to. 20 pp. Gr.-Lichterfelde.

Choix d'Eschyle. De Sophocle et d'Euripide. Notice, analyse et extraits par Deltour et Rinn. 12mo. 108 pp. Paris, Delagrave.

Cicero. Plaidoyer pour Murena, expliqué littéralement, traduit en français et annoté par J. Thibault. 12mo. 200 pp. Paris, Hachette. 2 Fr. 50.

—— Buning (G.) Zu Ciceros Briefen. I. Die beiden Gesetze des Publius Clodius gegen Marcus Tullius Cicero. Progr. 4to. 23 pp. Coesfeld.

Cleomedes. Steinbrück (K.) De Cleomedis cosmographiae codice quodam Parisino. Diss. 8vo. 47 pp. Greifswald.

Collection Barracco (La.) Publiée par Fred. Bruckmann, d'après la classification et avec le texte de Giovanni Barracco et W. Helbig. Livraisons 11 et 12 (Fin.) Folio. With 20 phototypographical plates and text from pages 55 to 62. München, Verlagsanstalt für Kunst and Wissenschaft. 40 Mk. The complete work, 240 Mk.

Comédie Latine (La.) Extraits de Plaute et de Terence. Notice et analyse par V. Schneegans. 12mo. 142 pp. Paris, Delagrave.

Euripides. Stettner (E.) Theodor Bertholds Athetesen im Hippolytos des Euripides, Vers 500—1000. Progr. 8vo. 26 pp. Triest.

Elter (A.) De Gnomologiorum Graecorum historia atque origine commentatio. VI. (De Justini monarchia et Aristobulo Judaeo II.) Progr. 4to. 15 pp. Bonn.

The Classical Review

JULY 1894.

CRITICAL NOTES ON CLEM. AL. *STROM.* I. AND II.[1]

§ 70, p. 358. φασὶ γοῦν ἐν Δελφοῖς παρὰ τὸ βουλευτήριον δείκνυσθαι πέτραν τινά. Read τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ.

Ib. τοῦ δὲ εἰς γῆν μεταβαλόντος σώματος πόας ὡς εἰκὸς ἀναφυείσης. Read ἐξαναφυείσης to supply a government for τοῦ σώματος.

§ 76, p. 364. ἐπί τε Σεμιράμεως βασιλέως Αἰγυπτίων. So the MS., but Eusebius, quoting from Clement, gives βασιλίδος Ἀσσυρίων. Dindorf corrects the former word, but omits to change the latter.

§ 81, p. 367. (Philosophy was filched from Revelation) οὐχὶ μὴ εἰδότος τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ καὶ τὰ τέλη τῶν ἐσομένων πρὸ καταβολῆς τοῦ ἕκαστον εἶναι ἐγνωκότος, ἀλλὰ μὴ κωλύσαντος. [Perhaps καταβολῆς τοῦ <κόσμου> ἐγνωκότος, ἀλλὰ μὴ κωλύσαντος ἕκαστον εἶναι. I.B.]

§ 82, p. 367. Discussing the question whether he who does not hinder the occurrence of a certain thing can be justly denominated the cause of the occurrence, Clement says διὰ τοῦτο γοῦν ἐπιτελεῖται, ὅτι τὸ κωλῦσαι δυνάμενον οὐκ ἐνεργεῖ οὐδὲ κωλύει. Evidently this follows an assertion of causality, such as we have some lines higher up, ᾧ γὰρ κωλῦσαι δύναμις ἦν, τούτῳ καὶ ἡ αἰτία τοῦ συμβαίνοντος προσάπτεται. But the words immediately preceding our sentence were to the opposite effect, τὸ δὲ μὴ κωλῦον κεχώρισται τοῦ γιγνομένου, which again are quite in harmony with the words immediately following it, τί γὰρ ἐνεργεῖ ὁ μὴ κωλύων; κ.τ.λ. The sentence must therefore be placed after προσάπτεται.

§ 84, p. 368. ὁ δὲ μὴ κωλύσας τὴν αἵρεσιν τῆς ψυχῆς κρίνει δικαίως, ἵν' ὅτι μάλιστα ὁ θεὸς μὲν ἡμῖν κακίας ἀναίτιος, ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων προαίρεσις...κατάρχει...εἰκότως αἱ κολάσεις. Insert ᾗ either before ἡμῖν or after ἀναίτιος, beginning a new sentence with ἐπεί.

§ 91, p. 371. ἐπεὶ οὖν μαρτυροῦνται ἀληθῆ τινὰ δογματίζειν καὶ Ἕλληνες, ἔξεστι κἀντεῦθεν σκοπεῖν. For ἐπεὶ οὖν read ὅτι μὲν οὖν. The witness that the Greeks had some knowledge of the truth is contained in the following quotations from St. Paul.

§ 93, p. 373. ἆρ' οὐ δοκεῖ σοὶ πίστεως ἐκ τῶν Ἑβραικῶν γραφῶν τὴν μετὰ θάνατον ἐλπίδα ...σαφηνίζειν (ὁ Πλάτων); For the impossible πίστεως read perhaps πιστικῶς or πιθανῶς. [I.B. suggests πιστεύων or πιστεύσας.]

Ib. After contrasting the knowledge of geometry and other sciences with the knowledge of the absolute good, Clement continues ἑτέρων μὲν ὄντων τἀγαθοῦ ὁδῶν, ὥσπερ δὲ ἐπὶ τἀγαθόν. Read ἑτέρου μὲν ὄντος τἀγαθοῦ, ἑτέρων δὲ τῶν ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τἀγαθὸν ὁδῶν.

§ 94, p. 374. κατ' ἔμφασιν δὲ καὶ διάφασιν οἱ ἀκριβῶς παρ' Ἕλλησι φιλοσοφήσαντες διορῶσι τὸν θεόν· τοιαῦται γὰρ αἱ κατ' ἀδυναμίαν φαντασίαι ἀληθεῖς ὡς φαντασία καθοραῖται, ἐν τοῖς ὕδασιν ὁρῶμεν καὶ τὰ διὰ τῶν διαφανῶν καὶ διαυγῶν σωμάτων. Clement is here comparing the ideas of the Greeks about God to the images of real objects seen by reflexion or through a semi-transparent medium. Should we read διορίζουσι for διορῶσι, which usually means 'see clearly'? In what follows I think we should

[1] The initials H.J. denote Dr. Jackson's notes read before the Cambridge Philological Society in 1893 and 1894; I.B. ms. notes received from Professor Bywater.

insert οὖσαι after τοιαῦται γὰρ, put a comma after ἀληθεῖς, continuing ὡς φαντάσματα, καθορῶνται, ἃ ἐν τοῖς ὕδασιν ὁρῶμεν (or τὰ... ὁρώμενα), 'for being such, the inadequate perceptions are still truly beheld, as images, which we see in pieces of water and through transparent bodies.' The allusion is to St. Paul's δι' ἐσόπτρου, and to Plato's scale of knowledge, beginning with shadows, of which the second stage is τὰ ἐν ὕδασι φαντάσματα (*Rep.* vi. 510 A).

§ 96, p. 375. καὶ τοῖς ἐνδεέσι φρενῶν παρακελεύομαι, λέγουσα φησὶν ἡ σοφία τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὰς αἱρέσεις δηλονότι. Place λέγουσα after δηλονότι.

§ 129, p. 396. [For τῷ Θαλεῖ read τῷ Θαλῇ. I.B.]

§ 155, p. 414. ὄνομα δὲ Μωσῆν ὠνόμαζε τοῦ χάριν ὑγρᾶς ἀνεῖλε ποταμίας ἀπ' ῆόνος. Read ὠνόμαζ', ὅτου χάριν. [Here I find I am anticipated by Cobet.]

§ 156, p. 415. [προδιδασκόμενος εἰς ἡγεμονίαν ποιμενικήν, read with Davis on Cic. *N.D.* ii. 64 ποιμενικῇ. I.B.]

§ 158, p. 416. δεύτερον δέ ἐστιν εἶδος βασιλείας...τὸ μόνον τῷ θυμοειδεῖ τῆς ψυχῆς εἰς βασιλείαν συγχρώμενον. Read μόνῳ for μόνον.

Ib. τοῦ γὰρ θυμοῦ τὸ μὲν φιλόνεικον μόνον ἐστὶν...τὸ δὲ φιλόκαλον εἰς καλὴν καταχρωμένης τῆς ψυχῆς τῷ θυμῷ. One's first impulse is to read καλόν here for καλήν, but perhaps the termination is more easily explained if we suppose that ἀρετήν was the original word, and that καλ- crept in from the preceding φιλόκαλον, which should be followed by a comma. [I.B. suggests κολλονήν.]

§ 160, p. 417. ἐπὶ τὴν ἔρημον ἐτρέπετο καὶ νύκτωρ τὰ πολλὰ τῇ πορείᾳ ἐκέχρητο. Should we not read ἐχρῆτο here, as well as in *Protr.* p. 48 Ἑρμῆς προσηγορεύετο ὁ Νικαγόρας καὶ τῇ στολῇ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ἐκέχρητο?

§ 164, p. 419. [τὸ πῦρ ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἐοικὸς στύλῳ καὶ πῦρ τὸ διὰ βάτου σύμβολόν ἐστι φωτὸς ἁγίου, read with V. δι' ἀβάτου, comparing § 161 ἦγε νύκτωρ τοὺς Ἑβραίους δι' ἀβάτου. I.B.]

§ 165, p. 419. ἆρα οὖν τὰ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἑρμηνεύει πρὸς ἕνα θεὸν ἀφορᾶν...ἐντελλόμενος. Read ἆρ' οὐ with a question. Just before omit καὶ after τῇ αὐτῇ.

§ 166, p. 420. ἔτι τὸ μὲν νομικὸν πρὸς γενέσεως εἶναι, τὸ πολιτικὸν δὲ πρὸς φιλίας καὶ ὁμονοίας ὁ Πλάτων ὠφεληθεὶς ('borrowing from Scripture') τοῖς μὲν Νόμοις τὸν φιλόσοφον τὸν ἐν τῇ Ἐπινομίδι συνέταξεν. Insert (after ὠφεληθεὶς) εἶπεν, καί.

§ 171, p. 422. μὴ τοίνυν κατατρεχέτω τις τοῦ νόμου διὰ τῆς τιμωρίας ὡς οὐ καλοῦ κἀγαθοῦ. Read τὰς τιμωρίας, 'let none depreciate the law as imperfect on account of its penalties.' [H.J. would keep τῆς, translating 'let no man make punishment an instrument in running down the law.']

§ 176, p. 425. (The Platonic dialectic is useful) οὐχ ἕνεκα τοῦ λέγειν τι καὶ πράττειν τι τῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους...ἀλλὰ τῷ θεῷ κεχαρισμένα μὲν λέγειν δύνασθαι, κεχαρισμένα δὲ πράττειν τὸ πᾶν εἰς δύναμιν. Insert τοῦ (governed by ἕνεκα) before τῷ θεῷ, and for τὸ πᾶν read τὰ πάντα.

§ 177, p. 425. μικτὴ δὲ φιλοσοφία οὖσα τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἡ ἀληθὴς διαλεκτικὴ...ὑπεξαναβαίνει. Read with Lowth μικτὴ δὲ φιλοσοφίᾳ οὖσα τῇ ἀληθινῇ.

§ 178, p. 425. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τῷ ὄντι δείξας ὅπως τε γνωστέον ἑαυτούς. Dindorf would here read an unmeaning γε for τε, in preference to Sylburg's insertion of ὅπως τε τὸν θεόν after δείξας. The latter is suggested by the preceding line ὄφρ' εὖ γιγνώσκοιμεν ἡμὲν θεὸν ἠδὲ καὶ ἄνδρα. [I.B. suggests ὅπως <πο>τὲ γνωστέον.]

§ 179, p. 426. ᾔδει τινὰς γάλα μόνον εἰληφότας, οὐδέπω δὲ καὶ βρῶμα, αὐτίκα οὐχ ἁπλῶς γάλα. Read with Lowth ἢ τάχα for αὐτίκα.

§ 181, p. 427. After quoting from Hermas to the effect that visions were sent for the benefit of the double-minded, Clement proceeds ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς πολυμαθοῦς περιουσίας ἀποδείξεις ἰσχυροποιοῦσι καὶ βεβαιοῦσι καὶ θεμελιοῦσι τοὺς λόγους τοὺς ἀποδεικτικοὺς, ὅσον ἔτι αἱ αὐτῶν ὡς νέων φρένες ἠερέθονται. Put a comma after ἰσχυροποιοῦσι, and for ὅσον ἔτι αἱ αὐτῶν read <τούτων ἕνεκα> ὅσων ἔτι αἱ καρδίαι αὐτῶν.

Book II.

§ 3, p. 430. φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὰς ὄρνιθας ἡδίστην ἔχειν τὴν σαρκὸς ποιότητα ὅτε οὐκ ἀφθόνου τροφῆς παρατεθείσης αὐταῖς αἵδε σκαλεύουσαι τοῖς ποσὶν ἐκλέγονται μετὰ πόνου τὰς τροφάς. εἴ τις οὖν τοῦ ὁμοίου θεωρητικὸς ἐν πολλοῖς τοῖς πιθανοῖς τε καὶ Ἑλληνικοῖς τὸ ἀληθὲς διαλεληθέναι ποθεῖ καθάπερ ὑπὸ τοῖς μορμολυκείοις τὸ πρόσωπον τὸ ἀληθινὸν πολυπραγμονήσας θηράσεται. φησὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ὁράματι τῷ Ἑρμᾷ ἡ δύναμις ἡ φανεῖσα κ.τ.λ. For αἵδε read ἀλλὰ, for διαλεληθέναι perhaps διαλεληθὸς εὑρεθῆναι (or the syllables -αλεληθ- may be merely an echo of the preceding ἀληθές, in which case such a word as διακαλυφθῆναι might be concealed under διαλεληθέναι), translating 'if any one, who is fond of noting resemblances, desires that the truth which lies hidden in many plausible Greek stories should be revealed, like the true face under the masks, by careful study he will hunt it out.' In the

next sentence we should either put τῷ Ἑρμᾷ after γάρ or after φανεῖσα, or else read τοῦ Ἑρμᾶ. [I.B. proposes a simpler remedy, the insertion of μὴ before διαλεληθέναι and Ἑρμᾶ gen.]

§ 6, p. 431. δῆλον οὖν ἡμῖν ἐστὶ κεκρύφθαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, εἰ καὶ ἐξ ἑνὸς παραδείγματος ἤδη δέδεικται, μικρὸν δ' ὕστερον καὶ διὰ πλειόνων παραστήσομεν. Insert δὲ after εἰ, the second δὲ is *in apodosi*.

§ 8, p. 432. In the quotation from Heracleitus read, according to Bywater's text, ὁκόσοισι ἐγκυρέουσι for ὁκόσοι ἐγκυρσεύουσι.

§ 9, p. 433. In this bewildering chapter the only correction which I venture to make is in the last sentence, αἱ γοῦν τῶν Σειρήνων ἐπιτελέσεις δύναμιν ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον ἐνδεικνύμεναι ἐξέπληττον τοὺς παρατυγχάνοντας. Hervetus in his commentary honestly says *quod autem verti 'cantus efficaces,' Graece est ἐπιτελέσεις, id est 'perfectiones.' Quod Graecum quidem non satis exprimit, sed mihi non occurrit aliud.* Perhaps the true reading is the otherwise unknown ἐπικηλήσεις. The words κηλέω and κήλησις are often employed of the Sirens, and ἐπικήλησις might be used as a stronger form of ἐπαγωγή. [H.J. would read ὑπεράνθρωπον one word.]

§ 11, p. 434, οὐδὲ βάπτισμα ἔτι εὔλογον οὐδὲ μακαρία σφραγίς. '(If all is governed by necessity) there is no reason for baptism or for the blessed seal.' Should we not insert ἡ before μακαρία?

§ 15, p. 436. οἱ δὲ ἄπιστοι ὡς ἔοικεν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀοράτου πάντα ἕλκουσιν εἰς γῆν ταῖς χερσὶν ἀτεχνῶς πέτρας καὶ δρῦς περιλαμβάνοντες κατὰ τὸν Πλάτωνα· τῶν γὰρ τοιούτων ἐφαπτόμενοι πάντων διισχυρίζονται τοῦτ' εἶναι μόνον, ὅπερ ἔχει προσβολὴν καὶ ἐπαφήν τινα, ταὐτὸν σῶμα καὶ οὐσίαν ὁριζόμενοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀμφισβητοῦντες μάλα εὐλαβῶς ἄνωθεν ἐξ ἀοράτου ποθὲν ἀμύνονται νοητὰ ἄπτα καὶ ἀσώματα εἴδη, βιαζόμενοι τὴν ἀληθινὴν οὐσίαν εἶναι. This is a good specimen of the way in which Dindorf goes to work. The reference to Plato not being given in Potter's edition, he has not taken the trouble to compare the original, and apparently is quite unconscious of the absurdities and inconsistencies which he is putting into the mouth of Plato. If we turn to the *Sophistes* 246 A, we find there the words from ἐξ οὐρανοῦ to ὁριζόμενοι scarcely altered, except that ὃ παρέχει is the original of ὅπερ ἔχει and should probably replace it here. But after ὁριζόμενοι we find some lines interposed, and then we read, not of the materialists, who formed the subject of the previous sentence, but of their opponents (οἱ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀμφισβητοῦντες) that they take their stand on the side of the invisible, maintaining that true existence is to be found not in matter, but in the incorporeal objects of the intelligence. Put a full stop therefore after ὁριζόμενοι, and begin a new sentence with <οἱ δὲ>, adding a comma after ἀμύνονται and removing the comma after εἴδη. [H.J. makes the same emendations, but is inclined to add πιστοὶ οἱ after οἱ δὲ.]

§ 17, p. 437. αὐτὸς μὲν ὦτα ἔχει τὰ ἀκουστικὰ τῆς ἀληθείας· μακάριος δὲ ὁ λέγων εἰς ὦτα ἀκουόντων, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει μακάριος καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ τῆς ὑπακοῆς. Potter rightly suggests the omission of the last ὁ, the genitive depending on μακάριος.

§ 18, p. 438. οἱ εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν πεπιστευκότες χρηστοί τε εἰσὶ καὶ λέγονται ὡς οἱ τῷ ὄντι βασιλικοὶ βασιλεῖ μεμελημένοι. ὡς γὰρ οἱ σοφοὶ σοφίᾳ εἰσὶ σοφοὶ...οὕτως οἱ Χριστῷ βασιλεῖ βασιλεῖς καὶ οἱ Χριστοῦ Χριστιανοί. Dindorf follows Sylburg in placing the first βασιλικοί before οἱ τῷ ὄντι. I should rather read ὡς τῷ ὄντι βασιλικοὶ οἱ βασιλεῖ μεμελημένοι. In the following clause read οἱ Χριστῷ βασιλεῖ <μεμελημένοι> βασιλεῖς καὶ Χριστιανοί, omitting οἱ Χριστοῦ as a gloss.

§ 19, p. 438. ὁ δὲ ἐμὸς νόμος, ὡς προείρηται, βασιλικός τέ ἐστι καὶ ἔμψυχος. For ἐμός read perhaps ἡμέτερος. Should we make the same change in *Protr*, p. 3, ᾄδει δέ γε ὁ Εὔνομος ὁ ἐμὸς...τὸν ἀΐδιον νόμον, p. 4 οὐ τοιόσδε ὁ ᾠδὸς ὁ ἐμός, and *Strom.* iv. p. 642 τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τὴν ἐμήν?

§ 21, p. 439. πρὸς αὐτῶν προφητῶν ἀνακηρυττόμενος. Insert τῶν after αὐτῶν. [πρὸς αὐ τῶν προφητῶν. H.J.]

§ 22, p. 440. εἴ τις διισχυρίζοιτο εἶναι τοὺς δικαίους, ἂν καὶ τυγχάνωσιν ὄντες αἰσχροὶ τὰ σώματα, κατά γε τὸ δικαιότατον ἦθος ταύτῃ ἂν καλοὺς εἶναι σχεδὸν οὐδεὶς ἂν λέγων οὕτω πλημμελῶς δόξειεν λέγειν. For ἂν καλοὺς read παγκάλους, as in the original (Plat. *Legg.* ix. 859). [H.J. has made the same correction.] The reference is of course wanting in Dindorf as he could not find it in Potter.

§ 23, p. 441. μαχητικοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐθελονταὶ ἀποθνήσκειν ἐν πολέμῳ τῶν μισθοφόρων εἶναι πάμπολλοι. For ἐθελονταὶ and εἶναι read ἐθέλοντες and εἰσίν, as in the original (*Legg.* i. 630). Dindorf only corrects the latter.

§ 23, p. 441. πρὸς τὴν μεγίστην ἀρετὴν ἀποβλέπων μάλιστα σταθήσεται τοὺς νόμους. Dindorf in his note, copying Sylburg, says that Plato (*l.c.*) has στήσει. The actual words are πρὸς τὴν μεγίστην ἀρετὴν μάλιστα βλέπων ἀεὶ θήσει τοὺς νόμους. The first syllable of σταθήσεται is merely a dittography

of the preceding syllable, Clement here using the middle *θήσεται* for the active, as he does of Zaleucus in i. § 79. [Here again I am anticipated by Bywater and Cobet (and by Boeckh *ad Plat. Min.* p. 94, as I learn from I.B.). H.J. prefers to read *θήσει ἀεὶ* as keeping closer to Plato.]

§ 24, p. 441. [*τῆς τῶν ὅλων ἀρχῆς ἐπιστήμη πιστὴ ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπίδειξις, fort. πίστις.* I.B.] This seems confirmed by § *πίστει οὖν ἐφικέσθαι μόνῃ οἴονται τῆς τῶν ὅλων ἀρχῆς.* On the other hand C. seems to use the adjective *πιστός*, or *πειστός* as Sylburg spells it, in the sense of 'probable,' 'needing the exercise of faith,' cf. § 16 *πιστὴ τοίνυν ἡ γνῶσις.*

§ 26, p. 442. *συνεργεῖ οὖν καὶ ἡ γόνιμος ὑπάρχουσα πρὸς τὴν τῶν σπερμάτων καταβολήν. οὔτε γὰρ τῆς ἀρίστης παιδεύσεως ὄφελός τι ἄνευ τῆς τοῦ μανθάνοντος παραδοχῆς οὔτε μὴν προφητείας οὔτε τῆς τῶν ἀκουόντων εὐπειθείας μὴ παρούσης.* Insert *γῇ*, which has been lost before *γόνιμος* (the addition of *ὑπάρχουσα* forbids us to take *ἡ γόνιμος* as a substantive with Sylburg), 'the land by its natural fertility assists the sowing'; and omit the last *οὔτε*, as Sylburg suggests.

§ 27, p. 443. *πῶς οὖν εἰ τὸ πιστεύειν ὑπολαμβάνειν ἐστὶ, βέβαια τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν οἱ φιλόσοφοι νομίζουσιν;* Read *αὐτῶν.*

§ 29, p. 444. *τῇ ἐξ ἐθνῶν κλήσει λέγων, τῇ στείρᾳ ποτὲ τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὅς ἐστιν ὁ λόγος.* Omit *τούτου* which probably arose from dittography of *τοῦ.*

§ 30, p. 445. *φημὶ τοίνυν τὴν πίστιν, εἴτε ὑπὸ ἀγάπης θεμελιωθῇ εἴτε καὶ ὑπὸ φόβου, ᾗ φασὶν οἱ κατήγοροι, θεῖόν τι εἶναι.* For *εἴτε* read *ἤντε.*

§ 31, p. 445. *θεία τοίνυν ἡ τοσαύτη μεταβολὴ ἐξ ἀπιστίας πιστόν τι γενόμενον καὶ τῇ ἐλπίδι καὶ τῷ φόβῳ πιστεῦσαι.* Read *τινα* for *τι.* Just below in *ἡ πρώτη πρὸς σωτηρίαν νεῦσις ἡ πίστις...μεθ' ἣν φόβος τε καὶ ἐλπὶς καὶ μετάνοια σύν τε ἐγκρατείᾳ καὶ ὑπομονῇ προκόπτουσαι ἄγουσιν ἡμᾶς ἐπί τε ἀγάπην ἐπί τε γνῶσιν,* it makes a better construction to take *σύν* as adverbial (like *πρός* in § 1, p. 429 and often), reading *ἐγκράτεια* and *ὑπομονή* in the nominative.

Ib. στοιχείων γοῦν τῆς γνώσεως τῶν προειρημένων ἀρετῶν στοιχειωδεστέραν εἶναι συμβέβηκε τὴν πίστιν. Insert *οὐσῶν* after *γνώσεως.* A little below in *ὡς δ' ἄνευ τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων οὐκ ἔστι ζῆν, οὐδ' ἄνευ πίστεως γνῶσιν ἐπακολουθῆσαι,* insert *οὕτως* before *οὐδέ*, as in *Paed.* i. p. 103 *καθάπερ οὖν οὐκ ἔστι φῶς ὃ μὴ φωτίζει...οὐδὲ φιλοῦν ὃ μὴ φιλεῖ* <*οὕτως*> *οὐδὲ ἀγαθόν ἐστιν ὃ μὴ ὠφελεῖ.*

§ 32, p. 446. *τρία γὰρ ταῦτα ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὑφέστηκεν παρὰ τὸ ὑποκείμενον.* Read *περί.*

§ 36, p. 448. *οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὸν κόσμον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐκλογὴν διακρίνας ὁ ἐπὶ πᾶσι προπέμπει.* This seems to be inconsistent with the general teaching of Basilides (see Hort in *D. of Christ. Biog.* i. p. 273). There is no discrimination or sorting in the first putting forth of existence from the Supreme Being. The sorting takes place through the Son, who raises up with him what belongs to the different spheres, assigning each existence to the charge of the ruler of its sphere, the lower to the lower, the highest to the highest. Perhaps therefore we should insert *υἱὸς ἐπὶ τὸν* before *ἐπὶ πᾶσι*, 'the Son sifts, not merely the world, but the elect also, and carries up with him (those that are sifted) into the presence of Him who is over all.'

Ib. καὶ ὥσπερεὶ φόβος ἐπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ πλάσματος ὑπῆρξε τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ὅτε μείζονα ἐφθέγξατο τῆς πλάσεως...οὕτω καὶ ἐν ταῖς γενεαῖς τῶν κοσμικῶν ἀνθρώπων φόβοι τὰ ἔργα ἀνθρώπων τοῖς ποιοῦσιν ἐγένετο. According to Valentinus, the angels who were employed in framing the first man were startled at the inspired words which he uttered; in like manner men themselves have bowed down in fear before the idols made by their own hands. The MS. reading *ὥσπερεὶ φόβος* or *ὡς περίφοβος* does not correspond rightly with the following *οὕτω.* Read *ὥσπερ φόβος.*

§ 37, p. 449. *εἰ δὴ ἄγνοια προκατῆρξε τῆς ἐκπλήξεως, εἰ δ' ἡ ἔκπληξις καὶ ὁ φόβος ἀρχὴ σοφίας φόβος τοῦ θεοῦ γεγένηται, κινδυνεύει τῆς τε σοφίας τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς κοσμοποιίας ἁπάσης...ἄγνοια προκατάρχειν.* Read *ἡ δὲ* for *εἰ δ' ἡ*, and omit as a gloss *φόβος τοῦ θεοῦ.*

§ 38, p. 449. *ἢ τὸ τελευταῖον, γνώσει πεποιθότες ἐτόλμησαν ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ ἀδύνατον. μαθόντες τὸ διαφέρον τὸ ἐν πληρώματι ἀνθρώπῳ ἐπιβουλεύειν, ἔτι καὶ τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ ἀρχέτυπον καὶ ὃ σὺν τῇ γνώσει τῇ λοιπῇ ἄφθαρτον παρειλήφεσαν.* Put a colon after *ἐτόλμησαν*, and commas after *ἀδύνατον, πληρώματι, ἀρχέτυπον*, and omit the comma before *ἔτι.* For *μαθόντες* read *μαθόντας*, agreeing with the subject (understood) of *ἐπιβουλεύειν*, which explains the preceding relative *ὅ*; for *τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα* read *τῷ κ. ε.* in apposition with *ἀνθρώπῳ*, put *ἔτι* after *ἀρχέτυπον*, and omit *καὶ.* The sense will then be 'or, as a last alternative, the angels may have conspired against the first man, because they knew that all would turn out for the best in the end. But this is impossible, that when they knew the supreme Excellence in the Pleroma they should plot against man, against the copy, in whom the original pattern was still visible, which pattern they

had received with the rest of their knowledge, as an imperishable treasure.'

§ 39, p. 449. *εἰ τοίνυν κακῶν ἀρχὴν ἀφοβίαν εἴρηκεν ἣν ὁ τοῦ Κυρίου φόβος ἐργάζεται, ἀγαθὸν ὁ φόβος...φόβῳ δὲ ἀφοβίαν εἰσάγων, οὐ πάθει ἀπάθειαν, παιδεία δὲ μετροπάθειαν ἐμποιεῖ.* The reference is to Prov. i. 33, quoted just before, *ὁ δὲ ἐμοῦ ἀκούων ἀναπαήσεται ἐπ' εἰρήνης πεποιθὼς καὶ ἡσυχάσει ἀφόβως ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ.* It is evident that this *ἀφοβία*, caused by the fear of the Lord, cannot be *κακῶν ἀρχή*. Potter suggests *κακῶν ἀπαλλαγήν*, Lowth *καλῶν ἀρχήν*; but neither of these seems quite suitable. If the original reading were *κακῶν ἀφοβίαν εἰρήνην εἴρηκεν*, this would at once exactly suit the quotation, and explain the loss of *εἰρήνην*, for which a scribe might easily substitute a word like *ἀρχήν*. In the last clause *παιδεία* is probably a misprint for the *παιδείᾳ* of other editors.

Ib. p. 450. *ἐπὰν οὖν ἀκούσωμεν, τίμα τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἰσχύσεις, πλὴν δὲ αὐτοῦ μὴ φοβοῦ ἄλλον, τὸ φοβεῖσθαι ἁμαρτάνειν, ἕπεσθαι δὲ ταῖς ὑπὸ θεοῦ δοθείσαις ἐντολαῖς τιμὴν ἣν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκδεχόμεθα.* Perhaps the original may have been *τιμὴν <εἶναι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἰσχὺν> ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκδέχομεθα*, 'when we hear these words, we learn that to fear sin and follow the commands of God is an honouring of God and strength from God.' The recurring *τοῦ θεοῦ* would easily account for the loss of the intermediate words. [I.B. also proposes to omit *ἣν*.]

§ 40, p. 450. *δέος δέ ἐστι φόβος θείου.* Probably we should read *τοῦ θείου.*

§ 42, p. 451. *ἀγάπησις δὲ ἀπόδειξις παντελής.* Potter is, I think, right in reading *ἀπόδεξις.*

§ 45, p. 453. *κἂν τὸ ποιεῖν καλῶς ᾖ τισιν ἐξησκημένον, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐπίστασθαι ὡς χρηστέον καὶ ποιητέον καὶ συνεκπονητέον.* Omit the last *καὶ*, 'though men may have practised doing rightly, still they should strive to join with this the knowledge of how they ought to use it and how they should act.'

§ 51, p. 456. [*ὁ δὲ οἰησίσοφος ἐκ τῶν τῆς ἀληθείας οὐχ ἅπτεται*, for *ἐκ τῶν* read perhaps *ἐκὼν*, as below *ἐκὼν μεθίσταται*, comparing Plato's *τῆς ἀληθείας ἅπτεσθαι.* I.B.]

§ 52, p. 457. *φέρε οὖν, εἰ ὁ Κύριος ἀλήθεια καὶ σοφία...δειχθείη ὅτι τῷ ὄντι γνωστικὸς ὁ τοῦτον ἐγνωκώς.* Dindorf inserts *ἄν* after *δειχθείη.* I think the commencing words *φέρε οὖν* suggest a question, and should rather insert *ἆρ' οὐκ ἄν* before *δειχθείη.*

§ 53, p. 457. *πιστεύομεν δὲ τὰ παρῳχηκότα γεγονέναι καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι, ἀγαπῶμέν τε αὖ οὕτως ἔχειν τὰ παρῳχηκότα πίστει πεπεισμένοι, τὰ μέλλοντα ἐλπίδι ἀπεκδεχόμενοι.* Put a comma after *αὖ*, and insert *δὲ* before *μέλλοντα.*

§ 55, p. 458. *ἥ τε ἀπιστία ἀποσύστασις οὖσα τῆς πίστεως δυνατὴν δείκνυσι τὴν συγκατάθεσίν τε καὶ πίστιν· ἀνυπαρξία γὰρ στέρησις οὐκ ἂν λεχθείη.* Lowth's emendation *ἀπόστασις* is confirmed by Sext. Emp. *P.H.* i. 192 *ἡ οὖν ἀφασία ἀπόστασίς ἐστι τῆς κοινῶς λεγομένης φάσεως.* For *ἀνυπαρξία* read *ἀνυπαρξίας*, 'we could not speak of a privation of a non-entity.' (Hence, *ἀπιστία* being a privative, *πίστις* must be an entity.)

§ 56, p. 459. *ἐπὶ γὰρ τῇ πρώτῃ καὶ μόνῃ μετανοίᾳ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὕτη (sc. ἄφεσις) ἂν εἴη τῶν προϋπαρξάντων κατὰ τὸν ἐθνικὸν καὶ πρῶτον βίον.* This is a reminiscence of Herm. *Mand.* 4, 3, 1, *ἑτέρα μετάνοια οὐκ ἔστιν εἰ μὴ ἐκείνη ὅτε εἰς ὕδωρ κατέβημεν καὶ ἐλάβομεν ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν τῶν προτέρων.* For *ἁμαρτιῶν* read *ἁμαρτημάτων* to agree with *προϋπαρξάντων.*

Ib. (The Lord foresaw) *ὡς ζηλώσας (ὁ διάβολος) ἐπὶ τῇ ἀφέσει τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τὸν ἄνθρωπον προστρίψηταί τινας αἰτίας τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ.* For *προστρίψηται* read *προστρίψεται.*

§ 59, p. 460. After quoting Ps. cxxviii. 1 *μακάριοι γὰρ πάντες οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν Κύριον*, Clement continues *ὁρᾶς τὸν ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ἐμφερῆ μακαρισμόν*; and then gives another quotation on a different subject from Ps. xlix. Read *τὸν τῷ ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ*, 'do you observe the blessing similar to that in the Gospel?

§ 59, p. 460. *πάθος δὲ...ὁρμὴ ἐκφερομένη καὶ ἀπειθὴς λόγῳ. παρὰ φύσιν οὖν κίνησις ψυχῆς κατὰ τὸν πρὸς λόγον ἀπείθειαν τὰ πάθη, ἡ δ' ἀπόστασις καὶ ἔκστασις καὶ ἀπείθεια ἐφ' ἡμῖν... διὸ καὶ τὰ ἑκούσια κρίνεται.* [*αὐτίκα καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον τῶν παθῶν εἴ τις ἐπεξίοι, ἀλόγους ὀρέξεις εὕροι ἂν αὐτά.*] *τὸ γοῦν ἀκούσιον οὐ κρίνεται.* Transfer the sentence in brackets and place it after *λόγῳ* at the end of the first sentence. For *τὰ ἑκούσια* read *ὡς ἑκούσια.*

§ 61, p. 461. *τὴν Λὼτ γυναῖκα...στήσας εἰς τὸ μὴ πρόσω χωρεῖν, οὐ μωρὰν καὶ ἄπρακτον εἰκόνα, ἀρτῦσαι δὲ καὶ στῦψαι τὸν πνευματικῶς διορᾶν δυνάμενον.* For *ἀρτῦσαι δὲ* read *<οἷαν δὲ> ἀρτῦσαι.*

§ 62, p. 462. *τὸ δὲ ἁμαρτάνειν ἐκ τοῦ ἀγνοεῖν κρίνειν ὅ, τι χρὴ ποιεῖν συνίσταται, ἢ τῷ ἀδυνατεῖν ποιεῖν.* For *τῷ* read *τοῦ.*

§ 64, p. 463. *ἀτύχημα δὲ νοῦ παράλογός ἐστιν ἁμαρτία, ἡ δὲ ἁμαρτία ἑκούσιος ἀδικία, ἀδικία δὲ ἑκούσιος κακία. ἔστιν οὖν ἡ μὲν ἁμαρτία ἐμὸν ἑκούσιον...ἀτυχία δέ ἐστιν ἄλλου εἰς ἐμὲ πρᾶξις ἀκούσιος, ἡ δὲ ἀδικία μόνη εὑρίσκεται ἑκούσιος εἴτε ἐμὴ εἴτε ἄλλου.* Dindorf makes no mention of Potter's

emendations οὖν for νοῦ and ἀκούσιον for ἑκούσιον, though they are required by the context, as well as by the parallel passage in Arist. *Eth.* v. 8, τριῶν δὴ οὐσῶν βλαβῶν τῶν ἐν ταῖς κοινωνίαις τὰ μὲν μετ' ἀγνοίας ἁμαρτήματά ἐστιν...ὅταν μὲν οὖν παραλόγως ἡ βλάβη γένηται ἀτύχημα, ὅταν δὲ μὴ παραλόγως, ἄνευ δὲ κακίας, ἁμάρτημα· ἁμαρτάνει γὰρ ὅταν ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐν αὐτῷ ᾖ τῆς αἰτίας, ἀτυχεῖ δ' ὅταν ἔξωθεν. ὅταν δὲ εἰδὼς μὲν, μὴ προβουλεύσας δὲ, ἀδίκημα, οἷον ὅσα τε διὰ θυμὸν...οὐ μέντοι πω ἄδικοι διὰ ταῦτα...ὅταν δ' ἐκ προαιρέσεως, ἄδικος.

§ 68, p. 465. καθέδρα δὲ λοιμῶν καὶ τὰ θέατρα καὶ τὰ δικαστήρια εἴη ἄν. ὅπερ καὶ μᾶλλον ἡ ἐξακολούθησις ταῖς πονηραῖς καὶ ταῖς λυμαντικαῖς ἐξουσίαις καὶ ἡ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν κοινωνία. Put a comma after εἴη ἄν and read οὕπερ for ὅπερ.

Ib. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως τριῶν ἀ π ο δ ο χ ὴ ν ἁμαρτίας τρόπων διδάσκειν ὁ νομοθέτης, τῶν μὲν ἐν λόγῳ διὰ τῶν ἰχθύων τῶν ἀναύδων...τῶν δὲ ἐν ἔργῳ διὰ τῶν ἁρπακτικῶν καὶ σαρκοβόρων ὀρνέων, χ ο ῖ ρ ο ς βορβόρῳ ἥδεται καὶ κόπρῳ· καὶ χρὴ μηδὲ τὴν συνείδησιν ἔχειν μεμολυσμένην. C. is giving an allegorical explanation of the Mosaic prohibition of certain meats. Thus the mute fish symbolizes abstinence from sins of the tongue. I think we should read ἀποχήν for ἀποδοχήν. We meet with a similar phrase (ἁμαρτημάτων ἀποχή, κακῶν πράξεων ἀποχή) in pp. 556, 576, 623, 625, &c. In p. 566 ἀποχῆς κακῶν was restored by Sylburg out of the same corruption ἀποδοχῆς κ. The chief corruption here, however, concerns the word χοῖρος. Sins of speech and of act have been mentioned, and it would seem that the pig is to symbolize sins of thought (συνείδησις). Perhaps we should read <τῶν δὲ ἐν καρδίᾳ τύπος ὁ> and add ὃς after χοῖρος. [H.J. reads <τῶν δὲ ἐν νῷ διὰ χοίρου ὃς>.]

§ 77, p. 469 *init.* ἐνταῦθα τὴν γνῶσιν πολυπραγμονεῖ. This clause is out of place where it stands, and is probably, as Potter suggested, a marginal note on the preceding paragraph.

Ib. ἀρκετὸν δὲ ἐὰν γενώμεθα ὡς ὁ διδάσκαλος, οὐ κατ' οὐσίαν (ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἴσον εἶναι πρὸς τὴν ὕπαρξιν τὸ θέσει τῷ φύσει), τ ὸ δὲ ἀϊδίους γεγονέναι καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄντων θεωρίαν ἐγνωκέναι καὶ υἱοὺς προσηγορεῦσθαι. Sylburg's emendation τῷ δὲ ἀϊδίους for τὸ δ.α. seems to me required for the construction.

§ 78, p. 469. προφανεῖς μὲν οὖν καὶ πᾶσαι ἄλλαι ἀρεταὶ αἱ παρὰ τῷ Μωυσεὶ ἀναγεγραμμέναι ἀρχὴν Ἕλλησι παντὸς τοῦ ἠθικοῦ τόπου παρασχόμεναι. Insert αἱ after πᾶσαι and put commas after ἀρεταί and ἀναγεγραμμέναι.

§ 84, p. 472. γίνεσθε οὖν θεοδίδακτοι ἐκζητοῦντες τί ζητεῖ ὁ Κύριος ἀφ' ὑμῶν, ἵνα ε ὕ ρ η τ ε ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως τοὺς τούτων ἐ π ι β ο ύ λ ο υ ς. ἀγάπης τέκνα καὶ εἰρήνης γνωστικῶς προσηγόρευσεν. Dindorf has followed Heinsius in reading εὕρητε for MS. εὕρηται. The sentence γίνεσθε—κρίσεως is taken from Barnabas 21, 6, where however καὶ ποιεῖτε is interposed between ὑμῶν and ἵνα, and εὑρεθῆτε stands for εὕρηται. Shortly after occur the words σώζεσθε ἀγάπης τέκνα καὶ εἰρήνης. It is a question how we are to understand, and in what connexion we should read the remaining words of the text, τοὺς τούτων ἐπιβούλους. Potter with most annotators joins them to the following clause, which certainly is rather abrupt by itself. If ἐπιβούλους has its usual meaning it makes no sense with either clause. I am disposed to read ἐπηβόλους (usually spelt ἐπιβόλους in the MS. of Clement), placing the full stop after κρίσεως, as in Barnabas, and translating 'those who have attained these things (viz. to be taught of God) he styles children of love and peace.' Clement quotes so loosely from memory, that we are perhaps not justified in restoring the original εὑρεθῆτε, but I cannot see the force of εὕρητε 'searching what the Lord seeks from you, that ye may find it in the Day of Judgment.' Why not keep εὕρηται 'in order that he may find it (*i.e.* what he seeks in you) in the Day of Judgment'?

§ 86, p. 474. Speaking of the merciful character of the Mosaic law, Clement instances the law of Jubilee, προσαποδιδοὺς ἑκάστῳ τὸ ἴδιον...τούς τε πενίᾳ μακρᾷ ὑποσχόντας δίκην μ ὴ διὰ βίου κολαζομένους ἐ λ ε ῶ ν. Dindorf follows Potter in reading ἐλεῶν for ἑλών, but in that case the preceding μή should be omitted. It was probably inserted to make some sense when ἐλεῶν was changed to ἑλών. Otherwise we might conjecture μὴ κολάζεσθαι θέλων. But ἐλεῶν agrees best with what follows.

A little above for ἢ γὰρ οὐχὶ διὰ μὲν τοῦ ἑβδόμου ἔτους ἀργὴν ἀτίεσθαι τὴν χώραν προστάττει should we not read ἢ γάρ; οὐχὶ κ.τ.λ.?

§ 87, p. 474. ἔχει μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλας ἐ κ δ ό σ ε ι ς τὰ προειρημένα...ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τῷ παρόντι λ έ λ ε κ τ α ι. Read perhaps ἐκδοχὰς 'interpretations' and λεκτέας.

§ 88, p. 475. πρόσταγμα Κυρίου πηγὴ ζῳῆς ὡς ἀληθῶς ποιεῖ ἐκκλίνειν ἐκ παγίδος θανάτου, τί δέ; Insert δὲ after ποιεῖ as in the original (Prov. xiv. 27), and put a full stop after θανάτου.

Ib. [οὔτε γὰρ ἐφ' ὕβρει τὰς συνουσίας οὐδὲ μὴν διὰ μισθαρνίαν ὡς ἑ τ α ί ρ α ς, ἀ λ λ' ἢ διὰ μόνον τῶν τέκνων τῆν γένεσιν γίνεσθαι, read ἑταιρικάς, ἀλλά. I.B.]

§ 89, p. 475. τῷ ἐρῶντι κυρίῳ τῆς αἰχμαλώτου γεγονότι οὐκ ἐπιτρέπει χαρίζεσθαι τῇ ἡδονῇ. There is no place here for γεγονότι, till the true reading is restored by writing the first three words with the usual abbreviations—τωερῶτικῷ (τῷ ἐρωτικῷ). Similarly in the corrupt (iv. § 167, p. 639) αἱ ἀγαθαὶ πράξεις ὡς ἀμείνους τῷ κρείττονι τῷ πνεύματι κυρίῳ προσάπτονται, αἱ δὲ φιλήδονοι...τῷ ἥττονι τῷ ἁμαρτητικῷ, the original is restored by reading κυρίῳ contracted (κῷ), τῷ πνευματικῷ corresponding to τῷ ἁμαρτητικῷ.

§ 90, p. 476. τί δὲ καὶ ἐχθρῶν ὑποζύγια ἀχθοφοροῦντα συνεπικουφίζειν....προστάσσει; πόρρωθεν διδάσκων ἡμᾶς...ἐπιχαιρεκακίαν μὴ ἀσπάζεσθαι. If we keep τί δὲ, we should put the interrogative after it, and read what follows as a categorical sentence, placing a comma after προστάσσει, but I prefer Sylburg's reading ἔτι δέ.

Ib. κἂν τὸν ἐξ ἔθους ἐχθρὸν ὑπολάβῃς, παραλογιζόμενον δὲ τοῦτον ἀλόγως...καταλάβῃς, ἐπίστρεψον αὐτόν. For τὸν read τινα.

§ 91, p. 476. τοῖς τε ἐκ δανείων καταδουλωθεῖσιν ἐκεχειρίαν τὴν εἰς πᾶν δίδωσιν ἐνιαυτῷ ἑβδόμῳ. Dindorf reads τὴν with Potter for τῆς, which is, I think, merely a dittographia of εἰς. The article is also omitted in Philo, whom Clement here follows.

§ 92, p. 477. τῶν ἀλόγων τὰ ἔκγονα διεζεύγνυσθαι τῆς τεκούσης πρὸ τῆς γαλακτουχίας ἀπαγορεύει. This is borrowed from Philo's χάρισαι τῇ μητρὶ τὸ ἔγγονον ἑπτὰ γοῦν τὰς πρώτας ἡμέρας γαλακτοτροφῆσαι. The only meaning of γαλακτουχία recognized in L. and S. is 'sucking of milk,' which is evidently unsuitable both here and in iii. 72, μετὰ τὴν τοῦ τεχθέντος γαλακτουχίαν. Can it mean 'withholding of milk,' 'weaning,' or should we read ἀπογαλάκτισιν instead?

§ 94, p. 478. οὐδὲν ἔχοντας αἰτιάσασθαι ὅτι μὴ το ἀλλογενὲς, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀναίτιον, μήτε κακίᾳ μήτε ἀπὸ κακίας ὁρμώμενον. For κακίᾳ read κακία with Potter, as in Philo τὸ ἀλλογενὲς, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀναίτιον· ὅσα γὰρ μήτε κακία μήτε ἀπὸ κακιῶν ἔξω παντὸς ἐγκλήματος ἵσταται.

§ 96, p. 479. εἴη δ' ἂν οὗτος ὁ τῆς γεωργίας τύπος διδασκαλίας τρόπος. Transfer τύπος and τρόπος. A certain method of horticulture supplies a model for the teacher.

§ 99, p. 481. (Of Jacob) ἔκ τε αὐτοῦ διδύμων γενομένων ὁ νεώτερος κληρονομεῖ...καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς λαμβάνει. Should we read ἐπευχάς for εὐχάς, as we find in Jerem. xx. 40 ἐπευκτή opposed to ἐπικατάρατος?

§ 101, p. 482. οἱ Στωϊκοὶ τὸ ἀκολούθως τῇ φύσει ζῆν τέλος ἐδογμάτισαν, τὸν θεὸν εἰς φύσιν μετονομάσαντες εὐπρεπῶς, ἐπειδὴ ἡ φύσις καὶ εἰς φυτὰ...καὶ εἰς λίθους διατείνει. Should we not read οὐκ εὐπρεπῶς here? The fact that the term φύσις is used of lifeless things is surely an argument that the Stoic maxim 'follow nature' is a poor version of the Platonic and Christian maxim 'follow God.'

§ 103, p. 484. τὰ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀνανίαν ἱστορούμενα. Read perhaps ἐπὶ <τῶν περὶ> τὸν Ἀνανίαν. [H.J. has the brilliant emendation ἐπὶ τῶν Δ νεανιῶν (*i.e.* Daniel and his three friends).]

§ 104, p. 484. τὸν σταυρὸν τοῦ σωτῆρος περιφέρων ἕπεται Κυρίῳ μετ' ἴχνιον ὥστε θεὸς ἅγιος ἁγίων γενόμενος. The hyperbole is too strong even for Clement. Can he have written ὥσπερ σὺν θεῷ ἐν ἁγίοις ἁγίων γενομενος? Just before he had described the Christian as σύνοικος ὢν τῷ Κυρίῳ, ὀαριστής τε καὶ συνέστιος κατὰ τὸ πνεῦμα. [H.J. reminds me that we have here a Homeric phrase borrowed from the *Phaedrus*, p. 266 τοῦτον διώκω κατόπισθε μετ' ἴχνιον ὥστε θεοῖο, which would be spoilt by mutilation. Keeping θεοῖο we might continue ὡς ἐν ἁγίοις ἁγίων or perhaps ὡς ἅγιος ἁγίως, as in p. 633.]

§ 109, p. 486. ἀνδρὸς δὴ χρεία ὅστις θαυμαστῶς καὶ ἀσυγχύτως τοῖς πράγμασι χρήσεται ἀφ' ὧν τὰ πάθη ὁρμᾶται. Read ἀθαυμάστως, comparing M. Anton. i. 15 τὸ ἀθαύμαστον καὶ ἀνέκπληκτον. [The same correction is made by Bywater.] The sentence which follows, ἵνα γὰρ ἀδιαφόρως τοῖς διαφόροις χρήσωμαι, πολλῆς ἡμῖν δεῖ διαφορᾶς ἅτε προκεκακωμένοις ἀσθενείᾳ πολλῇ καὶ προδιαστροφῇ, does not seem quite right even with Bywater's correction of ἀδιαφόροις for διαφόροις. What is needed in order to make one whose nature is distorted by natural frailty and bad bringing up view things indifferent with an indifferent eye, is reformatory discipline, ἄσκησις or θεράπεια, not διαφορά, which merely crept in from the preceding line.

§ 119, p. 491. εἰ γοῦν ταύτης δίχα πιεῖν οἷόν τε ἦν ἢ τροφῆς προσίεσθαι. For τροφῆς read τροφήν.

§ 120, p. 492. διό μοι δοκεῖ θείως ὁ νόμος ἀναγκαίως τὸν φόβον ἐπαρτᾶν. Sylburg reads ὁ θεῖος. The short and long vowels are constantly confused, and the order of ὁ θείως νόμος would be changed without hesitation. Just below in διὰ τῆς ἀπαύστου καὶ ἀναπαυδήτου πρὸς τὰς τῶν παθῶν ἡμῶν ἀντιμαχήσεως, some word like ἐφόδους or προσβολάς is required before ἀντιμαχήσεως.

§ 123, p. 493. ὅταν ὑπέρτονον ᾄδειν λέγηται, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἐπί τινας, ἵνα μή τινες τῶν ζηλούντων αὐτὸν ἔκτονον καὶ ἀπόχορδον ᾄσωσιν,

οὕτως ἀκούω, οὐχ ὡς ὑπέρτονον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὴ βουλομένοις ἀναλαβεῖν τὸν θεῖον ζυγὸν τούτοις ὑπέρτονον. Insert ἁπλῶς before ἀλλὰ, translating 'when the law is said to be too high pitched, as also the Lord (is said to have been) with reference to certain persons, in order to prevent some of his followers from being altogether out of tune, I understand it in this way, not as absolutely too high pitched, but as too high for those who will not accept the divine yoke.'

§ 125, p. 494. (Zeno said he would rather see a single Indian roasted than hear all the arguments about the endurance of pain) ἡμῖν δὲ ἄφθονοι μαρτύρων πηγαὶ ἑκάστης ἡμέρας ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν θεωρούμεναι παροπτωμένων, ἀνασχινδυλευομένων κ.τ.λ. The metaphor of πηγαί is too violent even for Clement. Read σφαγαί.

§ 126, p. 495. χρὴ τοίνυν συνασκεῖν αὐτούς εἰς εὐλάβειαν τῶν ὑποπιπτόντων τοῖς πάθεσι, φυγαδεύοντας...καὶ τὴν τρυφὴν καὶ τὰ εἰς τρυφὴν πάθη ἄλλοις εἶναι ἆθλον βαρύ, ἡμῖν δὲ οὐκέτι. Insert after πάθη <ὧν ἡ εὐλαβεια δοκεῖ τοῖς μὲν> ἄλλοις.

§ 126, p. 495. γίνεται δὲ ἡ ἄσκησις...οὐ μόνον τοῦ σώματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ὑγίεια ἀοκνίη πόνων, ἀκορίη τροφῆς. Read with Potter ὑγιείας.

§ 127, p. 495. τῶν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἀρχομένων τούς τε Κυρηναικοὺς εἶναι καὶ τὸν Ἐπίκουρον...τὴν ἡδονήν. This is a clause in *oratio obliqua* set in the middle of *oratio recta*. Probably some such verb as ἀκούομεν has dropped out after ἀρχομένων.

§ 128, p. 496. ἕνεκα γὰρ ἡδονῆς παρελθοῦσα ἡ ἀρετὴ ἡδονὴν ἐνεποίησε. Read παρεισελθοῦσα. In the last sentence of the same section οὔτ' οὖν ὁ πένης οὔθ' ὁ ἄδοξος, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὁ ἐπίνοσος, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν οἰκέτης ᾖ τις κατ' αὐτούς. There seems no reason for the former ἀλλ' οὐδ'. Possibly it has replaced an original οὔθ'.

§ 129, p. 497. Κλεάνθης δὲ τὸ ὁμολογουμένως τῇ φύσει ζῆν ἐν τῷ εὐλογιστεῖν, ὃ ἐν τῇ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ἐκλογῇ κεῖσθαι ὑπελάμβανεν. Dindorf should have adopted Menage's emendation ἢ τὸ εὐλογιστεῖν, proved from Diog. Laert. vii. 28, where the τέλος of certain Stoics is said to be τὸ εὐλογιστεῖν ἐν τῇ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ἐκλογῇ.

Ib. Ἀρχέδημός τε αὖ οὕτως ἐξηγεῖτο εἶναι τὸ τέλος ἐκλεγόμενος τὰ κατὰ φύσιν μέγιστα καὶ κυριώτατα, οὐχ οἷόν τε ὄντα ὑπερβαίνειν. According to Stobaeus (*Ecl. Eth.* 6, p. 134) Antipater defined the τέλος as ζῆν ἐκλεγομένους τὰ κατὰ φύσιν. This suggests the reading ζῆν ἐκλεγομένους for ἐκλεγόμενος, and we should probably insert ἃ after κυριώτατα, and change ὄντα into εἶναι. Just below in τί δή σοι Ἀρίστωνα καταλέγοιμ' ἄν; τέλος οὗτος εἶναι τὴν ἀδιαφορίαν ἔφη, τὸ δὲ ἀδιάφορον ἁπλῶς ἀδιάφορον ἀπολείπει. Read τί δέ, and ἀόριστον for the second ἀδιάφορον.

Ib. Κριτόλαος δὲ...τελειότητα ἔλεγεν κατὰ φύσιν εὐροοῦντος βίου, τὴν ἐκ τῶν τριῶν γενῶν συμπληρουμένην προγονικὴν τελειότητα μηνύων. This sentence is explained by § 139, p. 504, τέλειος ὁ πεποιηκὼς ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ τὸν ὅμοιον, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐπειδὰν κἀκεῖνον τὸ αὐτὸ πεποιηκότα ἐπίδῃ. The only change which seems to me required is γενεῶν for γενῶν; there is an hereditary completeness where prosperity continues through three generations.

§ 137, p. 502. γάμος μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ σύνοδος ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς ἡ πρώτη κατὰ νόμον ἐπὶ γνησίων τέκνων σπορᾷ. As C. defends second marriages against the Encratites (cf. iii. § 82, p. 548), perhaps we should read with F. Jacobs, reported by Klotz, ἐρωτική for ἡ πρώτη, or omit the latter altogether as an ascetic comment.

Ib. ζητοῦμεν δὲ εἰ γαμητέον, ὅπερ τῶν κατὰ ἢ πρός τί πως ἔχειν ὠνομασμένων ἐστίν. The MS. has κατὰ πρός, the latter being probably a correction of the former. Omit therefore κατὰ ἤ.

§ 143, p. 506. τὴν τῶν ἀλόγων ζῴων σύνοδον τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης συζυγίας συνᾴδουσαν τῇ φύσει μᾶλλον κατὰ τὸν ὁμολογούμενον θορονθορόν. For this *verbum nihili* read the Aristotelian phrase θοροῦ καιρόν, which agrees with the following clause τὰ γοῦν ἔνια αὐτῶν ᾧ κελεύεται καιρῷ εὐθέως ἀπαλλάττεται. [H.J. is certainly right in joining the second θορόν to the following τὰ, and perhaps in reading ὅρον for the former θορόν. The words will then run, κατὰ τὸν ὁμολογούμενον ὅρον. θορόντα γοῦν ἔνια κ.τ.λ.] The words which follow from τοῖς τραγῳδοποιοῖς δὲ ἡ Πολυξένη to ἡ συμφορά seem to me misplaced. They would come better in the middle of the second sentence of § 145 beginning θεοφιλὲς γὰρ τῷ ὄντι.

J. B. Mayor.

COLLATION OF THE MADRID MS. OF MANILIUS (M. 31 BIBL. NAZION.) WITH THE TEXT OF JACOB, BERLIN, 1846.

(*Continued from page* 141.)

Book V.

1 finis sed iter signisque relatis 4 struxisset 5 percurreret ignes 6 Satorni 8 libet 9 uectantur 10 consc. curros 11 contingerim 12 magni pars maxima caeli 13 Et ratis heorum (*sic*) 14 errantis 15 Et biferum cecum squamis adque 16 diuitis detauri[1] 20 Eniochusque 23 Andromedanque negans 24 uolat 25 et ippiter 27 sunt c. canendā 29 Et quod adebisse xastris par quemque r. 30 Ab stellis 33 inmunis 34 Colcludis et magicas artes qui uisere Colchon 35 Mediam 36 pupim celi nauiget arto 37 ducat 39 Quattuor hora 40 Illis 41 inmobilis 42 Mutauit uentusque (*sic*) 43 nitumque uolet transnare 44 Clauibus 45 tiphum s. trementem 46 portur 47 solutum 48 nomine heundis 49 Per sidera xer xenus facietque 50 Vt ra Syracusis 52 suspinsus ū utrunque 56 arcessitur ꝯobis (*sic*) 57 Sed deus mala terris 59 Quod trahentem 60 Et mentita 61 Sollertis 63 Inde lassato corde uidere 64 totaque habitauit in orbe 66 conmunis 70 auitis 71 sed'ium 72 retentas 73 quattuor 74 Praeualidis uires et torto stringere guiro 76 ȣ (uncial ȣ partially obscured) dēū laxato 77 Exagiare *m. pr.*: then in lighter ink a small ᵗ above the line between gi a 80 oblicum 81 Obsantemque 83 acuta 86 Quadripedum 87 Perquo labite quos ludet 89 Nunc licet per cursum 90 Quidquid 91 imitatus in urbe 92 inpositis 94 Atque mouisse de fulmine fingit 95 Sinsit et inm. 97 bellerophontem 98 Inp. 101 conanda 102 partis artes 103 heduli 104 promittere aer 105 necrede 106 signis trictosque incoda catonis 107 Abruptumque 108 peculcis 109 lasciuꝫaque 111 Desidant inaniore iuuentae 113 Inpellit 114 Et tumimum (I *think:* but possibly minimum) quia crimine uictum 118 artes 119 Lanigeri surgent (ᵘ coeval with e) nati 122 grecosque tenentis 125 Immundosque 126 Et fidunt uerciadu genueres syboetem 127 hyades 128 orbis 131 Egelido quae 133 Fundamenta inpleuit 135 fidae creatur 136 Suspensas trepitus 137 ingeniestuisendi 138 per noctis que rutarbꝫta (the letter over t seems to be u, but may be n) 140 Taurus inaduersos conpellitur 141 luce sorores 142 Pleidas 143 Educunt baechi sequacis 145 mordacis 146 cultus frocitisque decorde 148 Aut undis peruocare 149 adp. 150 menbra 151 sterilisque optare 152 nec insunt tecmina 153 Sed specie fictaeque 154 Natuare adque 155 Lactant 156 cupient et amere uideri 157 uero *om.* 160 uolo erisque 166 pinsare fulto 167 cito sictuos 168 mēbra 169 uagus 170 teneant sibique ipsa reludat 171 Et uelut edictos iuueat 172 Inuigilat summis 175 aspir. 176 flammis habentibus 179 Atque atalanteos conatur 180 Et calidonea 181 et quam potuisse uidere 182 Quamque erat tactaeon s. mutandus 185 Rectibus montes 186 Mendacisque 187 Curentisque cōpede 190 caeco missa 191 litorꝫe (*sic*) is habetis 192 precis inbella cessere 194 amnis 195 Luxuria qua 196 gilam pascit 197 ad procion 198 pars emergit 200 tribuit sagacis 201 genus aproam 203 astilia 204 quicūque 206 surget nemeus 207 Exoriturque canis flammas 208 rapet 209 Qua mouentē 210 Dimicat 212 nemoris sanguis 213 querunt 217 uno ceu sunt in flumine 218 ponta per proximas extulit horas 219 Nascentem quam nec restrinxerit 220 fingit 221 fletus ódiumque (*sic*) 222 Procurrunt 223 condita causis 224 rabit 225 relinquit 227 Baechus 228 rupesque 229 Et spumantis adque 230 Et fundunt quae corpore flāma 231 Nec alis 232 ueneretur 233 cōpredere 235 Cetera caelatus ab 236 sequētur 237 Inr. 238 Ecce baeche tuas 239 Disponetue 240 fidentem in brachia ducit 241 Teque sibi credit s. qui matre resectum 242 Adiungit segentemque 243 et 244 parte 245 e miseris fouetur 247 terra inanima 249 umor 250 craterū moris 251 cum ter quinque feruntur 253 Cara ariadnae 254 Et

[1] Perhaps for *sed ditis et auri.*

mollis tribuent artes 255 Nam qua 257 Pallentes hiac hinchos 258 Iliaque 260 Caeruleumque foliis uiridemue in germine collem 261 Consereret 262 nectit locauit 263, 4 Et fingetque suum sidus similesque inmutua pressos (*sic*) This line ends fol. 47[b]. There is no indication of anything wrong, but half an inch below is

Incoquet atque arabum

265 mulcebit 266 medios 267 sueorum 268 Mundiciae cultusque artesque decori 271 Ad cum 272 praesens uallantis 274 in faenus 276 atque 279 orbi 280 iuris actis 282 facturos liti 283 pendentis orbes 284 Aetorrere 285 Etque uariasque 286 habitatur 287 Frugibus destructos[1] conponitur 290 tenacis 292 pars triclinia templis (et *om.*) 295 lacertis 296 Et calamum ueruis glebas et mitere uirgis 299 Quod tocius d. tecycro 300 Tene philoctetae cui mallum 300 Hectoris ille facesar cutelumque fugauit 301 Mittebatque suos ignes et 302 Hic orta in pharetro 307 sonumque animamque uiuentem 308 aprosternere 311 Tunc iterum nato et fatum per somnia raptem 312 Ad cum inp. 313 quaerit 315 Sollertis agittaque pectore 316 Et fingit 319 curam digito quae iuuerit 320 Defuerit bonis 321 fraudaret 322 Cognitor est urbis amoris 323 ponetque forum suadetque lyaco 324 Nobilis insaltus et staenae mollior arte 325 Nunc surgent elirate studinise natat 326 tantum post fata sonantis 327 somnumque ferens oeagrius 328 tensus ~~addit~~ adidit (*sic*) 330 uoces dotis horeaeque sonantis 331 Garrulaque modulos 331 quodcumque 332 Mulorbitque baechum 337 cantauit adiuris 338 Hic distant elyra cum p. u. sexta 339 Chaelarum surgent quae c. ducit ad a. 340 Quid regione pauis partis 341 thuris 343 dextra 344 Iupiter 345 Quod ortus 347 uenerantis uoces 348 Pene possint[2] 349 Quattuor adp. 350 more 351 agitauit onus mixtasque iugabit 352 quadripedes aut currus 353 Aut onerauit 354 medias artes ad menbra 355 mutarunt 357 non aegros corpus 358 Hunc arquit. par quinta 359 nantis 361 opus et sancta seruit 362 Regnante sub regno suo 363, 4 in M follow 374 365 Arquit. 366 decima (*not* decuma) 367 uttibi solore uolatalis 370 Alitumque genus studium 371 fluant 372 modios pensare 373 nitidos clamare suis 374 ducere lina 363 Tutelamque gerant p. domibusue r. 364 Praepositis limine 376 Qua modo 377 Fasidos et ducis 378 nouo effecta est 380 nouasque in cōmetcia ducit 381 natura elege necata 382 Ipse deum cycnus condit 385 ueneris gaudent et r. caecos 386 totamue per orbem 387 Qui gestant acaueis 388 constitit pascere 389 olo taureus 390 Et qui[3] tenens 393 Accipiunt senibusque suis populoque fluentis 394 iungent inpone 395 Ac pisces 397 Quisquis erit 398 ripisue circum ferret 401 Protrahet inmersus 403 Inm. exquiritur 404 tanta 405 rapidumque notori 406 locuplebs 407 forte 409 Iustititor aequore ac 413 latencia 414 inmitis 415 uero fauet 416 turgia pectora tollat 418 Erigit et īquamam stillis imitantibus est sic 419 pelagoque creatur 422 Et senibus uires sumet fluctumque f. 424 brachiat actus 425 Et plausa resonabit aqua nunc aequore mersas 425[a] Et senibus uireso nabit aqua nunc aequore mersas 426 Dicucet furtiuo renus 427 passumque notauit 428 reddit 429 inmota 431 Pendebitque pretotum sine remigere uotum est 433 qui mergunt 436 una sauidi harenas 437 Pars ex d. studium sociatur utrumque 438 Ingeinis atque imo 439 Adnumeros etiam ulla 440 ualidos aliunt 441 que *om.* 442 Hunc 443 Membraue orbesque flagrantis 445 Delfinamque suos p. i. natanta motus 446 uiduat pinus inatre 447 Ad 448 acta 449 Adque uocancia 450 cepheus mentis 451 seuerare 452 Frontis ac u. cōp. pondere mentis 453 Pascentur exemplare uoluet 455 Totorisque patruiue 456 Coponent reueros 457 praetextae 459 tragica[4] 460 quamquam stilus cruentis 461 haec 462 auri luxum m. sepulchra 463 Ructantemque patrem natos 464 theuana iuuauit 465 iustatre parentem 466 Queretune deae 467 uestis flammas illinc pro munerae 468 uotos 469 aliae in carmina ducant 470 cefeus inactis 472 componit lactis 473 Ardentis iuuenis 474 senos 476 orbe lingue sub frore 477 uita charusque 479 Hesteruis tamen actus

[1] Perhaps *ac structo.*

[2] *possint* seems to be right, not *possunt.*

[3] Conceivably for *excetenens* or *exquitenens*, 'snake-holder' (*excetra*).

[4] Perhaps for *tragici.*

480 tacito adf. 482 reddit 483 magnus (?) haeruas aget scevisque[1] togatus 485 Aequabit (que *om.*) 486 cad (entem *om.*) 487 ℞ partes inastra 488 Rotantis 489 externis circumuola talis 490 alis 494 Cumque hominum dedert frages 495 pace ac bello 497 Precipitant cōtenere 502 Inmissosque flumina 503 magister 504 Ingentisque urbibus usus 505 Ad 506 Aequore 507 Arfices 508 possunt carnique adquirere dotem 510 Hinc augusta *then* 515 Et mit hridateos tropea *then* 511 Aurea 512 Gemmarumque ub radiantes lucibus ignes 513 triumfis *After* 513 *follows* 543 Et quod erat regnum *then* 514 Non eximeta lues *then* 516 *then* 517 adque 518 dueci 524 eruere orbemque inuertere prade 525 Inp. et glaebas gazas 527 numerauit 528 Perfunditque stillancia litora 530 ramentis faciet momenta 529 Protulit ut la-legeret (*sic*) census spumantis in aurum 531 Et perlucentes cuperet prensare 532 emittit 533 Adquoque targenti glaebas 534 Eruet riuos alienate liquauit 535 Aut 538 Andromedae 542 naufragia 543 follows 513 544 uesano 545 Androme dantenepos ut bella maneretatus 546 Hic chimenaeus erat solaque in p. d. 547 uicti (*sic*) poena 548 Inductusque[2] sinus 549 uiua erapitur 550 Ae 556 custos est ipsa f. 557 umeris 558 scapulis 559 pinnis 561 Nec[3] tibi adsuctas 562 At tua 563 Adsitetasque (same ink) desiit rupes 564 ab equore uultu 565 et undas 566 leuis flatur efobens 567 resonauit fleuile 571 Deriguit 572 manus · polium (*sic*) 573 inandromedae 577 ira 578 paretis 579 Promissum uite 580 Additus 581 aut fugebant aumine 581 Inp. 583 Scindentis mouit 584 orē 585 uastis urguent inm. 586 fortus 587 Adque moontes 588 Infex 589 tunc quas f. in auro 593 quantis hic subuolatalis 597 uersaque a gurgit effonte 598 innutens altis 599 semper iaculata 601 ceci 602 seuit 604 Et flat 605 exstillat 606 puella 607 oblita (*sic*) 609 belua membrais 610 summasque iterum regnauit 612 noc uirginis 613 Perfundit 615 puella 616 nubturam 619 lentus 620 tempora 621 inm. 622 tustus quostanta superbe 623 Postrata eiaceant miserorum in lumine m. 624 Pernoctentque[4] 626 uindentis 627 secure 628 Supl. qui deneque posse 629 Rendentem et scopulis 630 catenas 631 Interdum poenis noxia c. seruet 632 Signauit terra elimen 635 Velocisque 636 Come 637 glomerauit cyros 639 fidem 640 cursum 641 Quauis orbem 642 Nuncius extremum uellebis 644 Quadrip. 645 humano sed qual' 647 Et gonas iugui eulauides 649 creatur 650 orbem 651 consurgit in artis 652 first letter is l not i. uindetque 654 extinctos ponit u. fines 655 mediatus inter u. perdet 656 Et peneuaet pendens porulum suspendet ab ipsa 657 extremi ceci 658 andromedam 659 bulnera notos 661 furentem 662 in laexo 663 claudent nectant 664 meularum nomine thinnol 667 sanguie potus 668 Totumquoque litore praede 669 sic caedis in artus 670 Corpora discr. 671 recentis 672 praetiosa suis-fluit (*sic*) 673 temporat 674 rages 678 turbaeque inmobilis haeret 679 sagina-sagina (*sic*) 680 bachi conplet 681 Vmorisque uolet socia per mutua dote 684 quoqueret ponti uires 685 discendant 685 Ad bellumque suo diductum et aequore 687 negant tum demum suscipit undas 688 Aepaet[5] ponto per solem umore nitescit 690 sed nota rigentes 691 Ingentes tumultos pelagique uenerunt 692 Quod erit 694 Ad sua perpetuas 696 Numquam orbem 697 Aut Cynosura minorticin prima luce rusurgit 699 promittunt 700 fere 701 Hora ferent cōmergia gentis 705 peruersaque munera duce 706 mouebit 707 int anto cunctis 708 tigrim 709 aliam festant 710 amicitias 711 pleidas dotauit 712 suffus piropo 713 cecynos ura 716 per lubrica 717 omnem 718 E numero summaque gradus qui iungitur angue 719 per minimos uno 721 Respondent 723 uaga est illa eterris sulumina 724 igni 725 trans gresuis 726 Eff. actenditur 727 Cernere "siminibus totumque micare (solidis *om.*) In the right margin a different and very distinct hand has written luminibus solidis *After* 728 *follows* Spiritus aut solidis (*sic*) desunt sicque haec d. concors then 729 Spacium stellis suma 730 siccare (*sic*) 731 quod eant 732 quod de libia 734

[1] The letter after see is doubtful; possibly it is n altered to v. Can the right reading be *scaeuasque togatos* = Roman Scaevas, such as Lucan has immortalized in Book vi. of the *Pharsalia?*

[2] Possibly for *Indutusque* (accus. plural).

[3] Perhaps for *Haec* = *hac.*

[4] i.e. *Pernoctemque.*

[5] Probably for *Aer et poto.*

Vt per ingentis 735 et quester 736 equitum 737 Vulgus 738 respondere 739 quae orbem 742 gradus atque omnia uicta priorem 743 C$\overset{u}{\phi}$ uisi (seems to mean Cuoi si = Quoi si) 745 fraglaret

Τελωσ

[I would again call the attention of students of Manilius to my article, 'The Madrid MS. of Manilius,' in *Hermathena* (Dublin) for 1893, pp. 261–287.]

ROBINSON ELLIS.

CRITICAL NOTES ON THE *REPUBLIC* OF PLATO.

(*Continued from p.* 195.)

546 A. *οὐ μόνον φυτοῖς ἐγγείοις ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἐπιγείοις ζῴοις φορὰ καὶ ἀφορία ψυχῆς τε καὶ σωμάτων γίγνονται,.....· γένους δὲ ὑμετέρου εὐγονίας τε καὶ ἀφορίας, καίπερ ὄντες σοφοί, οὓς ἡγεμόνας πόλεως ἐπαιδεύσασθε οὐδὲν μᾶλλον λογισμῷ μετ' αἰσθήσεως τεύξονται, ἀλλὰ πάρεισιν αὐτοὺς καὶ γεννήσουσι παῖδάς ποτε οὐ δέον.*

In spite of the *φορὰ καὶ ἀφορία* preceding I am inclined to think that we should read *εὐφορίας* for *ἀφορίας*, the occurrence of *ἀφορία* before accounting for the error. *Τεύξονται* naturally, though perhaps not necessarily, refers to the right time only, and *πάρεισιν* can only have the right time, not the wrong, for its subject. So in Arist. *Eth. Nicom.* vi. 10, 1142*b* 34 *εὐσυνεσία* seems right for *ἀσυνεσία*. Indeed the confusion of *α* and *ευ* is a recognized cause of error in MSS. For *τε καί* coupling synonyms cf. 571 C *λελυμένον τε καὶ ἀπηλλαγμένον*: 575 B *ἐν εἰρήνῃ τε καὶ ἡσυχίᾳ*: &c. Perhaps *ἐν* should be added before *φυτοῖς* or omitted before *ἐπιγείοις*.

547 E. *τῷ δέ γε φοβεῖσθαι τοὺς σοφοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἄγειν, ἅτε οὐκέτι κεκτημένη ἁπλοῦς τε καὶ ἀτενεῖς τοὺς τοιούτους ἄνδρας ἀλλὰ μικτοὺς, ἐπὶ δὲ θυμοειδεῖς τε καὶ ἁπλουστέρους ἀποκλίνειν, τοὺς πρὸς πόλεμον μᾶλλον πεφυκότας ἢ πρὸς εἰρήνην, κ.τ.λ.*

ἁπλουστέρους is manifestly wrong, but none of the suggested words is satisfactory. Stallbaum's *πολλαπλουστέρους*, though *prima facie* plausible from its antithesis to the *ἁπλοῦς* preceding, is not really suitable. Madvig's *ἀνουστέρους* does not strike me as good. I had at first thought of *ἀγριωτέρους*, as *ἄγριος* is a word which Plato uses in this connexion (cf. 410 D: 411 E: 486 B) and we have *τιμῶντες ἀγρίως ὑπὸ σκότου χρυσόν τε καὶ ἄργυρον* a few lines below. I believe however that Plato really wrote *ἀμουσοτέρους*. In 548 E the individual character corresponding to the timocratic is called *ὑποαμουσότερον*. Cf. *λόγου μουσικῇ κεκραμένου* in 549 B and *τῆς ἀληθινῆς Μούσης* (or *μουσικῆς*) in 548 B. Add 546 D *ἀμουσότεροι γενήσονται ὑμῖν οἱ νέοι*: 411 D *μισόλογος... καὶ ἄμουσος*.

548 D. Read probably *πῶς τε γιγνόμενος* for *πῶς τε γενόμενος*.

549 C. *ὅταν πρῶτον μὲν τῆς μητρὸς ἀκούῃ ἀχθομένης, ὅτι οὐ τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτῇ ὁ ἀνήρ ἐστι, καὶ ἐλαττουμένης διὰ ταῦτα ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις γυναιξίν, ἔπειτα ὁρώσης μὴ σφόδρα περὶ χρήματα σπουδάζοντα μηδὲ μαχόμενον καὶ λοιδορούμενον ἰδίᾳ τε ἐν δικαστηρίοις καὶ δημοσίᾳ, ἀλλὰ ῥᾳθύμως πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα φέροντα, καὶ ἑαυτῷ μὲν τὸν νοῦν προσέχοντα ἀεὶ αἰσθάνηται, ἑαυτὴν δὲ μήτε πάνυ τιμῶντα μήτε ἀτιμάζοντα· ἐξ ἁπάντων τούτων ἀχθομένης τε καὶ λεγούσης ὡς κ.τ.λ.*

One is unwilling to believe that such a sentence proceeded from the careful pen of Plato. *Αἰσθάνηται* ought in grammar to be *αἰσθανομένης*. It is however unnecessary to have any such word at all, as *ὁρώσης* would govern *προσέχοντα*, and I suspect that *αἰσθάνηται* should be banished from the text altogether. If we retain it, we might possibly read *καὶ <ἐὰν> ἑαυτῷ* or *κἂν ἑαυτῷ*.

550 C. *Ἔχομεν ἄρα, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, τήν τε δευτέραν πολιτείαν καὶ τὸν δεύτερον ἄνδρα. Ἔχομεν, ἔφη.*

Should not *ἔχομεν...ἄνδρα* be made interrogative?

551 C. *πονηρὰν, ἦ δ' ὅς, τὴν ναυτιλίαν αὐτοὺς ναυτίλλεσθαι.*

For *ἦ δ' ὅς* Ast suggests *εἰκός*, which I had thought of independently. It might be either substituted or added. Perhaps *πονηρὰν ἀνάγκη, ἦ δ' ὅς*.

551 D. *Ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ τόδε καλόν, τὸ ἀδυνάτους εἶναι ἴσως πόλεμόν τινα πολεμεῖν.* *ἴσως* (given by A and some other MSS., but not found in all) is feeble. Baiter after Badham *σῶς*: but we need an adverb. A very suitable word would be *ἰσ(χυρ)ῶς*. Cf. Thuc. i. 69, 6 *ἰσχυρῶς ἐγκείσονται*.

554 E. ὁμονοητικῆς δὲ καὶ ἡρμοσμένης τῆς ψυχῆς ἀληθὴς ἀρετή.

Should not τῆς be omitted?

555 C. For εἰσδανείζοντες, an odd word, read perhaps προσδανείζοντες. Ast after Steph. ἐκδανείζοντες.

556 A. οὔτε γ' ἐκείνῃ. Perhaps οὔτε γὰρ ἐκείνῃ.

556 C. Οὕτω δή παρεσκευασμένοι ὅταν παραβάλλωσιν ἀλλήλοις οἵ τε ἄρχοντες καὶ οἱ ἀρχόμενοι ἢ ἐν ὁδῶν πορείαις ἢ ἐν ἄλλαις τισι κοινωνίαις, ἢ κατὰ θεωρίας ἢ κατὰ στρατείας, ἢ ξύμπλοι γιγνόμενοι ἢ ξυστρατιῶται, ἢ καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς κινδύνοις ἀλλήλους θεώμενοι μηδαμῇ καταφρονῶνται οἱ πένητες ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων.

This sentence, which is as ungrammatical and—what is worse—as awkward as that in 549 C, D, may be put fairly straight by reading θεωμένων for θεώμενοι. For the genitive absolute with a subject to be supplied from the context, cf. 327 C and 616 A. Possibly we should also add ἐάν before ἐν αὐτοῖς or read κἂν ἐν αὐτοῖς. Another simple remedy would be to insert καί before μηδαμῇ (ὅταν...παραβάλλωσι θεώμενοι ...καὶ μηδαμῇ ταύτῃ καταφρονῶνται οἱ πένητες).

558 A. τί δὲ; ἡ πραότης ἐνίων τῶν δικασθέντων οὐ κομψή; ἢ οὔπω εἶδες ἐν τοιαύτῃ πολιτείᾳ ἀνθρώπων καταψηφισθέντος (so Madvig and Baiter for καταψηφισθέντων) θανάτου ἢ φυγῆς οὐδὲν ἧττον αὐτῶν μενόντων τε καὶ ἀναστρεφομένων ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ ὡς οὔτε φροντίζοντος οὔτε ὁρῶντος οὐδενὸς περινοστεῖ ὥσπερ ἥρως; καὶ πολλούς γ', ἔφη.

In the first sentence περί should probably be inserted before or after ἐνίων (Steph. inserts κατά). Cf. Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία 22, χρώμενοι τῇ εἰωθυίᾳ τοῦ δήμου πραότητι, and many passages of Demosthenes, *e.g.* 19, 107. The second sentence suffers from four distinct faults: (1) εἶδες with the genitive absolute: (2) the change from plural to singular in περινοστεῖ: (3) the loose attachment of the last clause, ὡς apparently going with φροντίζοντος and ὁρῶντος, which last word absolutely requires ὡς to qualify it: (4) the weakness of αὐτῶν and ἀνθρώπων. I believe that the words have got consistently corrupted and that we must read the accusative, either singular or plural, throughout: *i.e.* either οὔπω εἶδες ἐν τοιαύτῃ πολιτείᾳ ἄνθρωπον καταψηφισθέντος θανάτου ἢ φυγῆς οὐδὲν ἧττον αὐτοῦ μένοντά τε καὶ ἀναστρεφόμενον ἐν μέσῳ καὶ...περινοστοῦντα ὥσπερ ἥρωα, or the accusative plural throughout. I write αὐτοῦ for αὐτῶν, as Schneider had already suggested, though he did not adopt it in his text.

558 E. In this and the following sections it would seem proper to make ἀναγκαῖος consistently an adjective of either two or three terminations, and not to treat it sometimes as one, sometimes as the other.

559 B. ἡ μέν γέ που τοῦ σίτου (ἐπιθυμία) κατ' ἀμφότερα ἀναγκαία, ᾗ τε ὠφέλιμος ᾗ τε παῦσαι ζῶντα οὐ δυνατή (οὐ is rightly added by C. F. Hermann. Cf. note on 488 E, where perhaps οὐ δυνατόν is as likely as ἀδύνατον). On the model of Xen. *Anab.* 4, 1, 24 αὐτὸς δ' ἔφη ἡγήσεσθαι δυνατὴν καὶ ὑποζυγίοις πορεύεσθαι ὁδόν, quoted by L. and S. *s.v.* δυνατός, I should suggest ζῶντι here. παῦσαι means of course the same as ἀποτρέψαι and ἀπαλλάξειεν above.

561 E. Παντάπασιν, ᾗ δ' ὅς, διελήλυθας βίον ἰσονομικοῦ τινὸς ἀνδρός. Οἶμαι δέ γε, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, καὶ παντοδαπόν τε καὶ πλείστων ἠθῶν μεστόν, καὶ τὸν καλόν τε καὶ ποικίλον ὥσπερ ἐκείνην τὴν πόλιν τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα εἶναι. Thompson proposed τῶν καλῶν τε καὶ ποικίλων; a more certain correction in my eyes is παντοδαποῦ τε καὶ πλείστων ἠθῶν μεστοῦ. Surely the words are parallel to ἰσονομικοῦ.

562 A. Φέρε δή, τίς τρόπος τυραννίδος, ὦ φίλε ἑταῖρε, γίγνεται; ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ δημοκρατίας μεταβάλλει σχεδὸν δῆλον. Δῆλον. Ἆρ' οὖν τρόπον τινὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔκ τε ὀλιγαρχίας δημοκρατία γίγνεται καὶ ἐκ δημοκρατίας τυραννίς;

τίς τρόπος τυραννίδος γίγνεται cannot give that meaning of 'how does tyranny come into being?' which the words following show to be required. Cf. 563 E αὕτη μὲν τοίνυν...ἡ ἀρχή...ὅθεν ἡ τυραννὶς φύεται: 565 D τίς ἀρχὴ οὖν μεταβολῆς κ.τ.λ. Probably Plato wrote here simply τίνα τρόπον τυραννὶς ...γίγνεται, as in the words almost immediately following (τρόπον τινὰ...γίγνεται). Τίς ἀρχὴ τυραννίδος γίγνεται would give the same sense. Or should γενέσεως be substituted for γίγνεται?

567 E. Κηφῆνας, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, νὴ τὸν κύνα, δοκεῖς αὖ τινάς μοι λέγειν ξενικούς τε καὶ παντοδαπούς. Ἀληθῆ γάρ, ἔφη, δοκῶ σοι. Τί δέ; αὐτόθεν ἆρ' οὐκ ἂν ἐθελήσειεν; Πῶς; Τοὺς δούλους ἀφελόμενος τοὺς πολίτας ἐλευθερώσας τῶν περὶ ἑαυτὸν δορυφόρων ποιήσασθαι (τί δε; αὐτόθεν Stallbaum with one MS., τίς δὲ αὐτόθεν A, τοὺς δὲ αὐτόθεν most MSS.).

The ellipse with ἐθελήσειεν on this reading is very harsh, for an infinitive and an accusative after the infinitive have both to be supplied. But τοὺς αὐτόθεν is unlikely, for then the question could hardly have been taken up with a bare πῶς. Is it possible that Plato wrote τί δέ; αὐτόθεν ἆρ' οὐκ ἂν ἐθελήσειέ πως τοὺς δούλους ἀφελόμενος κ.τ.λ.?

573 D. Γίγνεται μέν, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὕτω καὶ τοιοῦτος ἀνήρ. Perhaps γίγνεται μὲν οὖν, or

οὐκοῦν γίγνεται μὲν, the οὐκοῦν having been lost after μὲν οὖν just preceding.

575 A. τυραννικῶς ἐν αὐτῷ ἡ Ἔρως...ζῶν, ἅτε αὐτὸς ὢν μόναρχος, τὸν ἔχοντά τε αὐτὸν ὥσπερ πόλιν ἄξει ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τόλμαν, ὅθεν αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν περὶ αὐτόν θόρυβον θρέψει, τὸν μὲν ἔξωθεν εἰσεληλυθότα ἀπὸ κακῆς ὁμιλίας, τὸν δ' ἔνδοθεν ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν τρόπων καὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἀνεθέντα καὶ ἐλευθερωθέντα.

The τε after τὸν ἔχοντα is omitted by Stallbaum, nor do I see how Baiter could justify its retention, unless we are to suppose something omitted like τὸν ἔχοντά τε <καὶ τρέφοντα>. Cf. 575 D μητρίδα τε... καὶ πατρίδα ἕξει τε καὶ θρέψει. Again ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν τρόπων καὶ ἑαυτοῦ is nonsense. I conjecture ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν τρόπων ἑαυτῷ, or possibly ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν τρόπων καὶ αὐτόν (cf. 451 E εἰ ἄρα ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἐπὶ ταὐτὰ χρησόμεθα καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσι, ταὐτὰ καὶ διδακτέον αὐτάς, where καί goes closely with ἐπὶ ταὐτά) in the sense of 'the same habits, or manners, that have set him (Ἔρως) free.'

577 A. ἔν τε ταῖς κατ' οἰκίαν πράξεσιν, ὡς πρὸς ἑκάστους τοὺς οἰκείους ἔχει, ἐν οἷς μάλιστα γυμνὸς ἂν ὀφθείη τῆς τραγικῆς σκευῆς.

Probably ἐν αἷς.

577 B. βούλει.. προσποιησώμεθα ἡμεῖς εἶναι τῶν δυνατῶν ἂν κρῖναι καὶ ἤδη ἐντυχόντων τοιούτοις.

I do not think τῶν δυνατῶν ἄν could be defended by the parallel of Eur. *Alc.* 182 σέ δ' ἄλλη τις γυνὴ κεκτήσεται, σώφρων μὲν οὐκ ἂν μᾶλλον, εὐτυχὴς δ' ἴσως and the parody in Ar. *Eq.* 1252. In prose it is surely impossible to attach ἄν to an adjective. We have τοῦ δυνατοῦ μὲν κρῖναι a few lines above, which tells against the genuineness of ἄν here. Can ἄν represent ὄν(των)? Or should we read τῶν δυνατῶν ἄν ὄντων?

579 D. δοῦλος τὰς μεγίστας θωπείας καὶ δουλείας. Surely we ought with two MSS. (Schneider) to read δουλείας καὶ θωπείας. The only thing that could make δοῦλος θωπείας tolerable would be that δοῦλος δουλείας should lead up to it.

585 A. ὥσπερ δὲ πρὸς μέλαν φαιὸν ἀποσκοποῦντες ἀπειρίᾳ λευκοῦ, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄλυπον οὕτω λύπην ἀφορῶντες ἀπειρίᾳ ἡδονῆς ἀπατῶνται.

Thompson was undoubtedly right in principle when he proposed καὶ πρὸς λύπην οὕτω τὸ ἄλυπον: but I should rather incline to write καὶ τὸ ἄλυπον οὕτω πρὸς λύπην. One or the other is absolutely necessary.

586 C. ὃς ἂν αὐτὸ τοῦτο διαπράττηται. The sense seems to require something like ταὐτὸ τοῦτο or αὖ τοιοῦτον.

592 B. Ἀλλ', ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἐν οὐρανῷ ἴσως παράδειγμα ἀνάκειται τῷ βουλομένῳ ὁρᾶν καὶ ὁρῶντι ἑαυτὸν κατοικίζειν.

Herwerden seems right in taking exception to ἑαυτὸν κατοικίζειν, but neither αὐτὸ κατοικίζειν nor ὁρῶντι πρὸς αὐτό ('keeping it in view') is satisfactory. I should suppose Plato to have written ἑαυτὸν <αὐτόσε> (or < εἰς αὐτὴν >) κατοικίζειν. Cf. 543 B ἄγοντες τοὺς στρατιώτας κατοικιοῦσιν εἰς οἰκήσεις: *Tim.* 69 D κατοικίζουσιν εἰς ἄλλην τοῦ σώματος οἴκησιν τὸ θνητόν. By itself ἑαυτὸν κατοικίζειν is incomplete.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

(*To be continued.*)

THE *BACCHAE* OF EURIPIDES.

I BEGIN by withdrawing the expression *mendacissimus*, which in my hot youth I applied to Henry Stephens. I think it was my opinion at that time that one might say anything in Latin. I remember that on the appearance of the edition of 1871 I was courteously admonished in a long-defunct magazine, the *Dark Blue*, by a young Cambridge scholar who had even then given earnest of his future brilliant achievements in scholarship, I mean Prof. Jebb, that it was unadvisable to revive the asperities of the Brunckian era. I have followed that advice, and have adopted a far less emphatic tone in my recent edition of the *Bacchae*.

But I still hold the belief that Stephens' *vetustissima exemplaria* had no existence. I know nothing about the case of Isaac Voss instanced by Mr. England, but I think he has been singularly fortunate if scholars have taken his word for the existence of MSS. seen by nobody but himself. Bosius (Du Bos), a fellow countryman of H. Stephens (Henri Estienne), has not gained such credence. His X and Y have been universally rejected by scholars. Baiter declares that all readings depending on them alone are *furca expellendae* and in relating the circumstances of the death of Bosius he writes *Bosium cito scelus suum*

morte luisse a latronibus trucidatum. It is true that Mendelssohn has lately raised the question whether these *codices* may not have been genuine; but the answer of scholars seems to be unanimous: 'If those *codices* existed how is it that no one has ever seen them?' Scholars of the revival were very ready to give full information about their *exemplaria* when they really existed. By an extraordinary vagary of human ambition some of them were capable of resorting to imposture to gain admittance into the early editions, and consequently a good chance of permanent acceptance, for their own conjectures, which were in many cases so good that they would have been universally accepted as certain conjectural emendations if candidly put forward as such.

I heartily admire Mr. England's scholarship, and appreciate highly the work he has done on Euripides. Moreover I completely agree with him in his admiration for the brilliant services of Stephens to scholarship. He is polite enough not to apply the objectionable superlative (even in Latin) to me, but, in the face of a significant aposiopesis on his part, I should like to show that even a less courteous disputant than he is himself would not be justified in applying to me the adjective even in the positive degree (and in Latin).

Kirchhoff does not believe in Stephens' *vetustissima exemplaria.* He gives a full account of the MSS. on which the text of the *Bacchae* depends, and he makes no mention at all of Stephens' *codices Italici.* He gives Stephens' quotations from them as the conjectures of that admirable scholar, and when he does not approve of them as conjectures he does not mention them. For instance, in 1060 he does not make any mention of *μόθων*, though Stephens is very instant in claiming for it MS. authority. This being so, I perhaps did not use the most appropriate language when I said that Kirchhoff has shown that the *codices* were fabricated when he had only shown that he believed them to be fabricated. Yet, if I proclaimed that I had won the Derby, and if Mr. England, on referring to a list of Derby winners generally accepted as accurate, and finding there no mention of my name, should declare that the list had shown that I was making an untrue statement, it would not be to Mr. England that the defamatory attribute would be most applicable.

Mr. England says that Stephens published the readings of his Italian *codices* along with conjectures of his own 'in such a way that it is nearly always possible to distinguish the readings from the conjectures.' The fact seems to be that he published as his conjectures such emendations as he thought sure of general acceptance, and appealed to MSS. authority for those which he deemed to need such support. For instance, he writes *repone πανδήμοισι pro πανδόμοις* in 227, but in 235, desiring to read *εὔκοσμος κόμην*, his tone is very different: *in vet. cod. legitur εὔκοσμος quam esse veram lectionem persuasum habeo.* Sometimes, but very rarely, he overrates the certainty of his own conjecture, and gives it as such, *e.g. ἠρρενωμένας* in 688; but nearly always when his emendation is good enough in his judgment to dispense with MSS. support, it has proved sufficiently convincing to win universal acceptance. When he corrects *σπουδῆς* to *σπονδῆς* and *λογχατόν* to *λογχωτόν* he says *non est dubium quin reponendum sit;* but when the case admits of doubt he claims the authority of his *codices.* And the worse the conjecture the more earnest his appeal to the *codices.* This is illustrated by his note in defence of his worst conjecture *μόθων*, which Kirchhoff does not even record. It is worth noticing that Stephens never thought of *μόθων* as anything but the gen. plur. of *μόθος*; he was too good a scholar to think of introducing such a word as *μόθων* (*-ωνος*) into a tragedy. His practice is the same as regards the conjectures of other scholars. For instance the brilliant correction of Brodaeus, *Πανὸς* for *καπνὸς* in 952, is accepted as a certain emendation, but to the same scholar's *φόβῃ* for *φόβῳ* in 1187 and *περισσάν* for *περισσάς* in 1197 he calls the aid of his *codices.*

Mr. England did very well in calling the attention of the readers of the *Classical Review* to the fact that certain verses restored from *B* to the *Troades* in two passages, 193—196 and 232—234, are quoted from his *codices* by Stephens, who certainly did not know *B.* It is to be observed that of the second passage Kirchhoff writes 'mutilatos exhibet Ald. cum *AB*, supplevit in *A* m. sec.' Could Stephens have seen *A*? In any case it would seem better to accept the hypothesis suggested by Mr. England himself in his note than to believe in the existence of those *exemplaria* which both in the life of Stephens and since his death have evaded the search of every scholar save the brilliant Frenchman.

I would add a word or two in reference to Mr. Page's note on *Bacch.* 506. I have printed

that verse with *obeli* because I believe it has never been restored. I do not believe Euripides would have written οὐκ οἶσθ' ὅ τι ζῇς in the sense of 'you do not know what (blind) life you are leading' or 'that you have (but) the life of a mortal.' I think the word which I have in each version enclosed in parenthesis would be essential to the sense, yet it is not in the Greek. 'You do not know that you are a mere mortal' could be expressed in scores of ways. Mr. Page, who is a most skilful verse-writer, would not think of such an expression as οὐκ οἶσθ' ὅ τι ζῇς as a rendering of this sentiment. Why then should he ascribe it to Euripides? Still less do I believe that Euripides having written such an inelegant expression as οὐκ οἶσθ' ὅ τι ζῇς οὔθ' ὅστις εἶ would have further encumbered the line with such a superfluous and clumsy *additamentum* as οὐδ' ὁρᾷς, which adds nothing to the sense and brings in a most ungraceful οὐδ' between οὐκ and οὔθ'. Mr. Page complains that the verse is now 'buried beneath a heap of learned rubbish, the proper place for which is the dustbin.' Just so. That is why I obelized the verse and put all the suggestions for its restoration, none of which seemed quite satisfactory, into the dustbin, my note. The only difference between us is that Mr. Page would put his little armful into the text, not the note, into the casket which holds the precious jewels, not into the dustbin which stands beside it.

R. Y. Tyrrell.

ON THE TERM ἑκτημόροι OR ἑκτημόριοι.

In Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon* the word ἑκτημόριος is interpreted thus—'*of a sixth part:* hence οἱ ἑκτημόριοι = τὸ ἕκτον τῶν γιγνομένων τελοῦντες, *those who paid a sixth of the produce* as rent, Plut. *Sol.* 13; also ἑκτημόροι Hesych.'

In the April number of this *Journal*, Mr. Wayte in a list of 'corrections of Liddell and Scott' proposed to correct this interpretation. His arguments were as follows:

'The text of Ἀθ. Πολ. ch. 2 (*pace* Dr. Sandys) supports the contention that the cultivators paid five-sixths of the produce and retained only one-sixth. This is also the common-sense view: if the proportions were reversed, it is difficult to see where the oppression came in.'

May I suggest that these are inadequate reasons for 'correcting' a statement of fact distinctly made by Plutarch, repeated—as Liddell and Scott indicate—by Hesychius, and indirectly supported—as I shall presently show—by Isocrates. Mr. Wayte's first argument I am unable to answer, because he does not say *how* the text of Ἀθ. Πολ. supports his interpretation. But it is easy to show how, in my opinion, it supports that of Liddell and Scott. The relevant phrases are these:—

...ἐκαλοῦντο πελάται καὶ ἑκτημόροι· κατὰ ταύτην γὰρ τὴν μίσθωσιν εἰργάζοντο τῶν πλουσίων τοὺς ἀγρούς...καὶ εἰ μὴ τὰς μισθώσεις ἀποδιδοῖεν, ἀγώγιμοι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ παῖδες ἐγίγνοντο.

It seems to me (1) that the pronominal reference in ταύτην to ἑκτημόροι implies clearly that the μίσθος or μίσθωσις was τὸ ἕκτον μέρος, while (2) the phrase εἰ μὴ τὰς μισθώσεις ἀποδιδοῖεν shows that the μίσθωσις was paid and not received—was, as Dr. Sandys says, 'rent and not wages.'

The authority of the Ἀθ. Πολ. seems to me, therefore, entirely on the side of Plutarch and Liddell and Scott. But, says Mr. Wayte, the other interpretation is required by 'common sense,' because, if the πελάται only paid one-sixth, 'it is difficult to see where the oppression came in.' Surely it came in where our authorities describe it as coming in, viz. through a severe law of debt, administered by oligarchical judges independent of popular control. It is against this that Solon's remedies are directed: we are not told that he attempted to introduce 'fair rents.' If it be said that the law of debt could not have done so much harm, if the tenants had only paid one-sixth, the answer is that Solon's language indicates a wide-spread economic distress among proprietors as well as tenants; since his first boast is that he 'removed many mortgage-pillars.' Surely, if the economic difficulties of the small proprietors were so great as to require the revolutionary remedy of a σεισάχθεια, the distress of mere tenants might be sufficiently severe, even if they only paid a rent of one-sixth.

In any case I hardly think that 'common sense,' in so obscure a subject as the economic history of Attica before Solon,

should override the explicit statements of Plutarch, supported—as I have tried to show—by the natural and obvious interpretation of the words of Ἀθ. Πολ. ch. 2. I know of no unambiguous evidence on the other side: and it is to be noted (1) that neither Plutarch nor the author of the *Athenian Polity* give a hint of a conflict of tradition on this point; and further (2) that Plutarch's statement is supported by the account which Isocrates gives (*Areopag.* § 32) of the good old times,—describing how οἱ τὰς οὐσίας ἔχοντες did not neglect the poor, but ἐπήμυνον ταῖς ἐνδείαις, τοῖς μὲν γεωργίας ἐπὶ μετρίαις μισθώσεσι παραδιδόντες κ.τ.λ. Now Isocrates, writing as *laudator temporis acti* is doubtless not a first-class authority on a question of historic fact. Still the *Areopagiticus* is a serious political pamphlet: and, if it had been the established tradition in the time of Isocrates that the poor cultivators before Solon had to hand over five-sixths of their produce to their landlords, surely a writer of his repute would hardly have ventured on a moving description of the rich coming philanthropically to the succour of the poor by letting lands to them at 'moderate rents'!

On the whole, therefore, I venture to hope that—as the ancient authorities appear to be on their side—our old friends Liddell and Scott may be left uncorrected on this point.

HENRY SIDGWICK.

Δύναμις AND Φύσις IN PLATO.

WE might classify the senses of the term δύναμις according as it is used in reference to (*a*) animate things, or (*b*) inanimate things. Under (*a*) we might roughly class its uses to denote personal 'powers' of either an internal or external character by subdividing into (1) outward might or influence (due to κτήματα and χρήματα and the like), (2) corporal strength, (3) psychical effectiveness.

Under the first of these heads may be grouped such passages as *Menex.* 240 D ἡ τῶν Περσῶν δύναμις ('force' as concrete rather than abstract), *Tim.* 24 E, 25 A, *Rep.* ii. 364 A, iv. 423 A, *Laws* iv. 706 B, etc. But neither this nor the second loose and vulgar usage deserves more than a mere mention.

Passing on to (*b*) we find δύναμις frequently applied (1) to denote the 'effectiveness,' or sphere of action, of arts or sciences, e.g. *Rep.* v. 453 E ἡ γενναία...ἡ δύναμις τῆς ἀντιλογικῆς τέχνης, cp. *Gorg.* 447 C, 456 A, C. Also (2) it may denote the meaning or significance of a term, e.g. *Cratyl.* 394 B ἡ τοῦ ὀνόματος δύναμις, *ib.* 435 D, *Phil.* 24 C, etc. And further, (3) we find it applied as a technical term in mathematics, in the sense of (*a*) the side of a square or the *root* of a number, e.g. *Polit.* 266 B ἡ διάμετρος ἡ δυνάμει δίπους...ἥ γε τοῦ λοιποῦ γένους πάλιν ἐστὶ κατὰ δύναμιν αὖ τῆς ἡμετέρας δυνάμεως διάμετρος. Cp. *Theaet.* 148 B ff., and also conversely (*b*) of a square or *square* number, e.g. *Rep.* ix. 587 D κατὰ δὲ δύναμιν καὶ τρίτην αὔξην κ.τ.λ. ('by raising to the second and third powers'), *Theaet.* 147 E τὸν μὲν δυνάμενον (*sc.* ἀριθμόν) ἴσον ἰσάκις γίγνεσθαι τετράγωνον καὶ ἰσόπλευρον προσείπομεν. Hence the δύναμις, in mathematical sense, may be either τοῦ ποιεῖν (square root) or τοῦ πάσχειν (square number): δύνασθαι, as active, has for passive δυναστεύεσθαι (cp. Adam, *Nuptial Number* p. 31).

It thus appears that the term δύναμις admits of a tolerably wide range of application. But Plato has taken care in some places to define this range with more precision. Thus in *Rep.* v. 477 C ff. he makes use of the term for the purpose of distinguishing between ἐπιστήμη and δόξα. First he describes δυνάμεις as γένος τι τῶν ὄντων αἷς δὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς δυνάμεθα ἃ δυνάμεθα καὶ ἄλλο πᾶν ὅ τι περ ἂν δύνηται, οἷον λέγω ὄψιν καὶ ἀκοὴν τῶν δυνάμεων εἶναι. Then he remarks that a δύναμις has no visible properties whereby to define it—δυνάμεως γὰρ ἐγὼ οὔτε τινὰ χρείαν ὁρῶ οὔτε σχῆμα οὔτε τι τῶν τοιούτων,—and consequently its character is determined by that of the *object* upon which it is exercised and the *effect* which it produces: δυνάμεως δ' εἰς ἐκεῖνο μόνον βλέπω, ἐφ' ᾧ τε ἔστι καὶ ὃ ἀπεργάζεται...καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ τεταγμένην καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀπεργαζομένην τὴν αὐτὴν καλῶ, τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ ἑτέρῳ καὶ ἕτερον ἀπεργαζομένην ἄλλην. Then (477 E ff.) both ἐπιστήμη and δόξα are referred to δύναμις as their γένος or εἶδος, but distinguished from each other by their respective objects (ἐφ' οἷς), τὸ γνωστόν and τὸ δοξαστόν. So in 518 B, C ff. ἐπιστήμη is spoken of as δύναμις ἐνοῦσα ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ. Hence we conclude:—ὄργανον : δύναμις : : ὄμμα : ὄψις : : τὸ λογιστικόν :

ἐπιστήμη. δύναμις, then, is best translated here 'function' (not 'faculty' or 'seelenvermögen,' as Krohn, *Der plat. Staat* p. 160: see Peiper's *Ontol. Plat.* pp. 574 ff.), which function may be of either bad or good quality according to the nature of its object and result; so that a δύναμις is not strictly identical with an ἀρετή (in spite of iv. 430 B, 443 B, v. 477 C), nor yet with φύσις. For the notion of δύναμις as conditioned by ἔργον we may compare 352 E ἆρ' οὖν τοῦτο ἂν θείης καὶ ἵππου καὶ ἄλλου ὁτουοῦν ἔ ρ γ ο ν, ὃ ἂν ἢ μ ό ν ῳ ἐκείνῳ π ο ι ῇ τις ἢ ἄ ρ ι σ τ α;... ἔσθ' ὅτῳ ἂν ἄλλῳ ἴδοις ἢ ὀφθαλμοῖς;—ἀκούσαις ἄλλῳ ἢ ὠσίν; οὐδαμῶς. οὐκοῦν δικαίως ἂν ταῦτα τούτων φαμὲν ἔ ρ γ α εἶναι. 353 A: ἆρ' ἄν ποτε ὄμματα τὸ αὐτῶν ἔ ρ γ ο ν κ α λ ῶ ς ἀ π ε ρ γ ά σ α ι ν τ ο μὴ ἔχοντα τὴν αὐτῶν οἰκεῖαν ἀρετήν κ.τ.λ. With which passages cp. Ar. *Eth. Nic.* i. 6, 1097*b* 24 ff., ii. 5, 1106*a* 15 ff. So ὄμμα as ὄργανον has ὄψις for δύναμις and also (opposed to τυφλότης 353 C) for ἀρετή, and, for ἔργον, τὸ ὁρᾶν (ὃ ἀπεργάζεται), and for object (ἐφ' ᾧ, τὸ ὁρώμενον) χρῶμα, σχῆμα. Again in 507 C ff. ὄψις is described as the αἴσθησις wherewith we see what we see, but for its actualization there is needed not only a visible object (χρῶμα) but also a third factor, light, without which ἥ τε ὄψις οὐδὲν ὄψεται τά τε χρώματα ἔσται ἀόρατα. So the sun's light is the cause (αἰτία) which ὄψιν τε ποιεῖ ὁρᾶν ὅ τι κάλλιστα καὶ τὰ ὁρώμενα ὁρᾶσθαι (508 A). φῶς is thus the τίμιον ζυγόν by which are unified ἡ τοῦ ὁρᾶν αἴσθησις καὶ ἡ τοῦ ὁρᾶσθαι δύναμις (507 E) or ἡ τοῦ ὁρᾶν τε καὶ ὁρᾶσθαι δύναμις (507 C). The δύναμις may be present (ἐνοῦσα, παροῦσα), as ὄψις in the eye, χρόα in the object, only *potentially* and unrealized—a potency which the subject will attempt vainly to use (χρῆσθαι) in the dark. Hence, though Plato prefers to use δύναμις of function realizable at will, it is evident that he has in mind here the distinction between potentiality and actuality, of which Aristotle made so much: cp. *de An.* iii. 5 where φῶς is αἴτιον καὶ ποιητικόν which ποιεῖ τὰ δυνάμει ὄντα χρώματα, ἐνεργείᾳ χρώματα. The same distinction between the actual and potential underlies the discussion in *Theaet.* 197 ff. where ἕξις and κτῆσις are distinguished, where κτῆσις implies δύναμις τοῦ λαβεῖν καὶ ἔχειν ἐν ταῖς χερσίν or the recollection of previously acquired knowledge. But as 'efficiency' is the special mark of δύναμις, Plato does not trouble much to consider δυνάμεις which are unproductive of ἔργα, or which do not exist ἐνεργείᾳ. He does not contrast δύναμις persistently with the actual, but rather regards it as a condition of actuality, and as of *causative* value.

How nearly 'power' is akin to 'cause,' δύναμις to αἰτία, we may learn from Aristotle: δύναμις λέγεται ἡ μὲν ἀρχὴ κινήσεως ἢ μεταβολῆς ἡ ἐν ἑτέρῳ ἢ ᾗ ἕτερον κ.τ.λ., *Met.* Δ 12, 1019*a* 15, cf. *id.* 2, 1013*a* 29 ff., of the third, or efficient, cause, ἔτι ὅθεν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς μεταβολῆς ἡ πρώτη ἢ τῆς ἠρεμήσεως, οἷον ὁ βουλεύσας αἴτιος καὶ ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ τέκνου, καὶ ὅλως τὸ ποιοῦν τοῦ ποιουμένου καὶ τὸ μεταβλητικὸν τοῦ μεταβάλλοντος. So *Phileb.* 30 D διὰ τὴν τῆς αἰτίας δύναμιν. Thus δύναμις may be said to mean causative efficacy, moving force, power of self-extension. But it is not conceived by Plato as mere abstract notion, but as belonging to an operative subject regarded as *organon* in whole or in part, whose quality it is. Everything which is causative or operative must, in so far, possess δύναμις, and so 'power' is conditioned by and correlative with the object worked on, cause and effect being an inseparable pair. So the 'square root' involves in its notion that of the square which it has 'power' to form: if 3 is expressed as $\sqrt{9}$, or as a δύναμις, we necessarily think of it in relation to its square or expanded form. And as the 'power' of 3 is to make 9, or 3^2, so the 'power' of ἰατρική is to make ὑγίεια or of πατήρ to make τέκνον. And conversely, 9, or 3^2, has the 'power' of becoming made by 3, ὑγίεια and τέκνον of becoming produced by ἰατρός and πατήρ: division is the converse of multiplication, and we can speak of a δύναμις τοῦ πάσχειν as well as of a δύναμις τοῦ ποιεῖν.

Hence in its widest sense δύναμις means much what we mean by 'relativity': it is the necessary quality of every object and every subject of a related pair—δύναμιν τὸ μὲν ποιεῖν ἔχον, τὸ δὲ πάσχειν, *Theaet.* 156 A. Each member of the correlated pair is dynamical, and their causativeness is reciprocal: if 3 is the factor of 9, it is only because the nature of 9 admits of such a mode of production. Everything which is in *relation* to another thing may be termed a δύναμις, or said to possess δύναμις. So in *Rep.* ii. 366 E justice and injustice are regarded as each τῇ αὐτοῦ δυνάμει ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἔχοντος ψυχῇ ἐνόν: *ib.* 367 D justice ὀνίνησι, injustice βλάπτει, and in E the question is raised τί π ο ι ο ῦ σ α ἑκατέρα τὸν ἔχοντα αὐτὴ δι' αὐτήν...ἡ μὲν ἀγαθόν, ἡ δὲ κακόν ἐστιν—*i.e.* states of soul or moral qualities are effective 'powers.' Thus moral virtues, or vices, are δυνάμεις, and intellectual states also, *e.g.* ἐπιστήμη or δόξα, as we have seen. The distinction between the psychical and corporeal side is most clearly brought out in the epistemological doctrine of the *Theaetetus.*

In pp. 184–5 we have the organon or physical medium (δι' οὗ) of sensation distinguished from the sentient subject, ᾗ αἰσθανόμεθα, *i.e.* the bodily organs from the soul. And the δυνάμεις (ὄψις, ἀκοή, etc.) equally with the ὄργανα are spoken of as δι' ὧν: and the phrase ἡ διὰ τῆς γλώττης δύναμις is used. So in the case of τὰ κοινά,—general qualities, mathematical relations and the like—αὐτὴ δι' αὐτῆς ἡ ψυχὴ ἐπισκοπεῖ, whereas it perceives sensible qualities διὰ τῶν τοῦ σώματος δυνάμεων—*i.e.* in pure διάνοια or νοήσις there is no special organon, and so no special δύναμις, but the soul is its own δύναμις, or δι' οὗ. But here too, in the purely intellectual sphere, the objects—ideas of ὁμοιότης, ταὐτόν, θάτερον, etc.—are δυνάμεις no less than the soul which thinks them: they condition it no less than it them, or rather, the νοήματα are the resultants of the two factors νοοῦν and νοούμενα. Hence δύναμις may attach to subject and object in sensation or in cogitation, as material or immaterial. And so in *Soph.* 247 C, E, the definition of ὄν offered for the acceptance of the materialists is δύναμις—τὸ καὶ ὁποιανοῦν κεκτημένον δύναμιν, εἴτ' εἰς τὸ ποιεῖν ἕτερον ὁτιοῦν πεφυκός, εἴτ' εἰς τὸ παθεῖν καὶ σμικρότατον ὑπὸ τοῦ φαυλοτάτου, πᾶν τοῦτο ὄντως εἶναι: and similarly in 248–9 the idealists are forced to admit in thought and its object ποιεῖν and πάσχειν, since γνῶσις implies δύναμις and δύναμις involves κίνησις. So that δύναμις is the common denominator to which all reality, all causal relation whether outer or inner, spatial or non-spatial, is reduced. ὄντως οὐσία = δύναμις, the percipiend and percipient, sensuously and intellectually—qualities and relations, with the minds which they affect whether mediately or immediately: or, if we prefer to put it so, psychical and corporeal 'functions' and their food or material. Hence it is apparent that the superficial classification with which we set out is sufficiently inadequate for a formulation of the import of the term in Platonic doctrine; but *exempli gratia* it may be of service.

Next, to come to δύναμις with φύσις. In *Phileb.* 29 ἅπαντα of the elements in the sensible world to be οὐδαμῶς εἰλικρινὲς ὂν καὶ τὴν ἀνδρα κ.τ.λ. οὐκ ἀξίαν τῆς φύσεως ἔχον, where τῷ παντὶ πῦρ is πλήθει τε θαυμαστὸν *ibid.* 1029, καὶ πάσῃ δυνάμει τῇ περὶ τὸ φρα τόλμης τῆ Here δύναμις is 'sense-affecting ρόμαντιν Λοξίᾳ while φύσις is substantial nature , as something original and es the second of the latter being fire as absolute, of the verb πλ elf, the former as its relati ifest from the co r φύσις ('production') may be said to denote the thing's *generic* aspect, as member of a given stock whose name it bears—'Fire.' Again in *Phileb.* 64 E we find: καταπέφευγεν ἡμῖν ἡ τἀγαθοῦ δύναμις εἰς τὴν τοῦ καλοῦ φύσιν—'the efficient power of the Good has fled down into the substantial nature of the Beautiful.' δύναμις is appropriate to the Good as the pre-eminent αἰτία—also as super-ordinate notion, cf. *Eth. Nic.* A 1, 1094*a* 10 ὅσαι δ' εἰσὶ τῶν τοιούτων (*sc.* τεχνῶν) ὑπὸ μίαν τινὰ δύναμιν καθάπερ ὑπὸ τὴν ἱππικὴν χαλινοποιητική κ.τ.λ., which also shows the force of the prep. in καταπέφευγεν. Similarly in *Rep.* 433 D the other virtues owe δύναμιν τοῦ ἐγγενέσθαι to Justice, and in 508 A, B the eye owes its δύναμις to the Sun—τὴν δύναμιν, ἣν ἔχει, ἐκ τούτου ταμιευομένην ὥσπερ ἐπίρρυτον κέκτηται. The Universal δύναμις or energy descends into the particular φύσεις to which it imparts their particular δυνάμεις, by a kind of self-division or self-expansion, as the root expands into its square, or the πυθμήν, or primary ratio, in the geometrical progression proceeds onward in the series 1...*n*. As thus expanded and actualized the Ideal δύναμις becomes itself φύσις: hence, in *Phileb.* 66 A τὴν ἀΐδιον φύσιν (as subject to ῥῆσθαι, if the text be right) can indicate τἀγαθόν. And so the Ideas as real are said to be ἑστηκότα ἐν τῇ φύσει, *i.e.* permanent elements, or rather laws, in *rerum natura:* they are as factors 'present' in their resultants, roots manifested in their expansions, limits applied to τὸ ἄπειρον. The φύσις of a thing may be said to be its compound union of both form and matter; but its δύναμις depends solely on its formal character.

A thing as φύσις is, thus, composite, mixed, extended, whether physically or logically. For φύσις of *logical* genera and species cp. *Soph.* 257 A ἡ τῶν γενῶν φύσις, C ἡ τὰ θατέρου φύσις, D τὰ τῆς θατέρου φύσεως μορία, which shows that the φύσις of such genera is soluble, divisible, and that its unity is not that of the individuum but of the ὅλον, of the sum not of the monad. φύσις of *personal* moral nature is also analysable into μέρη, as *Rep.* vi. 495 A τὰ τῆς φιλοσόφου φύσεως μέρη. And *physically*, the φύσις of a σῶμα is its constitution of elements: *Tim.* 74 D τὴν δὲ τῶν νεύρων φύσιν ἐξ ὀστοῦ καὶ σαρκὸς ἀζύμου κράσεως... ξυνεκεράσατο. Thus the resultant of elemental factors, or δυνάμεις, is φύσις—so *Phil.* 25 E ἡ τούτων (*i.e.* τῶν πέρας ἐχόντων) ὀρθὴ κοινωνία τὴν ὑγιείας φύσιν ἐγέννησεν. So in general, φύσις is to δύναμις as effect to cause, result to agent, subordinate to super-ordinate: the ὃ ἀπεργάζεται, whereby the

otherwise incomprehensible δύναμις is conditioned and determined, appears as actual ἐν φύσει. This distinction is set forth as that between the human and the Divine in *Laws* iii. 691 E: φύσις τις ἀνθρωπίνη μεμιγμένη θείᾳ τινὶ δυνάμει κατιδοῦσα κ.τ.λ. But φύσις may be contrasted with other notions beside δύναμις. Thus it may denote what is independent of *human* effort or volition: so φύσει is opposed to νόμῳ (*Prot.* 337 C, *Gorg.* 482 E, etc.), to τέχνῃ (*Rep.* ii. 381 A), to διδακτόν (*Prot.* 323 C), to σοφίᾳ (*Apol.* 22 C). So it indicates what is innate, instinctive—the inherited, permanent, and transmissible characteristics, as opposed to the acquired and artificial. And the natural and permanent is the true and genuine—φύσει καὶ μὴ πλαστῶς *Laws* vi. 777 D; ἡ κατὰ φύσιν ἀληθῶς οὖσα...πολιτική *Polit.* 308 C. Applying here also the same terms to the intellectual as to the physical sphere, we can thus speak of ἡ τοῦ κάλλους φύσις (*Phaedr.* 254 B), φύσις being equivalent to οὐσία, 'essence,' what a thing is αὐτὸ καθ' αὑτό, or absolutely regarded. Which brings us again to our former point of contrast—δύναμις as relative and self-externalizing with φύσις as absolute and self-complete. In the Idea both these aspects are combined—Unity in process of cognition expanding into Totality, root into square, σπέρμα into φυτόν.

R. G. Bury.

NOTE ON VIRGIL, *AENEID* 5, 359.

Et clipeum efferri iussit, Didymaonis artes,
Neptuni sacro Danais de poste refixum.
hoc iuvenem egregium praestanti munere donat.

Virg. *Aen.* 5, 359.

All explanations of the second line which violate the plain meaning (such as rendering *refixum* 'hung up,' or with Conington making it = *refixum et ademptum Danais*) must be dismissed as palpable subterfuges.

The words *Danais refixum* can only mean 'taken down by the Greeks,' and the explanation of those who so take them is fairly given by Deuticke (11th edition of Ladewig and Schaper's *Virgil*)—'The Greeks therefore had carried off (*geraubt*) the shield from a temple of Neptune in which it was dedicated. How it afterwards came into the hands of the Trojans Virgil does not state.'

This explanation must however be dismissed. It obviously explains nothing and it rather strains the meaning of *refixum*, but the fatal objection is that it makes the whole line nonsense. A shield 'carried off by the Greeks' can only be a memorial of Greek valour, and the mind naturally thinks of it as carried off by them during the sack of Troy. But the object of Virgil in writing the line is clearly not to connect the shield with memories of disaster and defeat, but to *enhance* its value in the eyes of the youthful Trojan to whom it is presented. It exhibits 'the skilled workmanship of Didymaon,' it is a 'glorious gift' for a 'very goodly youth,' and the words *Neptuni...refixum* beyond question indicate some quality which is to be a cause of exultation, and not of grief, to its possessor.

If this be accepted—and it seems to me beyond dispute—we are in a complete dilemma. We must either mistranslate the line or we must put up with an explanation which is worse than useless. Under these circumstances any suggestion which is not obviously foolish deserves consideration, and I put one forward in the hope that some readers of the *Classical Review* will be able to contribute some of the additional evidence which is required to support it. It is this. Why should not the shield have been 'taken down' (not 'carried off') by the Greeks from a *Grecian* temple of Neptune when starting for Troy, and there won by Aeneas in combat with the chosen champion who bore it? What nobler prize could Aeneas select than a sacred shield, of rare beauty, and which recalled a proud memory?

The weakness of this suggestion is, of course, that the practice of injuring dedicated armour or weapons to [illegible] needs proof. Under stress of necessity[1] [illegible] justiere certainly used, cf. Livy, 22, 57; [illegible] the qu[illegible] (quoted in Conington) and the well-[illegible] τὸν ἔχο[illegible]nstance of David taking the sword [illegible] δὲ κακόν [illegible]h 1 Sam. xxi. 9, nor is there any[illegible]ral qualitiimprobability in such weapons [illegible] moral virtu[illegible]osed to possess peculiar efficac[illegible]ectual states[illegible]ed in Livy 24, 21 those who t[illegible] have seen. [illegible] spoils

[1] See too Val. Max. 7, 6[illegible]sychical and [illegible], 599, two excellent references for [illegible]y brought out [illegible]ed to the editor.—T. E. P. [illegible]of the *Theaetetu*.

from the temple of Jupiter pray him along with his hallowed weapons to lend his holy aid (*precantes ut volens propitius praebeat sacra arma, pro patria, pro deum delubris, pro libertate sese armantibus*), while David accepts the sword which is 'wrapped in a cloth behind the ephod' with special confidence—'There is none like that; give it me.'

One passage of Virgil affords some help. In 3, 286 the shield which Aeneas dedicates as a trophy won 'from the conquering Greeks' (*de Danais victoribus*) is described as '*magni gestamen Abantis.*' Now the only Abas we know of was an old king of Argos whose shield was preserved in the temple of Juno and seems to have been annually carried by the victor of the games held in her honour (see Heyne, Excursus IX. to Book 3, *de clipeo Abantis*). But if this is the shield which Aeneas dedicates—and the words *magni gestamen Abantis* seem to mark a noted shield—how did Aeneas win it from the Greeks, unless some Argive champion had in Juno's cause taken Juno's shield to Troy as a sign of Juno's aid?

T. E. Page.

EURIPIDES, *MEDEA* 160, 170.

ΜΗ. ὦ μεγάλα Θέμι καὶ πότνι' Ἄρτεμι,
λεύσσεθ' ἃ πάσχω κ.τ.λ.

ΤΡ. κλύεθ' οἷα λέγει κἀπιβοᾶται
170 Θέμιν εὐκταίαν Ζῆνά θ' ὃς ὅρκων
θνητοῖς ταμίας νενόμισται.

It has been observed that the words of the Nurse misrepresent the invocation of Medea, who has appealed to Themis and Artemis but not to Zeus. The difficulty cannot be explained away, and it may be regarded as certain that the text is corrupt. Weil's attempt to correct it

ὦ μεγάλε Ζεῦ καὶ Θέμι πότνια

is wild, and Mr. Verrall's suggestion πάτερ ὅρκιε for πότνι' Ἄρτεμι involves too violent a change to be probable. The corruption lies in l. 170 and may be set right by a simple change. Read

Θέμιν εὐκταίαν Ζηνὸς, ὃς ὅρκων.

For an obvious reason ος fell out, and Ζηνος was then corrected to Ζῆνά θ' ὃς to restore sense and metre. This emendation is rendered almost certain by ll. 207, 208

θεοκλυτεῖ δ' ἄδικα παθοῦσα
τὰν Ζηνὸς ὁρκίαν Θέμιν.

Since I wrote this note, I found that I had been anticipated in this solution of the difficulty by Nauck; but as he did not adopt his conjecture in his text, and as it does not seem to have attracted attention, I venture to publish my note as it was originally written. The emendation, whatever be its value, is Nauck's property.

J. B. Bury.

Πλειστήρης, πλειστηρίζομαι.

Aeschylus, *Eumenides* 762 *sqq.*
ἐγὼ δὲ χώρᾳ τῇδε καὶ τῷ σῷ στρατῷ
τὸ λοιπὸν εἰς ἅπαντα πλειστήρη χρόνον
ὁρκωμοτήσας νῦν ἄπειμι πρὸς δόμους,
μήτοι τιν' ἄνδρα κ.τ.λ.

Choephoroe 1029, 1030.
καὶ φίλτρα τόλμης τῇδε πλειστηρίζομαι
τὸν Πυθόμαντιν Λοξίαν χρήσαντ' ἐμοὶ κ.τ.λ.

In the second of these passages the general sense of the verb πλειστηρίζομαι is sufficiently manifest from the context. It must mean 'I cite in justification,' 'I appeal to.' But it is not clear how it came to bear this meaning, and the scholiast's καυχῶμαι does not help us. In the first passage, on the other hand, the general sense of πλειστήρη is by no means obvious, and the common interpretation is unsatisfactory. In form πλειστήρης evidently belongs to the group κατήρης, τριήρης, ποδήρης, etc., in which the second part seems to be etymologically connected with ἄρω, ἀραρίσκω. It is supposed to be equivalent to πλεῖστον and to mean 'very long.' The verse might be rendered

'henceforward for all the long course of time'—the words being placed by hyperbaton here, instead of after μήτοι. If so, πλειστήρη would be merely rhetorical.

It seems to me that these two passages may be used to explain each other and the meaning of this rare word elicited by comparing them. The clue, I believe, is to be found in a common use of πλεῖστος as signifying 'widely spread, generally received, in vogue,' in regard, for instance, to an opinion or a custom. I propose to ascribe to πλειστήρης a similar meaning, and to take πλειστήρη in the passage under discussion as a neuter plural depending on ὁρκωμοτήσας: 'having sworn oaths which shall be authoritative for all time from henceforth, even that no man' etc. It may be observed that this interpretation gets rid of the justifiable, though a little awkward, hyperbaton. πλειστήρης meaning *authoritative*, πλειστηρίζομαι would mean 'I make authoritative for myself, cite as authoritative,' and so 'appeal to.'

Mr. Verrall (*Choeph.* 1027) throws out a conjecture that πλειστηρίζεσθαί τινας might mean to make oneself a majority by calling one's supporters, and so, cite to support; he does not deal with the passage in the *Eumenides*, but merely notes its obscurity.

J. B. Bury.

HORACE, *EPIST.* I. i. 51.

dulcis sine pulvere palmae.

To the illustrations of this phrase adduced by the commentators *ad loc.* we may add the following, Cic. *De Off.* 1, 18 § 61:

Itaque in probris maxime in promptu est, si quid tale dici potest:

Vos enim iuvenes animum geritis muliebrem,
Illa virago viri,

et si quid eiusmodi:

Salmaci, da *spolia sine sudore* et *sanguine.*
(See Holden *ad loc.*)

Compare also Gellius 5, 6, 21: Ovandi ac non triumphandi causa est, cum..... ... deditione repente facta, *impulverea*, ut dici solet, *incruentaque victoria* obvenit.

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POSTGATE'S EDITION OF THE *CORPUS POETARUM LATINORUM.*

Corpus Poetarum Latinorum, ed. J. P. Postgate. Fasc. I. London: Bell. 1893. 9*s.* net.

This is the first instalment of a work which has long been a necessity. The *Corpus* of Walker (1827) and that of Weber (1833) were useful enough and for the time when they appeared fairly well executed: but they could not satisfy the needs of a generation trained to more exact criticism by Lachmann, Ritschl and Munro. Indeed the last half century of classical philology has been mainly and specially occupied in examining and expending the materials on which a sound text must be based; new MSS. have been brought to light, the relation of families of MSS. marked out, and an attempt made, not always indeed conclusively, to reject the useless and retain only the important. A great deal has been done, in this way and as a consequence of this examination of sources, to clear the ground for conjecture: corrupt passages may now (at least in the case of some authors) be considered in a fair way towards restoration, and many emendations founded on inferior MSS. no longer hold their ground. In a word it had become a necessity to have a Corpus in which the text of each poet should be edited from the best known MSS. and the readings of those MSS. faithfully reported; and that, so as to present themselves to the eye of the reader simultaneously with the text based upon them; in a word, upon the same page. In addition to this, the editing was to be placed in the hands of *competent* scholars, *i.e.* scholars who possessed —besides the equipment which at one time was thought adequate to the task of editing, a proper grammatical and metrical training

—the no less indispensable faculty of being able to read and pass judgment on MSS. For, strange as it may seem, there are still in existence men who venture to pronounce on questions of classical criticism, *without* such preliminary meletesis; and who, if pressed on the point, are ready to assert that, to take a good typical example, no real advance upon Heinsius has been made in the study of Ovid by the labours of Merkel, Korn, Riese, Magnus, Birt, Tank, Sedlmayer, Ehwald, A. Palmer, S. G. Owen, or myself.

Prof. J. P. Postgate, the well-known tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge, the college of Bentley, Dobree, Munro, Jebb, and many other lights of less, but not inconsiderable, brightness, some years ago conceived the idea of once again satisfying the wish of English scholars for a collective edition of the Latin Poets to be brought out by scholars of eminence, and who had shown special training or aptitude for the task by published contributions on different parts of the subject. The work has gradually taken shape, and the first fasciculus is now before us. It contains *Ennius* edited by Lucian Müller, *Lucretius* by Munro, *Catullus* by Postgate, *Vergil* by Nettleship, *Horace* by Gow, *Tibullus* by Ed. Hiller. The names are more than to content us. L. Müller's *Ennius* is known to every scholar; the *Lucretius* of Munro has secured a world-wide fame; Prof. Postgate's *Catullus* may rank with the best editions of the poet; Nettleship had devoted many years of a busy life to *Vergil;* Gow's Horatian studies have exhibited their first-fruits in the *Classical Review;* Hiller's *Tibullus* in care and judgment may rank with his Greek work. It is satisfactory to find Germans of such eminence contributing to an English series: and Prof. Postgate has shown his full appreciation of the importance of their collaboration by frequent references to their views in his apparatus criticus.

Turning to a more mechanical point of view, I may say that the work is printed in pages of double columns, containing, where the lines run on uninterruptedly, an average of sixty to sixty-five lines in a column. The print is handsome and tolerably clear; for my own part I could have wished the type a trifle larger: but economy of space is responsible for this. Italics are used, as in Munro's *Lucretius*, to show that a word has been introduced which is not in the MSS., or an emendation which deviates from them.

The book is not entirely free from misprints. *Aen.* v. 709 *fato* for *fata*, vii. 207 *Idaes* for *Idaeas*, x. 554 *mnlta* for *multa*, xi. 370 *findens* for *fidens*, *gemmis* for *geminis* v. 416, *suscitit* for *suscitat* v. 454.

The *Vergil* however is most carefully done. As the last work Prof. Nettleship undertook it has a special interest for his friends and admirers. That wide knowledge of the ancient commentators, which his preface to the second volume of Conington's *Vergil* exhibits, is conspicuous in the readings which from time to time he has in deference to them introduced. Such are v. 850, 1 *Aenean credam quid enim fallacibus auris Et caelo, totiens deceptus fraude sereni?* vi. 249 *Succipiunt*, as Servius, against *Suscipiunt* of MR; vii. 98 *Externi ueniunt generi*, which Servius pronounces to be 'melius' than *uenient;* viii. 25 *lacuaria* for *laquearia;* ix. 349 *et multa morte recepit Purpureum: uomit ille animam* for *e. m. m. r.*; *Purpuream u. i. a.*; on ix. 486 *nec te tua funera mater Produxi*, Servius' improbable view that *funera* = *funerea* is cited as if it might perhaps be right, which is very difficult to believe; x. 316, 17 *casus euadere ferri Quo licuit paruo?* for *Quod* of M and P[1]. Some of these, and others such as *epulaeque ante ora paternae* vi. 604 for *paratae*, vi. 806 *uirtute extendere uires* for *uirtutem extendere factis*, will surprise or shock the lovers of the established: yet those who wish to arrive at a rapid knowledge of the principal divergences from the traditional text of Vergil will nowhere find them presented more lucidly or in succincter form than in Prof. Nettleship's apparatus criticus. The absence from it of modern names is a pleasing fact, for which I suspect many Englishmen will be grateful. Even Conington is quoted only exceptionally. There are few, probably, who believe that emendation can do much for Vergil. I speak, of course, only of his acknowledged works: for the *opuscula* are so corrupt in the very earliest MSS. as to make the problem of the conjectural restorer unusually tempting and interesting.

In Horace, where the MS. problem is notoriously one of the most difficult, Mr. Gow bases his text on Keller and Holder. In lecturing on Horace I confess to have found this so difficult to manage with anything like clearness, that I cannot but fear the same result may await the reader of Mr. Gow's text. The mind strays perplexedly in the mazy mixture of Greek and Roman letters, sometimes capitals, sometimes minuscules, sometimes accented (A') sometimes not, and ends with giving up the attempt to arrive at anything like a clear

view of the relative value of the MSS. which these symbols express. It might have been more judicious, for the purposes of a Corpus like this, where succinctness is everything, to simplify the apparatus criticus by rejecting more than a very small number of the MSS. examined by Keller and Holder. It may be urged that such a selection is a matter of great difficulty: it is, yet I wish it had been attempted; and that the readings of the MSS. actually quoted had been verified by personal or at any rate new inspection. It is probable that such a verification would have led Mr. Gow to distrust the vast mass of critical information given by Keller and Holder; at any rate the confidence which the student would feel as to the correctness of any reading would be greatly increased. Perhaps, too, some of the emendations might have with advantage been spared, e.g. *raui* Epod. xiii. 13, *crepuscla* S. i. 8, 34, again S. ii. 1, 86, *rabulae*, ii. 3, 25 *Mercuriali*, 215 *gnatae pater*, S. ii. 5, 48, *ut ei*, a violently improbable conjecture of Madvig's, Epist. ii. 1, 115, 116, *melicorum—melici* for *medicorum—medici*, a very tame conjecture of Bentley's, lastly Housman's *quondam nauos dormitat Homerus* for *quandoque bonus d. H.*, a correction which must be ranked with the less successful efforts of this ready and ingenious, but not equally convincing scholar; of whose powers Mr. Postgate's first fasciculus presents perhaps over-many specimens, to the neglect, at times, of other and more plausible emendations.

Mr. Postgate, who has been allowed to reprint Munro's text of Lucretius, would perhaps have gratified the general public more by giving a revised text of his own. It would have made of this first volume of the Corpus a more perfectly *new* contribution to the study of the Latin poets, and it would have been interesting to note the deviations which an enthusiastic, yet not, as too many Cambridge men are, slavish, follower of Munro could bring himself to introduce into the Lucretian text. And I suppose that even Englishmen are aware that in more than a few passages Munro is not final. How should he be, if Lachmann was not? Speaking at any rate for myself, I should have hailed from Mr. Postgate a completely new and re-constituted text: nay, I imagine, it would have been better for the study of the poet if, besides the larger and smaller editions which we already have of Munro's recension, a third, almost if not quite identical, had not been added to the list. Fresh views, fresh restorations would have been acceptable enough to the scientific student, to the professed scholar. It ought not to be said that Munro has edited Lucretius once for all time; and that anything like a really new recension is impossible. That Mr. Postgate does not think so, is abundantly clear from his articles in the *Journal of Philology*, and from his citations of other critics who have not been able always to agree with Munro, notably Bockemüller. There are, indeed, some passages in which Munro perversely kept to a reading well-nigh impossible, *e.g.* v. 311, 312, which MSS. give

Denique non monimenta uirum dilapsa uidemus
Quaerere proporro sibi cumque senescere credas?

and which Munro prints so, altering *cumque* to *sene* (se ne). This question which the ruined monuments are supposed to put as to their antiquity has always seemed to me not a little grotesque: and it was not Munro's original view. If anything can be clear about the passage, it is that *credas* is corrupt. More than twenty years ago I suggested that the verse should be thus restored

Aeraque (so Munro) proporro *silicumque* senescere *petras.*

This has, I think, escaped Mr. Postgate.

The *Tibullus* of Hiller is interesting rather as the latest work of an eminent scholar than for any striking contribution of his own. But some of the corrections made by foreign scholars are remarkably interesting, and to many readers will be quite novel. I would mention Waardenburg's *curtas* for *hircus* ii. 1, 58, Lachmann's *mixtu subriguisse* for *mixtus obriguisse* ii. 3, 14c, and, to go back to an earlier time, Scioppius' *proxima* for *maxima* iii. 5, 3, and our own Markland's *genium* for *centum* i. 7, 49, which may be truly called palmary.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

MANITIUS ON EDITIONS OF HORACE IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

Analekten zur Geschichte des Horaz im Mittelalter (*bis* 1300). M. MANITIUS. Göttingen. 1893. pp. vii. 127. M. 2.80.

IT is unnecessary at the present day to point out the importance for the constitution of the texts of classical authors of a thorough knowledge of the history of those texts. Such knowledge has put us within measurable distance of solving the problem of Bosius' alleged MSS. of Cicero's *Letters*, and has established the value of the English as against the continental tradition of the text of Pliny's *Natural History*. But while we admire the results, we in this country are rather apt to forget to be grateful to those who have done the real work, by toiling through the writers of the middle ages for quotations from or imitations of classical authors. It is work of this kind that Manitius has done for Horace in this little book. M. Hertz in his *Analecta ad carminum Horatianorum historiam* (Breslau 1876–82, i.–iv.) had collected Horatiana from all the writers of the first three and a half centuries: in v. he had gone through all the ecclesiastical writers and grammarians etc., down to the Mavortian recension in 527. At this point he left off, expressing however the hope that he might be able to undertake the further task ('periculosae plenum aleae') of tracing the Horatian tradition through the middle ages. But he never did so; and some years ago handed over all his materials to Manitius, who is already well known as a worker in the field of 'Ueberlieferungsgeschichte.' Hence the present *Analekten*.

The book is divided into an introduction, and five chapters. In the introduction M. gives a general account of his subject, showing the influence of the growth of monasticism on classical studies, and bringing together some of his results, the details of which are to be found in the following chapters. Unfortunately, they contribute nothing to the constitution of the text. But there is much that is interesting in them. Thus Manitius calls attention to the very small degree in which Horace has influenced Italian literature. Italy supplies the fewest Horatian MSS. and the fewest citations, though it was to an Italian—Vilgard of Ravenna—that the poet chose to appear in a dream and thank him for the attentions he had paid him. In France, on the other hand (*i.e.* the part of Europe to which modern France corresponds), Horace was largely studied. As early as the middle of the ninth century Heiric was acquainted with all four books of the *Odes*. A ninth century MS. at Montpellier has *c.* iv. 11 set to music. In the tenth century Gerbert (afterwards Sylvester II.) lectured on Horace, Juvenal, and Persius—the earliest instance of Horace being taught in medieval schools. In the eleventh century there appears to have been a decline in the study of Horace in France, though MSS. are numerous; but with the increased importance of Cluny and Paris in the twelfth century the number of quotations as well as of MSS. increases also. The thirteenth century was the period of compendia and florilegia, and the original texts were not much studied. After France comes Germany: and though France supplies most MSS. and florilegia, and though it is French authors who quote Horace most, Manitius is inclined to hold that it was in Germany that the knowledge of Horace was most widely diffused. It is remarkable that in the ninth century there is no MS. of Horace mentioned in the catalogues of the great libraries of Constanz, S. Gall, Reichenau or Bobio. That there was one at Reichenau is shown by Walahfrid's quotations, and there must have been one at Toul, where the *Ecbasis Captiui* (one-fifth of which consists of lines borrowed from Horace) was written in 940; its readings, Manitius points out, most resemble those of Keller and Holder's E and λ. In the tenth century there were complete Horaces at Köln and Gandersheim, and Hedwig Duchess of Schwaben (Ekkehard's pupil) presented one to Burchard. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the number of German MSS. increases (in the latter especially glossed MSS.), and with them also the number of quotations. In the thirteenth century florilegia and collections of proverbs prevail, as in France; but MSS. also are numerous. Albert of Stade quotes largely from Horace, using a text which has the ordinary mistakes of our inferior MSS. (*a. p.* 58 he appears to have read procudere nummum). Conrad de Mure was well acquainted with him, and wrote a full account of his metres, with illustrations: his MS. appears to have been closely related to γ.

Horace appears to have found his way

early to Great Britain; and it is to our countrymen (or perhaps Italians) that Manitius ascribes the introduction of the poet to the court of Charlemagne (p. 18), and goes so far as to say that Alcuin was probably nicknamed Flaccus because of the moral tendency of his writings: 'wir haben *also* für die frühe karolingische Zeit Horaz als einen Typus des gelehrten Lebens gewonnen'—hardly satisfactory reasoning. Three English MSS. of the ninth and tenth centuries are extant, but none are mentioned in catalogues before the twelfth century when there was one at Durham; and in the thirteenth century we find four—at Canterbury, Rochester, Glastonbury, and Reading. John of Salisbury had a good text tolerably free from interpolation.

In Spain, Horace appears to have been but little read. Eulogius of Cordova (848) knew the *Satires*, but after him there is no quotation for three centuries.

An interesting point which Manitius brings out is that it is Horace's moral writings which are most largely quoted from, and which were most widely read. It is rare to find the *Odes* at all known before the tenth century (Hraban, Walahfrid, and Heiric are exceptions): the *Epodes* are seldom quoted, and the *Carmen Saeculare* only twice in the whole of the middle ages (*vv.* 59–60 by the author of Vita Adalberonis of Würzburg, and *v.* 1 by Conrad de Mure). On the other hand, the *Epistles* and *Satires* appear to have been very popular (especially *Epp.* i. 1–2), and many lines from them became proverbs, such as semper auarus eget: oderunt peccare boni uirtutis amore, with the eleventh century gloss oderunt peccare mali formidine poenae.

F. A. Hirtzel.

SPENGEL'S EDITION OF THE *RHETORES GRAECI.*

Rhetores Graeci ex recognitione Leonardi Spengel. Vol. i. Pars ii. edidit C. Hammer. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. 8vo. Pp. 416. 1894. 3 M. 60 Pf.

The first volume of Spengel's convenient and well-known edition of the *Rhetores Graeci* contained, besides Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, ten minor treatises. The Aristotle has already been re-edited for Teubner's series by Adolf Roemer (1885), and now Hammer has revised the rest of the volume for a new edition. The first is a brief fragment περὶ ἐρωτήσεως καὶ ἀποκρίσεως, which is a commentary on Aristotle *Rhet.* iii. 18. The second is the important and interesting treatise, now commonly ascribed to Anaximenes. Hammer retains this ascription, but inclines to the view of Susemihl, that it really comes between Isocrates and Hermagoras, and cannot be earlier than the third century before Christ. He has used for his recension, besides the MSS. employed by Spengel, two others in the Vatican, both of which he considers to belong to the better family. The third treatise is that περὶ ὕψους, for which Hammer has naturally followed very closely the excellent edition by Vahlen. The fourth is the τέχνη ῥητορική of Longinus, which is followed by an anonymous epitome of this treatise, and by a series of brief extracts, which are said, but evidently incorrectly, to be taken from Longinus. The seventh is the τέχνη ῥητορική of Apsines, for which the edition of Bake based upon Cobet's careful collation of the two Paris MSS. has been mostly followed. Then comes a brief treatise by Minucianus, for which a new Paris MS. has been collated, a τέχνη ῥητορική recently without sufficient reason assigned to Cornutus, and finally, a short compendium by Rufus, a pupil of Herodes Atticus. On almost all these works much has been written since the date of Spengel's edition, and Hammer appears to have used the literature with considerable diligence, besides collating several important new MSS. I have not observed in reading the περὶ ὕψους any original emendations of importance, but the suggestions of previous scholars are carefully recorded: and it is an immense advantage to have the critical notes now placed at the foot of each page.

A. S. Wilkins.

HALLARD'S EDITION OF *THE IDYLLS OF THEOCRITUS.*

The Idylls of Theocritus, translated into English Verse by JAMES HENRY HALLARD, M.A. Oxon. Longmans. 6*s.* 6*d.*

MR. HALLARD tells us in his Preface that he has 'endeavoured to satisfy the requirements of the exacting scholar as well as those of the man of letters.' But surely if the exacting scholar requires any translation at all, it will not be a Verse Translation. The scholar however welcomes such a translation, and indeed any translation which gives proof that, in spite of many douches of cold water, the love of Greek Poetry is not yet quenched in the hearts of men: and the man of letters, whether familiar or not with the original, welcomes it as a test of literary merit, and will value it in proportion to the closeness of adaptation of the thought and language of the present time to those of a race that has passed away.

Mr. Hallard is undoubtedly right in not attempting to present Theocritus' characters more faithfully by employing any provincialism of dialect. These herdsmen of Sicily or South Italy are not idealized: this is shown by the coarseness of banter which in some (very few) instances stays the pen of the translator. Natural refinement is the rule: but in herdsmen of the present day it would be the exception. Mr. Hallard's translations—apart from the metrical form—are remarkably accurate. The exacting scholar might take a few trifling objections—*e.g.* in Id. i. to 'softly smiling' for λάθρια γελάοισα, and to 'that glides on the lip' for περὶ χείλος ἑλικτάν: in Id. iv. 28 to 'I fashion'd' for ἐπάξα, which must be 2nd person: in Id. vii. 23 to 'from tomb unto tombstone' for ἐπιτυμβίδιοι, and *ibid.* 26 to 'buskined feet' for ἀρβυλίδεσσιν: in Id. xiv. 17 to 'were fetched forth' for ἐξῃρέθη: in Id. xv. 53 to 'the roan' for ὁ πύρρος, and *ibid.* 92 to 'like people in the Chersonese' for Πελοποννασιστί; *ibid.* 149 to 'welfare still be ours at thy return' for ἐς χαίροντας ἀφίκευ (though possibly the reading ἀφικνεῦ is followed, which has generally been superseded). Again τέττιξ is sometimes 'grasshopper,' sometimes 'cicala'; and is not Mr. Hallard singular in taking Βουκαῖος in Idyll x. for the name of one of the mowers? The received argument gives 'Battus and Milo.'

With regard to the metres employed, the blank verse is certainly the most successful, as in Idylls iv. v. xiv. xv. xxi. and naturally so, inasmuch as rhyme fetters the free choice of words, or emphasizes an insignificant word or syllable: *e.g.*—

In Id. ii.
...sprinkle *it*,
...whither is flown thy wit.
In Id. x.
...grasshopper loves the grasshopper *aye*,
...and to me the Muse's lay.
In Id. xiii.
...bethink them of seafar*ìng*
...their sail to the breezes fling.
In Id. xviii.
...Athene and maiden Arte*mis*
...a matron art thou by this.

Again in Id. xxiv. Amphitryon's 'glaive' is obliged to '*wave*,' rather than hang, over his couch. Such rhymes too as 'then' and 'again,' 'love thee' and 'above me,' 'precipice' and 'eyes' are, to say the least, unsatisfactory.

Hexameters are employed in Idylls vii. xvi. xxii. xxv. This metre (unless in the catalectic form adopted so successfully by the late Lord Bowen in his translation of the *Aeneid*) is wearisome in English on account of the necessarily constant recurrence of a disyllabic word at the end; and when two monosyllables are substituted, the effect is often like the fish-ending of the fair woman: *e.g.*

...smote with his hèel there.
...come let us nòw sing.
...neverthelèss ye.
...speaks to them thèse words.
...stubborn are yè twain.
...Castor and I fight.
...prone on his mouth there.
...Hades vast had gotten the soul of him. Then I

With such exceptions, and in spite of an undue proportion of spondees, Mr. Hallard's hexameters are spirited and smooth. Pentameters he has attempted once, in Id. vi.: but they will not do—the pause in the middle knocks the breath out of the line. Anapaests are used for lyric passages. These lines are made up of anapaests and iambi, and when that rhythm is adhered to, are easy and musical, *e.g.*

'Though the kids be low in the west and the south wind drive the sea.'

But the effect of varying them with lines composed of dactyls and trochees is somewhat irritating, and similar to that produced upon a rider when his horse changes its leg in cantering, as in the line which precedes the above—

'Fair shall Ageanax' convoy to Mitylene be.'

Compare also these consecutive lines—

'To a herdsman's love thou didst yield, to the voice of Anchises' wooing;
Oak woods are yonder—here is nought but galingale.'

or

'And how to my home I won I know not, but fever sore
Wasted me on my couch for many a night and day.'

This inconsistency mars what otherwise would be the prettiest piece in the book, Id. xii. That Idyll, and xiv. xv. xxi. xxiv. are the best. The least successful are iii. x. xviii. xxviii.

Mr. Hallard has stated and carried out his opinion that 'the only chance for a translator of Theocritus is to vary his measures as much as possible.' This may well be disputed; and I cannot but think that he would have done better in many instances if he had adhered more constantly to the blank verse, which admits of infinite variety, and to such easy and musical anapaests as the two first lines of Id. xii.—

'Thou art come, dear youth, art come: three nights and days thou hast tarried.
(Alas! for the sad love-longing that makes men old in a day!)'

He tells us also that his work has been a labour of love; and one can readily trace throughout the thorough appreciation which he feels for these delightful poems, which he has so sympathetically translated. Those who are familiar with the originals must gratefully recall them line by line to memory, as they read his translations: and let us hope that by reading the latter many more may be induced to court familiarity with the former. H. Kynaston.

KEIL'S EDITION OF THE *DE AGRICULTURA*.

M. Porci Catonis de agri cultura liber: M. Terenti Varronis rerum rusticarum libri tres: ex recensione H. Keilii. Vol. ii. Fasc. i. Commentarius in Catonis de agri cultura librum. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. 8vo. Pp. 194. 6 M.

Ten years ago Dr. Keil published a critical edition of Cato's *De Agricultura*, the purpose of which was to restore, so far as possible, the text of the MS. used by Politian and Vettori. This was followed by a similar edition of Varro's work. In 1889 a text of Varro was published in Teubner's series on the basis of this, but with a freer use of conjectural emendation: and in 1891 Keil gave us the second part of the critical commentary, containing a discussion of these emendations proposed by himself or by others on Varro. Now we have the first part of the commentary, treating in a similar way the text of Cato. Before long the Teubner text-edition of Cato is to be published: and finally the critical edition is to be completed by the issue of an index-volume to Cato and Varro, prepared by Krumbiegel and Rollfus. There are obvious inconveniences in this fashion of publication, and especially in the further delay in issuing a convenient and emended text of Cato; but when the work is done, it will be done thoroughly so far as it goes. It is to be regretted that the veteran scholar, whose earliest published work on the Rerum Rusticarum Scriptores dates from forty-five years back, should still renounce the task of explaining the matter of his authors—at times not a little obscure: so that Schneider's edition is still indispensable. But the text and the language (including the orthography) are treated with a completeness which leaves little to be desired.

One or two examples will show the method which has been adopted. In c. lxxiv. the critical edition reads, without any note, 'farinam in mortarium indito, aquae paulatim addito.' Now we have the comment 'aut nota mensurae post aquae excidit...aut, quoniam ne farinae quidem certum pondus indicatum est, *aquae paululum* scribendum est,' with the quotation of several parallels for each construction.

Schneider left the difficulty untouched. In c. lxxix., where he had printed 'in aenum caldum unguen indito,' he now points out that the true reading must be 'in ahenum caldum in unguen indito,' for the meaning must be 'put into the brazen cauldron into the fat which is heated therein.' In c. xxxvii., where we had 'frumenta †facebis sarias' with the conjecture 'frumenta fac uti sarias,' we now have Vettori's 'frumenta face bis sarias' defended by evidence of two annual hoeings, and of the use elsewhere of *face*. In c. xiii. *incertum* is shown to be meaningless after *centumpodium*, and is rightly rejected. These instances will suffice to show that the present commentary is an indispensable supplement to the critical edition, and that we may look with confidence to the issue of a much-needed legible text. One of the most valuable portions of this instalment consists is the full discussions of various questions of orthography and of syntax. Attention may be especially called to those on *felix* or *filix*, *spongia* or *spongea*, *stercorare* or *stercerare*; on *i* in the ablative, *im* in the accusative, *is* in the accusative plural; on the indicative in indirect questions, and on the indefinite third person singular.

A. S. Wilkins.

THE THIRD VOLUME OF KOBERT'S HISTORICAL STUDIES.

Historische Studien aus dem Pharmakologischen Institute der K. Universität Dorpat. Vol. iii. Herausgegeben v. Dr. Rudolf Kobert. Halle: 1893. Pp. 481. 18 M.

This volume is the third of the series of Historical Studies issued by Prof. Kobert, but is complete within itself. The first volume, among other articles of interest, contained an essay by Dr. v. Grot on the pharmacological knowledge of the Hippocratic writings with comments by the essayist, and an article by Dr. Demitsch on Russian folk-remedies from the vegetable kingdom. The second volume contained articles of a more special pharmacological interest.

The present and third volume consists of two parts which are quite different in character. The first part contains a catalogue of the dissertations and other works published by members of the medical faculty of Dorpat since its foundation ninety years ago. This catalogue seems to have been drawn up in a very workmanlike manner by Dr. Grünfeld, who is naturally proud thus to testify that his own university has not shown itself to be behindhand in the search after knowledge during the nineteenth century. The works of lecturers and professors are described more fully in an appendix. To students of the history of pharmacology this catalogue will be very useful. The vast stream of scientific discovery must be surveyed to its sources, and all its tributaries likewise, if we who are sailing on the current are to have a chart for our guidance in the future.

The second portion of the volume before us contains a work of far greater immediate interest. This is a translation into German by Dr. Achundow of Baku (a Persian physician educated in Europe) of the 'Liber fundamentorum pharmacologiae' of Abû Mansûr Muwaffak bin Ali Harawi. This translation from the original text is the first which has been made and is edited with full critical and scientific notes by the translator, Dr. Paul Horn of Strassburg, and Prof. Jolly of Wurzburg.

Ignorant as I am not only of the Persian language but also of the very letters in which it is written, it is not for me, even if the original were before me, to express any opinion concerning the translation beyond this—that it reads well and seems to supply all needful explanations, such for example as the Latin names of the drugs and the equivalents of the doses in grammes. The annotations give brief references to other ancient authors and supply a bibliography of the works which are desirable in order to put the student in a proper position for the understanding of Abû Mansûr Muwaffak. I hope the student will not be discouraged when he hears that the list contains the titles of fifty treatises.

Abû Mansûr's work, which begins and ends with a prayer to Almighty God and his Prophet Muhammed, was 'written (so says the colophon) by the bard ('Dichter') Alî Ibn Ahmed Asadî of Tûs in the month Schawwal 447 (December 1055) of the flight

of the Prophet whom God bless! May the owner of this manuscript be fortunate!' This manuscript, says Dr. Horn, is of the highest value, as it is written in the oldest handwriting of modern Persian, and presents many refinements to which the commentator calls attention.

However this may be, it is evident to the European reader that the contents of the treatise, which were composed in the tenth century (about 970 A.D.), are of the highest interest for the student of origins. Moreover it throws light upon the stores of Indian, and, by way of the Arabians, on those of European medical lore. Conversely, however, it seems certain that Persian medicine was almost entirely derivative and owed its existence to India and the Arabians: the sheets are marked, for example, according to the Arabian alphabet and it seems probable that in this treatise we have the first work on medicine which was written for the Persian people. In order to collect materials Abû Mansûr tells us he travelled in India—that Eldorado of potent drugs—and from India he brought back also principles of medicine which to him seem as valuable as the Greek.

The Arabians took up the study of medicine in the ninth century, the first important author being Rhazes (850-923 A.D.), who was born in Khorasan in Persia but spent his active life in Bagdad: little of the writings of Rhazes is extant, but we know that he drew a large part of his knowledge from India.

As in theology, so in medicine, theories which came more or less completely and more or less directly from Aristotle held an unbroken sway over men's minds for nearly 2,000 years, and during the middle ages, as interpreted by Galen, they reigned unquestioned. The Galenical doctrine was held by Abû Mansûr to interpret the action of every one in his huge list of drugs whether of animal, vegetable, or mineral origin. This doctrine was based upon the assumption of four fundamental substances: heat, cold, dryness and moisture, which severally or in their various combinations constituted the materials of nature: of these, even the four elements Air (hot-moist), Water (cold-moist), Earth (cold-dry), and Fire (hot-dry) were made. Remedies then, according to Abû Mansûr, who accepted the traditional doctrines, acted in accordance with their several qualities in respect of heat, cold, moisture and dryness. Acute maladies are hot, as are the blood and yellow gall; chronic maladies are cold, as are mucus and black gall. So the patient, unless his malady were a very obscure one, would come to his physician with the diagnosis ready made, and the duty of his physician or *hakim* would be to supply him with drugs properly compounded to meet the qualities of these humours. Thus, to take one example at hazard, 174. Chirwa^c^. Ricinus communis, castor-oil tree (Persian, Bid-andschîr) makes hot and moist, is of use in colicky pains and palsies: it softens indurations. The oil of the seeds contains more heat and is hotter and more rarifying than olive oil; it is useful in facial palsy, is an emollient to hardnesses in the abdominal organs and gently dissipates the mucus (p. 192).

And so forth: there is much curious and entertaining matter in the descriptions of the virtues of the various articles of the materia medica, of which nearly 600 are described from the vegetable world alone. Wine, I regret to observe, is prescribed by this excellent Mussulmans as strengthening both to mind and body, in health as well as in disease; but he impresses upon us that these advantages are lost if we go beyond the stage of moderation in its use. Of the evils which follow excess Abû Mansûr gives rather a good account; it produces, he says, tremors, fever, lethargies, convulsions, and coma. The wine of the grape, he adds, is by far the best, being generous and warming to the organs; moreover it makes good blood, especially if it have a fine bouquet.

The lore of poisons and antidotes seems to be found among almost all peoples, as we may observe from bushmen to Homer, from Homer to Mithridates, and from Mithridates to the mediaeval clergy; did space permit I might extract much that is interesting on this subject from the treatise of Abû Mansûr. I have however occupied too much space already and must refer the curious reader to the work itself.

T. Clifford Allbutt.

BINDLEY'S *DE PRAESCRIPTIONE HAERETICORUM.*

Tertulliani De Praescriptione Haereticorum: ad Martyras: ad Scapulam: by T. Herbert Bindley. 8vo. 180 pp. [+72 pp. of advertisements]. Oxford. At the Clarendon Press. 6*s.*

The present volume is a continuation of Mr. Bindley's studies in Tertullian, which have already given us an edition of the *Apologeticus.* It contains the famous treatise *De Praescriptione Haereticorum,* to which is appended the pseudo-Tertullianic tract *Adversus omnes Haereses* on the ground that it was the custom of the earlier editors to attach it to the *De Praescriptione* (its proper place, in such arrangements of texts as are convenient for modern work, would be in a Corpus of Treatises against Heresies); Mr. Bindley has also added the two little tracts *ad Martyras* and *ad Scapulam,* which make a very good pair for study though they are not synchronous and have nothing to do with the *De Praescriptione.*

Any one who undertakes to place the text of special treatises of Tertullian before the world in an accessible form and with elucidatory notes deserves our warm thanks, even though his work may not be characterized by originality or profundity. At the same time we could wish that an admirer of Tertullian, as Mr. Bindley undoubtedly is, had selected for his criticism some tract which did not show Tertullian at his very worst, where he is only sparingly witty and almost always unfair. The tract whose arguments Mr. Bindley assiduously defends might just as well be called a tract *De Praescriptione Academiarum* as *De Praescriptione Haereticorum:* and its arguments would silence critical methods of study quite as effectively as they would break the neck of individual heresies. The most famous proverbial expression in the treatise (and Tertullian's line of thought is necessarily rich in epigrams) is the sentence 'Quid ergo Athenis et Hierosolymis? quid academiae et ecclesiae?'—in connexion with which it is to be remembered that the volume before us is published at the Clarendon Press. So he chooses Athens in his riper age, or his editor chooses it for him. There is something ironical in the very title-page.

The critical apparatus, as far as we have examined it, is carefully described; most of it is taken verbatim from Oehler, as are also a great many of the notes. We say *verbatim* and do not add *literatim,* for on the first page which describes the authorities used there are not less than three bad misprints (*e.g.* l. 7. solus enim superstes nobis liber intactus a *correctione* magistrorum manu: lege *correctrice;* l. 12. *scatena* vitiis vulgaris codicum Tertulliani familiae propriis; lege *scatens;* l. 20. concordat hic *cordex:* lege *codex*): this does not speak well for the proof-reading. Another curious misprint will be found on p. 82, l. 11, where the student can exercise himself in the application of the maxim 'proclivi lectioni praestat ardua'; we are told that 'Tertullian no more meant to assert the possession of the Apostolic autographs by Apostolic churches than their possession of the very *charis* used by the Apostles.' I suppose we should read *chairs.*

These are trifling blemishes on what is really a careful and useful book. Many of the notes elucidatory of Tertullian's language and of the African Latinity are excellent. Occasionally there is a philological remark which will hardly be accepted: for example on p. 59 in discussing the form *susum* we are told that this archaic form may be equated with *subvorsum.* This derivation has been for a long time abandoned; the latest explanation is that of Stürzinger (in Wölfflin's *Archiv* for 1892, p. 598) who considers it an old participial form of *surgere.* But I do not know how far this view has met with acceptance.

J. Rendel Harris.

THE LANGUAGE OF CHRIST.

A Reply.

As Professor Christie has, to some extent, misrepresented (of course, not intentionally) what I have recently written on this subject, I beg permission to say a few words in reply.

1. He says that my argument 'ignores

the purely formal value of ὡς γέγραπται and αἱ γραφαί.' I have never once referred to the expression ὡς γέγραπται in the course of my work. That phrase is generally regarded as implying the canonical authority of any book which is so quoted, but I have nothing to do with that question. What I *have* said is that the constant appeal made by Christ, on the one hand, to αἱ γραφαί, and the ready quotation by the people, on the other hand, from some written source, prove that the ancient Scriptures in some *written* form then circulated among the Jewish people.

2. Professor Christie seems to think that the γραφαί in question may have been the Old Testament Scriptures in their original Hebrew form. He tells us that Kautzsch 'infers from Luke iv. 17 that the Hebrew Bible could still be understood by the people.' In maintaining such a position, Kautzsch is opposed to the great body of modern Biblical scholars. I have quoted in my 'Short Proof' statements from Ewald, De Wette, and Bleek, to the effect that Hebrew was then a dead language so far as the Jewish people at large were concerned. Many more authorities might be cited in support of this conclusion. I shall, however, only add one other from a Hebrew scholar who has recently gone from among us. Professor Robertson Smith expresses himself as follows (*The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, p. 35),—'Before the time of Christ, the Jews had already ceased to speak Hebrew. In the New Testament, no doubt, we read once and again of the Hebrew tongue as spoken and understood by the people of Palestine; but the vernacular of the Palestinian Jews in the first century was a dialect as unlike to that of the Bible as German is to English—a different language, although a kindred one.'

3. I do not affirm that, if my conclusion is accepted, it would follow that in the Greek Gospels we have 'the sayings of Christ exactly as they were originally uttered.' The many slight differences which occur in the reports of His words given by the Evangelists prove that such is not the case. But what I uphold is that we possess His utterances in the *language* in which they were at first spoken. And surely Professor Christie is mistaken when he declares that, if this conclusion were accepted, 'the difficulties which beset the criticism of the Gospels would remain undisturbed.' I trust I may be pardoned if I see in such a statement another illustration of the prejudice with which this whole question has been so much encumbered. For, can it really be denied that, if we still have tbe words of Christ in the language He actually made use of, the problem of the Gospels is greatly simplified? We then get rid at once of the manifold perplexities which have arisen from the supposed necessity of searching for a *Urevangelium* in some Hebrew dialect. And need I do more than refer to the monstrous theories of Eichhorn and others, in order to show how much has been thus gained?

4. Professor Christie has so written as to convey the impression that I have only proved that the Septuagint was used in writings intended for extra-Palestinian readers. He says: 'The use of the LXX. in quotation by writers addressing non-Palestinian readers proves nothing as to the common use of the LXX. in Galilee.' But he has entirely overlooked a remarkable case of quotation to which (p. 77) I have called special attention. The scene is Jerusalem; the speaker is St. James; the audience are the apostles, and office-bearers as well as ordinary members of the church in the Holy City (Acts xv. 6—21). Now, the argument of St. James on that occasion depends entirely for its cogency on words which he quotes from the Septuagint—words which exist in the Greek version, but are totally wanting in the Hebrew. Could proof more conclusive be desired that the Septuagint was then the Bible used and accepted in Palestine? It seems to me that by no fair or even plausible form of reasoning can this conclusion be resisted.

Christ said to His hearers—'Ερευνᾶτε τὰς γραφάς—and the one question is—What were the γραφαί to which He referred? I claim to have proved that these could be no other than the Old Testament books in the Septuagint version, and, as a necessary inference, that Christ's habitual language in His public discourses was Greek.

A. Roberts.

University, St. Andrews.

[The above reply was submitted to the Reviewer, who appends the following notes.]

1. For γέγραπται read γεγραμμένον ἐστίν, found in two of the three passages cited to prove popular quotation from a written source, John ii. 17 and vii. 31. The point is simply that αἱ γραφαί and ὡς γέγραπται or any of its equivalents means an appeal to Scriptural *authority* and no etymological meaning of 'Holy Writ' proves the circula-

tion of manuscript Scriptures whether Greek or Hebrew.

2. All admit that Hebrew was not the vernacular, but Robertson Smith's readers will know whether Bleek should call it a dead language, while, for reasons indicated, the unintelligibility of Hebrew in the Synagogues seems to me overstated. What Professor Roberts must prove and has not proved is that the unlearned had a *book* of Scripture in their hands. I regard it as established that they knew Holy Writ by oral translation and exposition in Aramaic.

3. Whether Mr. Marshall can establish an Aramaic *Urevangelium* or not, he lends probability to an Aramaic substratum for many elements of our Gospels. I am more troubled than Professor Roberts by the differences of our Greek Gospels, but I seem to have strained somewhat his words: 'still possess His teachings in the form in which they were originally uttered' (p. 99). I must add that some of us do not regard the Fourth Gospel and the Book of Acts as accurate historical sources. Granting, finally, that in the absence of an Aramaic Old Testament only a Greek version could be in general circulation, the necessity of Professor Roberts' final inference does not penetrate to this side of the Atlantic.

F. A. CHRISTIE.

Meadville, Pa., U.S.A.

NOTES ON A FRAGMENT OF THE MUSIC OF *ORESTES*.

THE *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, vol. 5, part 3, published in August 1892, contains a facsimile of the musical notation of a small portion of the first chorus of *Orestes*. The MS. is attributed by Dr. Wessely to the age of Augustus, at which time Dionysius of Halicarnassus is known to have possessed a 'score' of this play.

The fragment contains the following words and musical signs:—

Ex. 1.

1 ΠΡ C Ρ· Φ Π
2 ΥΡΟΜΑΙΖ̇ΜΑΤΕΡΟC
3 Z Ι· Z E
4 ΑΚΧΕΥΕΙΖ̇ΟΜΕΓΑC
5 Π̇ Ρ C Ι· Z
6 CΕΜΒΟΤΟΙCΖ̇ΑΝΑ
7 CΡ Π̇ C ΡΖ̇Φ· C
8 CΑΚαΤΟΥΘΟΑCΤΙΝΑ
9 (.:.)Π Ρ Π̇
10 ΚΑΤΕΚΛΥCΕΝϽ⅂Ɔ
11 Ż Ι· Z
12 ΝϽ⅂ϽωωCΠΟΝΤ
?
13 Ρ . C· Ρ ⅂
14 . . . . . ΟCωΝ

There is not sufficient material here to attempt any reconstruction of the melody; but we obtain a certain amount of insight into the Greek method of notation, and something may also perhaps be learnt with regard to rhythm. The words and music are written continuously like prose, as is the case with modern vocal music, the single phrases of which are never written in separate lines.

Alypius tells us, p. 2, that 'the upper notes of the Lydian trope are those for the voice, the lower those for the accompaniment (τῆς κρούσεως).' The latter notes are here mingled with the text: the reason for this will appear later.

The enharmonic and diatonic genera are used indiscriminately.

The ictus dot is placed either above the musical sign, or alongside of it, apparently according to the exigencies of space.

In lines 5, 7, and 9 is seen the simultaneous use of the three signs showing pitch, value, and accent.

When two or more successive syllables are to be sung to the same note, the note is only written over the first, as in lines 3 and 4. When a single syllable is to be sung to two notes, the vowel sound is written twice, as ω, ως in line 12. The Paean discovered at Delphi also shows both of these features. The translation of the few notes of melody, which are in the Lydian notation, offers no difficulty, while the reconstruction of the rhythm can only be conjectural, owing to the dilapidated condition of the papyrus. I venture however to suggest the following reconstruction, with an explanation of the principles on which I have made it.

Ex. 2.

1. κα-το-λο - φυ - ρο-μαι κα-το-λο - φυ - ρο - μαι

2. μα - τε - ρος αι - μα σας ὁ σ'α-να-βακ - χευ - ει

3. ο με γας ολβος ου μονιμος εμ-βρο-τοις

4. α - να δε λαιφος ως

5. τις α - κα - του θο - ας τι - να - ξας δαι-μων

6. κα-τε-κλυ-σεν δει - νων πο-νων ως πον - του

7. λαβροις ο-λε-θρι-οις ο - σων συμ - φο-ραν

The small notes above the stave show the values of the syllables. The sign P represents the enharmonic note, or quarter tone, between B flat and A. Since there is no sign in modern notation for quarter tones, I have placed two horizontal lines under the B flat to show that the real pitch of this sound was a quarter of a tone flatter than B flat.

Every musician and poet was supposed to be familiar with the laws of rhythm and metre;[1] and to this no doubt is due the carelessness of the scribes, who invariably omitted the sign for the single 'time' or short note ⏑,[2] and often omitted the signs for rests:[3] while they made the two time long – do duty for a note of any value greater than the chronos protos.[4] The ictus dot, or stigma, is referred to by Meibomius[5] and discussed by Bellermann.[6] It shows the position of the chief accent in a foot, whether simple or compound; and therefore

[1] Burney, *Dissertation on the Music of the Ancients* p. 72.

[2] See examples in Bellermann, *Anonymi Scriptio de Musica* p. 94 etc., see also Gevaert, *La Musique de l'Antiquité*, vol 1, p. 416.

[3] Bellermann, *Anonymi* p. 21, and Vincent, *Notices sur Divers Manuscrits Grecs* p. 50.

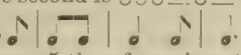
[4] Gevaert p. 416 and *Anonymi* p. 19, note.

[5] Preface to *Antiquae Musicae Auctores Septem*, fol. 9.

[6] *Anonymi* p. 21, note.

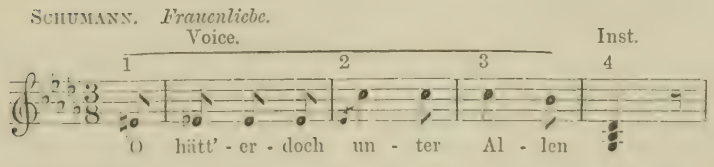
the note on which it occurs corresponds with the first note of a bar in modern notation.[1] The confusion which has arisen through the negligence of scribes with regard to the ictus dot is referred to by Vincent in his *Notices* p. 232.

The most completely preserved verse in our fragment is the fifth. The first note is wanting, but, by analogy with vv. 2, 3, 4, and 6, we may take it for granted that it was provided with the ictus dot.

Seidler in *De versibus dochmaicis* gives thirty-two varieties of the dochmius, of which the second is ⏑ ⏑́ ⏑ ⏑́ ⏑ — or, in musical notation,  . The first portion of verse 5 therefore gives the rhythm of Seidler's second form of dochmius, except that our fragment places the accent on the *first* note while Seidler places it on the *second*. It will also be observed that this half verse is divided by a single instrumental note from the second half. Westphal considered that the end of the dochmius was completed by a rest, or by the extension of the last syllable. Dr. Karl Wessely suggests in the *Mittheilungen* that where two ictus-notes follow one another as in lines 1 and 2, 3 and 4 etc. Ex 1, we may take it for granted that the time is to be completed by the addition of a rest or a three time long. I have given the preference to the rest as the sound of a single note on the lyre must have been of a very transient character. The first half of the fifth verse then, with the rests suggested by Westphal and Wessely, will give us the following perfectly intelligible rhythmical phrase, which might occur in any modern song :

[1] Westphal, *Aristoxenus* p. 32.

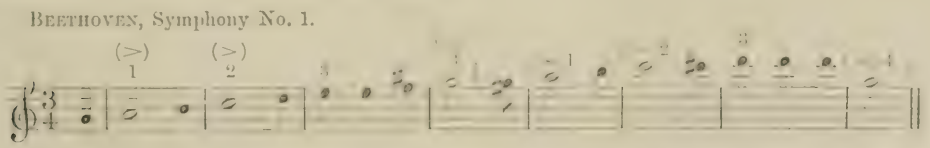
SCHUMANN. *Frauenliebe.*



In Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* 3rd ed. 1890, vol. ii. p. 561b, we find the following remark concerning the dochmius ; 'It is doubtful whether the chief ictus is on the first or second long syllable.' In the fragment before us, the ictus occurs on the *first syllable* of each dochmius, whether short or long, on the fourth 'time,' and on the final instrumental note of the colon. To represent this exactly in modern notation we should be obliged to use a combination of simple and compound bars of the three time species :

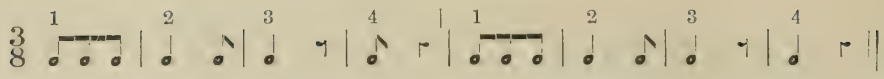
It is worth while to compare the scherzo of Beethoven's first symphony, in which the two time notes of the first, second and fourth bars of each colon produce a subtle accentuation somewhat akin to that of the above scheme : for the third bar, consisting of three equal notes, is relatively less accented than those which contain the contrasting long and short notes.

BEETHOVEN, Symphony No. 1.



This subtle accentuation is not shown by Beethoven, but it can scarcely fail to be felt when attention is called to it. In the Greek passage the accentuation is distinctly shown by the ictus.

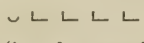
The first colon of v. 5, as well as the second colon of vv. 1, 2 and 3, finish with the accented instrumental note ; and I have therefore ventured to complete this rhythm on the following scheme :



which would correspond with an ordinary modern period, composed of two tetrapodic cola.

In the second colon of vv. 2, 5, and 6, in which two long syllables occur in succession, I have made use of syncopation. τινάξας δαίμων, v. 5, by this means corresponds exactly with Seidler's ninth form of dochmius ; ⏑ ⏑́ ⏑́ — —, or in musical notation :

Without syncopation, it is impossible to translate the ninth dochmius into an intelligible modern musical rhythm, unless we take each long as of three-time value :

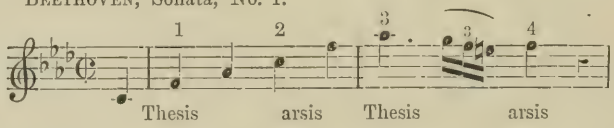


Syncopation (in the musical sense) is no modern invention. It is found in the oldest folksongs, and is a striking feature in the *pressus* of the Gregorian neumes.

In modern music, not only does each foot contain its thesis and arsis, but of each pair of feet one is slightly more accented than the other. In the majority of instrumental movements, the tetrapodic cola occupy the space of two bars ; hence each bar contains two feet, one of which forms the thesis, and the other the arsis, of the bar.

Example of ordinary tetrapodic colon :

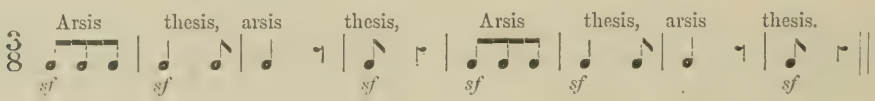
BEETHOVEN, Sonata, No. 1.



Where the accentuation of the pairs of feet is not thus shown by the notation, as in those pieces in which each bar contains only a single foot, the performer generally instinctively feels it : if he does not, or if he gives the wrong order of accentuation, his performance is insipid and unsatisfactory.

But modern composers, especially Beethoven, Schumann, and Chopin, are very fond of disturbing the regularity of this succession by means of *sforzandos*, etc. which make accents occur in unexpected places, in order to produce special effects on the hearer.

It has occurred to me that the dochmius may possibly have formed one of the Greek methods of disturbing the regularity of accentuation, thus producing restless effects, such as are to be found in many of the works of the great modern masters : *i.e.* that (if my reconstruction of the rhythm of the fragment of *Orestes* is anywhere near the mark) the accentuation would be something of the following nature :



which, in its rhythmical disturbance, might produce something of the same emotional effect on the Greek mind that the overpowering syncopated *sforzando* chords succeeding one another in Beethoven's Eroica symphony produce on us.

V. 6 is broken by instrumental notes. As neither the ictus nor time value of these are given, I have merely written them in conjecturally. They are doubtless ritornels, the exact nature of which it is impossible in our present state of knowledge to discover. An important passage occurs in the treatise by *Anonymus* (Bellermann, § 68, p. 78) in which it is explained that two kinds of notation are employed, one for the song, the other for the instrument (ἐπὶ λέξεως γὰρ καὶ κρούσεως).

'It is necessary that there should be this difference of notation, since κῶλα are interposed in songs. The melody will properly begin, and be made known, and recognized, through its employment on the instrument (ἐν κρούσει). And the notation (στίξις) is not

restricted to what is sung in words (ῥητῷ): but prolongation of the melody is produced on the (single) syllables, and variety is brought about through the intercepting or succeeding colon.'

Vincent (*Notices* p. 35) considers that the κῶλα here are passages for the instrument alone, as opposed to κρούματα which are the instrumental accompaniment to the voice.

From the above quotation it would seem:

1. That there could be an introductory ritornel on the instrument, before commencing the song, just as in an ordinary modern song.

2. That syllables were extended, in order to produce vocal melody without words, as in the neumae of the ancient church music, and in the florid passages of Italian opera: (but no examples occur in the fragments of music known to us of more than three notes to a syllable).

3. That monotony, which would be produced by an unbroken flow of vocal music, was avoided by the introduction of ritornels during the course of the song, as is the case in modern music.

Since these ritornels occurred between the vocal passages, it seems natural that they should be written on the same line as the words, as is done in our fragment. It is quite possible that the interposed ritornels were left to be extemporized, and merely a single note, or a few notes, were given as a cue to show where they were to occur. It will be observed that the single notes at the end of vv. 1, 2, 3, and in the middle of v. 5 of our fragment do not harmonize with the vocal note which immediately precedes them: but they do, except in one instance, with the note which follows them. Is it possible that they were the *concluding* notes of the ritornels, and were written for the same purpose as the concluding shake of a modern cadenza is written, *i.e.* to show the conductor when to bring in his orchestra?

While no information has come down to us with regard to the treatment of the instrumental accompaniment, a passage in Plutarch's 'Περὶ Μουσικῆς' seems to prove that the lyre was not always played in unison with the voice: for he tells us that the 'ancients' used the *trite* as the accompaniment to the *parhypate* (producing the interval of a fifth), 'Ὅτι δὲ οἱ παλαιοὶ οὐ δι' ἄγνοιαν ἀπείχοντο τῆς τρίτης ἐν τῷ σπονδειαζοντι τρόπῳ, φανερὸν ποιεῖ ἡ ἐν τῇ κρούσει γινομένη χρῆσις· οὐ γὰρ ἄν ποτε αυτη πρὸς τὴν παρυπάτην κεχρῆσθαι συμφώνως μὴ γνωρίζοντας τὴν χρῆσιν.' Westphal's edition, ch. 14, p. 13. From the same chapter it appears that they also used the intervals of the second, fourth, and sixth in the same way. The accompaniment seems to have always been above the voice, not below as with us: and it is probable that it was extemporized and never written down, while only a few notes of the ritornels were given in writing, as we have already seen.

The question has been asked of late why the musical compositions of the Greeks have so entirely disappeared, while so many of their dramas and poems have been preserved. After the fall of Greek independence, through the Macedonian and Roman conquests, the dramas and poems of the 'classical' school were no longer sung on the stage, which was given over to a degenerate form of music and dancing, intended merely to amuse the ignorant mob. The musical notation was of such a complicated nature, that even the most learned men would not be able to read and enjoy a 'score' without hearing it; while, on the other hand, the noble thoughts expressed in the words of the dramas were easily conveyed by writing, and could be appreciated without their being publicly performed.

Hence, the scribes, who were responsible for multiplying and handing down to posterity copies of the Greek classics, would, while taking every care with the text, omit to copy a number of musical signs, which neither they nor their employers any longer understood and appreciated. Thus, the texts of the dramas were preserved in the libraries of the learned, while the music was entirely lost. Whether, if we were fortunate enough to discover sufficient of this ancient music to be enabled to perform some of it, as it was performed in its own day, it would appeal to modern ears, is very doubtful. No art varies in its methods of expression so much as music. European music seems as barbarous to Orientals, as theirs does to us: and even the music which delighted our forefathers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries seems antiquated and expressionless to the general public of to-day. How much more then would that of 400 years before Christ appear strange and weird to us!

C. F. Abdy Williams.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

THE SIDE-ENTRANCES TO THE GREEK THEATRE.

In Mr. Haigh's interesting review of Bodensteiner's dissertation in the April number of the *Classical Review*, one of the most weighty of the arguments brought forward against an elevated stage was passed over without the consideration that it justly merits. Bodensteiner concludes his article with the statement that his investigation of the dramas has convinced him (1) that there was no elevated stage in the theatre of the fifth century, and (2) that there were only two πάροδοι, the same for both actors and chorus. The latter does not necessarily follow from the former, for we might still believe that there were doors in the παρασκήνια. No warrant for this belief, however, is found in the existing ruins. For this reason Dörpfeld makes the second proposition an essential part of his doctrine. On the other hand, once prove that actors and chorus used the same side-entrances, and you have made anything but an exceedingly low platform, that is practically none at all, an absolute impossibility. For no one would assert that at every entrance and exit the actors had to ascend or descend a flight of steps leading to even Mr. Haigh's stage, only six or seven feet high. Now Bodensteiner believes that he has been able, on the evidence of the dramas themselves, to prove this most important point. For this reason I have thought it worth while to submit to those who are interested in the stage question a summary of this portion of his article.

All writers on scenic antiquities who have given especial attention to the dramas, G. Hermann alone I think excepted, have believed that actors sometimes used the entrances to the orchestra. Groddeck, Buttmann, and Geppert have even claimed that this was the rule, but the more orthodox have regarded it as an exceptional if not an unlawful proceeding. They were loath to admit that Aristophanes would violate a rule of Pollux. In recent years, however, there has been a growing tendency to permit the dramas to interpret themselves, unhampered by the restrictions supposed to have been put upon them by the Athenian Professor of Antiquities. Even Müller admits a good many cases of the use of the orchestra by actors, though he believes that it was attended by the difficulty of mounting a stage. Mr. Haigh is still more conservative. He asserts that an actor makes his entrance only once through the orchestra (Carion in the *Plutus*), and very rarely his exit (citing the final scene in the *Eumenides* and *Wasps*). He even claims to prove (*Attic Theatre*, p. 175) from the dramas that the stage had its own side-entrances. All that he does prove, in fact, is that actors often enter from the sides, which no one has ever disputed. Bodensteiner has done the service of having brought together and classified all the passages from the dramas that bear upon this question. The following are his results, briefly stated, with comments of his own. It should be borne in mind that in the preceding part of his paper he has brought out a series of weighty arguments against an elevated stage, and has found nothing in the dramas that make against it.

I. All chariots and horses must enter through the orchestra, following the highway that leads past the palace in the background. This road is the ἁμαξήρης τρίβος of *Orestes* 1251, along which the semi-choruses are commanded to go. One might consider that corpses borne on biers would fall into this class, but our author, with his usual good judgment, refrains from doing so, although in three of the six instances cited it seems necessary, for other reasons, that the actors should be in the orchestra. Mr. Haigh believes that chariots and horses appeared on the high stage. How this could be managed on a platform only 7½ to 8 ft. deep he does not attempt to explain. Apart from the difficulty, imagine how ridiculous the scene in the *Agamemnon* would be, where Clytemnestra makes so much ado about a strip of carpet, only two or three feet long, for her husband to walk upon, when he might easily, if he had had anything of the activity of Mr. Haigh's choruses, have stepped lightly from his chariot into the doorway. But perhaps Mr. Haigh's stage is a deeper one. At any rate one may fall back upon the scene in the *Iphigenia at Aulis*, where the choreutae assist Iphigenia to alight. Though the passage may be an interpolation, yet the action would have been as difficult with a high stage at one time as at another. It is interesting to find that Timoleon, ac-

cording to Plutarch, was accustomed to drive into the theatre in his chariot in order to address the people. Did he too drive in on the high stage?

II. Actors who enter or depart in company with the chorus must use the same passage. Two instances are given of the former, eighteen of the latter, all of them as certain as the three admitted by Mr. Haigh.

III. When the choreutae hold a special relation toward an actor, as in the *Ion*, where they are the servants of Creusa, they would naturally enter and depart in the same way. So in the *Eumenides* the Furies follow on the track of Orestes like hounds on a fresh scent. The only alternative in all these cases is to make the chorus mount the stage in order to be with the actors. Mr. Haigh prefers this alternative.

IV. Incoming actors seem to require a long time to reach the place of action. Hence they enter by the πάροδοι. Some thirty cases are cited and discussed, but only three are accepted as evidence. The others admit of no better test than merely the number of verses spoken. In this matter it is fair to point out that Bodensteiner proceeds throughout the chapter with the greatest caution.

V. An incoming actor who is announced by the chorus is often not seen at first by an actor already present. The use of the πάροδοι offers an easy explanation of such cases. It never happens that an incoming actor, announced by an actor who is present, cannot be seen by the chorus also.

VI. Similar to the above are the cases in which incoming actors cannot see all who are present. Furthermore it is the usual practice for incoming actors to accost the chorus first, though there are many exceptions. Yet when the incoming actor is unknown to all those who are present he *always* addresses the chorus. This points to the same conclusion—that actors entering from the sides always find themselves nearer to the chorus than to the other actors. Bodensteiner, however, makes use of only the cases of this class that are exceptionally clear.

VII. A few times the chorus on entering complains of the steepness of the path. This is explained by the fact that in the earliest theatre at Athens of which we have any remains the πάροδοι have a considerable upward slope toward the orchestra. Bodensteiner would explain in the same way the similar references on the part of actors, and the cases ἀναβαίνειν and καταβαίνειν in Aristophanes that have been interpreted as meaning 'approach' and 'depart.' Oehmichen has just given another explanation (*Woch. f. kl. Phil.* 1894, 362)—that the actors are ascending the ramps leading to the top of the proscenium, while the chorus climb to the so-called 'thymele' in the orchestra; but it is hardly necessary to reckon with one who still believes in the latter.

It is shown that actors use the approaches to the orchestra about forty times, accepting only those instances that seem exceedingly probable. Still another argument might be adduced from the street scenes in Aristophanes, which resemble closely the New Comedy. In these there can be but one entrance on either side—the street that passes in front of the house through the scene of action. Granting that the πάροδοι were used by actors in all these cases, can it be considered an exceptional occurrence? A hundred other passages which are most easily understood on the same disposition of the actors at once suggest themselves. Furthermore there is no statement in any ancient writer that contradicts this view for the Greek theatre. Even Pollux, if rightly understood, says nothing against it.

Mr. Haigh asserts that the dramas are not a trustworthy source of information on questions of scenic antiquities. In this I quite agree with him in general. But we must make distinctions between questions of scenic antiquities pure and simple, and questions of interpretation. We can tell little from Shakespeare's text as to the scenery and scenic appliances of his day, but the movements of the actors, their relative positions on the stage, the time and manner of their entrances and exits we can almost always determine within certain limits. This is especially true of the Greek dramas, which to a stage manager would offer very few difficulties in this regard. Now fortunately for us in trying to settle the stage question, the Greek drama had a chorus which performed a peculiar function of its own and also frequently took part in the action. In determining the movements of actors and chorus we are able also to establish certain conditions as regards the space in which they acted. In the first place the actors generally stand in the neighbourhood of the background, though they sometimes advance to the position of the chorus. The chorus on the other hand are generally considerably farther away from the background, though they sometimes

approach it and even go through the door. This we learn from the dramas themselves, and find confirmed in Pollux. But the most imperative condition imposed by the dramas is that there should be no hindrance to the free and frequent intermingling of actors and chorus. This is in accordance with what Aristotle says in the *Poetics* 18: καὶ τὸν χορὸν δὲ ἕνα δεῖ ὑπολαβεῖν τῶν ὑποκριτῶν καὶ μόριον εἶναι τοῦ ὅλου καὶ συναγωνίζεσθαι, though Aristotle of course has in mind a still closer relation. This is a perfectly legitimate conclusion to draw from the text of the plays. We should apply exactly the same principle to Shakespeare or any other dramatist with perfect right. That the question of the high stage is involved does not affect the principle.

Since the dramas and the ruins lead to the same conclusion, and since no writer before the Roman era refers to a stage, the real question at issue is the explanation of Vitruvius and the tradition that has continued down to our own times. The citations from ancient authorities given by Mr. Haigh in defence of the old theory are either misunderstood or misapplied.

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Tell el Amarna. By W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, D.C.L. London: Methuen and Co. 1894. Pp. iv. 46: and 43 plates. Large 4to. £1.

THIS volume deals principally with matters that are not within the province of this *Review*; and is noticed here solely on account of the author's views about the connexion of Egypt with the Hellenic districts of the Mediterranean. These views are set forth in a passage which had better be quoted at length. It runs thus:—

§ 28. When I first went to Tell el Amarna, I aimed at finding the rubbish heaps, where the waste was thrown from the palace. I searched all around the palace region, but could not find any such remains; while clearing, however, on the desert, about three furlongs from the palace, I found a wide stretch of waste heaps. As they are on the nearest open ground to the palace, and contained scattered throughout the whole area dozens of objects with the names of the royal family, and hundreds of pieces of imported Ægean pottery, it seems evident that these are the palace waste heaps which I sought; though probably mixed with waste from other large houses in the neighbourhood. The extent of the heaps was about 600 feet by 400 feet, and the depth varied from 4 feet to a mere sprinkling, probably averaging more than 1 foot.

Nearly all the broken rings, &c., with cartouches that I obtained, were found here; these comprised a few of Tahutmes III and Amenhotep III (doubtless brought here), and about 80 or 90 of Akhenaten,[1] his family, and his successor, Ra-smenkh-ka; on most of the latter, however, he called himself 'beloved of Akhenaten,' and they date, therefore, during a co-regency, or soon after Akhenaten's death, when his successor still trusted to his name for support. Thus it is clear that the mounds belong to a very little longer time than the reign of Akhenaten; and as he only reigned here for twelve years, everything found in the mounds was probably thrown away within fifteen years, at about 1400 B.C.

§ 29. The principal importance of these mounds was quite unexpected. So soon as we began to dig we found Ægean pottery and so-called Phœnician glass; and the quantities of pieces of these materials prove how usual they were at the time. The glass vases ...

§ 30. The Ægean pottery is however more important, as there is no indication that it was ever made in Egypt; and its presence therefore shews the coeval civilization of the Ægean countries with which it is always associated. The total quantity of pieces found was 1329 in the waste heaps, 9 in the palace, and only 3 fragments of one vase elsewhere, in house 11.

§ 31. It is almost needless to observe that this discovery and dating of Ægean pottery stands on an entirely different footing to those which have been previously made in Egypt and Greece. All previous correlations have depended on single vases, or on single scarabs found associated with things from other sources; and hence (to any one without a practical knowledge of how completely things are of one period, in almost all cases when they are associated), it may seem as if the dating all depended on isolated objects, any of which might have been buried centuries after it was made.[2] Here we have not to consider isolated objects, about which any such questions can arise, nor a small deposit which might be casually disturbed, nor a locality which has ever been reoccupied; but we have to deal with thousands of tons of waste heaps, with pieces of hundreds of vases, and about a hundred absolutely dated objects with cartouches. And when we see that in all this mass, which is on a scale that is beyond any possibility of accidental or casual mixture throughout, there is not a single object which can be dated later than about 1380 B.C., we may henceforward remember that there are few facts in all archaeology determined with a more overwhelming amount of evidence than the dating of this earlier style of Ægean pottery to the beginning of the fourteenth century B.C.

This raises two distinct questions. The first is whether the Ægean pottery is contemporary with those kings. The second is whether those kings reigned about 1400 B.C.

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[1] Akhenaten (Akh-en-Aten) is Mr. Petrie's name for Khu-en-Aten or Chu-en-Aten. I follow his spelling throughout, simply to avoid confusion.

[2] This was Mr. Petrie's own hypothesis in dating the Ægean vase from the tomb of Maket at Kahun. See *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, p. 24:—'The scarabs must have been nearly all old ones when buried. The latest is of Tahutmes III, or 1450 B.C., and probably contemporary with him, by the style of it: whereas the character of the beads, of the pottery, and of the coffin all shew that two or three centuries had elapsed since the scarabs were made.'

Mr. Petrie does not say anything at all about the second question. He takes that for granted. And I do not propose to discuss it here, as I shall presently be dealing with Egyptian chronology as a whole.

As regards the first question he seems to rest his case upon the following points:—That hundreds of pieces of Ægean pottery were found in the same rubbish-heaps with dozens of objects bearing the cartouches of those kings. That these rubbish-heaps are formed of the rubbish from the palace occupied by those kings. That these rubbish-heaps have not yielded any objects bearing the cartouches of later kings.

Now for the evidence. In § 31 he says that the rubbish-heaps have yielded about a hundred absolutely dated objects with cartouches. In § 28 he says that nearly all the broken rings, &c., with cartouches that he obtained, were found there; and that these comprised a few of Tahutmes III and Amenhotep III, and about eighty or ninety of Akhenaten, his family, and his successor, Ra-smenkh-ka. In plate XIV., entitled 'Scarabs, rings, &c.,' and in plate XV., entitled 'Scarabs, &c.,' he gives three broken specimens with the cartouche of Tahutmes III, eight with the cartouche of Amenhotep III, and then a great many with the cartouches of Akhenaten, his family, and his successor, Ra-smenkh-ka; and in § 65 on p. 29 he refers to some of these as coming from the rubbish-heaps. Taken together, these statements seem to show that the 'absolutely dated objects with cartouches' are nothing but scarabs, rings, etc.

Such objects cannot be absolutely dated by the cartouches on them. That is certain; for many of them have the cartouches of kings who reigned at different dates. Thus, for example, there is a plaque in the British Museum, no. 16,580, with the cartouches of Tahutmes I, Tahutmes III and Seti I; and a scarab, no. 16,796, with the cartouches of Tahutmes III and Psammitichos.

But, supposing that these objects were made in the time of those kings, there is nothing to show that they were thrown into the rubbish-heaps then. Mr. Petrie says that the rubbish-heaps are formed of the rubbish from the palace. But in § 28 he admits that they are not in 'the palace region' at all, but on the desert, about three furlongs away. He meets the objection by saying that this was the nearest open ground to the palace. To judge by the plans, this statement is disputable; but taking it for granted, it hardly clears the difficulty. He then proceeds to say that 'it seems evident' that the rubbish-heaps belonged to the palace, inasmuch as they contained objects with royal cartouches and pieces of Ægean pottery. But this is reasoning in a circle. His main argument is that the Ægean pottery must be contemporary with the kings who lived in the palace, because this pottery was found in the rubbish-heaps belonging to the palace; and here he argues that the rubbish-heaps must belong to the palace, because they contained the Ægean pottery. As for the objects with royal cartouches, their presence here will not establish a connexion between the palace and the rubbish-heaps; for similar objects have been found all over the site. He says that he found about a hundred of them in the rubbish-heaps; but in § 100 on p. 43 he says that he found 331 altogether. Quantities have been found by other hands in recent years; and none of them can have come from the rubbish-heaps, if he is right in supposing that these heaps were still intact.

Some other evidence will throw a little light upon the question of how and when these rubbish-heaps were formed.

Besides the fragments of Ægean pottery, Mr. Petrie found a number of fragments of Egyptian pottery with Egyptian inscriptions. On plate XXI. there are 59 inscriptions in hieroglyphic, which are described as 'jar-sealings'; and on plates XXII. to XXV. there are 101 inscriptions in hieratic, which are described as 'jar-inscriptions.' There is also a list of 'jar-inscriptions' in § 75 on p. 32; and this shows that 130 were found. The sealings and the inscriptions both contain the names of Amenhotep III, Amenhotep IV, Akhenaten, etc.

Now, if the Ægean fragments were contemporary with the Egyptian fragments, the probabilities are that some of them would have Egyptian inscriptions. But Mr. Petrie does not allege that there is a single letter of Egyptian, either hieroglyphic or hieratic, on any one of his 1341 fragments of Ægean pottery.

Again, if these Ægean and Egyptian fragments were contemporary, the probabilities are that they would have been mixed up together. But this was not the case. In § 30 Mr. Petrie says that 1329 of the Aegean fragments came from the rubbish-heaps, nine from the palace, and three from house 11; and in § 13 on p. 7 he speaks of finding Ægean fragments at the palace in the passage in the wall. In § 96 on p. 42 he says that the jar-inscriptions were collected from many different parts of the

town; and in § 97 on p. 42 and § 12 on p. 7 he says that some were found in the great hall of the palace, and that many were found in one of the small halls. In § 47 on p. 23 he says that a few of the jar-sealings were found in house 17. That is all he says about the finding of the jar-inscriptions and jar-sealings; but in what he says about rubbish-heaps, he makes it clear that none were found there.

Thus the fragments of Ægean pottery cannot have been associated with these fragments of Egyptian pottery. But they were associated with the fragments of Phœnician glass. In § 29 on p. 16 Mr. Petrie says that 750 of the fragments of this glass came from the rubbish-heaps, thirty-eight from the palace, and none from elsewhere; the corresponding figures for Ægean pottery being 1329 from the rubbish-heaps, nine from the palace, and three from elsewhere. In § 58 on p. 27 he says that 'this style of glass descended into Greek times, and was largely used in Magna Græcia; but the later styles are all coarser, and have not the brilliancy and flat face that mark these earlier products.' I have examined the specimens which he has deposited at the British Museum, and some others elsewhere; but I cannot see that they are superior to picked specimens from Greek tombs of about 600 B.C. or afterwards. In § 29 on p. 16 he says that it is 'almost certain' that the so-called Phœnician vases from Tell el Amarna were made on the spot, as factories for glass-workings were found there; and in § 58 on p. 27 he speaks of them as 'firmly dated' to 1400 B.C. But he does not allege that a single fragment of this glass was found in or near the factories for glass-working. And here the Γλαῦκ' Ἀθήναζε argument can only lead to reasoning in a circle. If he contends that foreign glass would not be purchased at a place with factories for glass-working, he must assume that the glass belongs to the period when the factories were at work; and this is the very point that is at issue. Moreover, there is evidence of importation; for in § 30 on p. 16 he admits that eighty-one fragments of Phœnician pottery were found in the rubbish-heaps with the Phœnician glass.

Thus the facts appear to be that the Ægean pottery was mixed up with Phœnician pottery and Phœnician glass, but was not mixed up with the Egyptian pottery bearing the inscriptions of Amenhotep III and his successors. No doubt, Ægean pottery was found in the rubbish-heaps in company with about a hundred scarabs, rings, etc., bearing the cartouches of those kings; but such objects have been found all over the site, and could easily have got into the rubbish-heaps at any date, these heaps being in many places 'a mere sprinkling' and nowhere more than four feet in depth, as Mr. Petrie himself admits in § 28. There is then the question why there were not any scarabs, rings, etc., bearing the cartouches of later kings; and the answer seems to be that no later kings resided at Tell el Amarna. In § 31 Mr. Petrie asserts that the locality has never been reoccupied since Horemheb destroyed the buildings of Akhenaten; and most likely this is true as regards the royal family. But there is nothing to show that it is true as regards the ordinary population. In fact, these Ægean and Phœnician remains may be adduced as evidence that the place was occupied in later times; and this evidence cannot be dismissed with the remark that the locality has never been reoccupied, for that assumes the point at issue.

Throughout the book Mr. Petrie writes as though the whole question of the Ægean pottery and the Ægean civilization could be settled by evidence from Egyptian sources only. But, even within these narrow limits, he fails to reconcile the inferences he draws from Tell el Amarna with those he drew from Gurob and Kahun.

Mr. Petrie found some false-necked vases of Ægean ware in two deposits at Gurob; and he fixed the dates of these deposits at 1400 B.C. and 1350 B.C. respectively, because one of them contained a kohl-tube with the cartouche of Amenhotep III, and the other contained a pendant with the cartouche of Tut-ankh-amen.[1] Now, in § 86 on p. 39 he makes Amenhotep III the father of Akhenaten; and in § 97 on p. 42 he makes Tut-ankh-amen a son-in-law of Akhenaten, and says that he succeeded Ra-smenkh-ka. Thus the dates assigned to this Ægean ware from Gurob just cover the period assigned to the Ægean ware from Tell el Amarna. That being so, this Ægean ware from Gurob ought to belong to the same class as the Ægean ware from Tell el Amarna. But that is not the case. In § 30 on p. 17 Mr. Petrie says:—

> We see that half the Ægean ware is of piriform vases, which are most commonly found in Rhodes, and nearly the other half is of globular vases, which are peculiarly Cypriote; the balance, only eight per

[1] Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, § 37 on pp. 16, 17. Cf. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xi. p. 274.

cent. of the whole, is not distinctive of any other locality, and there is no type specially Mykenæan... ...The absence of certain types from the large quantity of many hundreds of vases which have furnished this mass of fragments, is worth notice. There are none of the small false-necked vases of flat, low, form, which are commonest at Gurob.....In short, the impression is that this pottery belongs to an entirely different trade route to that of Gurob; that this came down with the Syrian coasting vessels from Cyprus and Rhodes, while the Gurob Ægean ware belongs rather to Greece, and came along the African coast to the Fayum.

Appearances are rather against a theory that people on the west bank of the Nile imported Ægean ware from the west of the Ægean *viâ* Libya, while their contemporaries on the east bank imported it from the east of the Ægean *viâ* Syria. And, unluckily, this pretty theory leaves Kahun on the wrong side of the river. The Ægean ware from Tell el Amarna belongs to the same class as the Ægean ware from Kahun; and Kahun is close to Gurob.

In the tomb of Maket at Kahun there was a vase of Ægean ware with a pattern of ivy leaves. Mr. Petrie fixed the date of this tomb at about 1100 B.C.: and then proceeded to assign this date to the earliest Ægean vases with such decoration, saying that the false-necked Ægean vases with geometric ornament were considerably older, their date being fixed by his discoveries at Gurob.[1] But now at Tell el Amarna he has found a fragment of an Ægean vase with a pattern of ivy leaves—fg. 106 on plate XXIX.—and fragments of others with similar decoration. And in §§ 30, 31 on pp. 16, 17 he says that these fragments are from the rubbish-heaps, and that the rubbish-heaps did not contain a single object which could be dated later than about 1380 B.C. He discreetly avoids any allusion to Kahun.

In conclusion Mr. Petrie assures us that 'we may henceforward remember that there are few facts in all archaeology determined with a more overwhelming amount of evidence than the dating of this earlier style of Ægean pottery to the beginning of the fourteenth century B.C.' We may also remember that what is described here as 'this earlier style of Ægean pottery' was described just as confidently in his former works as the later style that followed the period of geometric ornament. And we may also remember that the pottery which is dated here to the beginning of the fourteenth century B.C., was dated there with no less certainty to the beginning of the eleventh century.

CECIL TORR.

[1] Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, § 45 on p. 24, If then we take 1100 B.C. as a middle date for the Phœnician pottery and the Ægean vase, it will be reasonable. This consorts well with the dating for other Ægean pottery. The earliest geometrical false-necked vases are about 1400 B.C.; that early style appears to die out about 1200 B.C.; and therefore the earliest figure pattern, such as this ivy, may well belong to a century later. Cf. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xi. p. 273, This tomb belongs to about 1100 B.C., or within fifty years of that either way. p. 274, We have then carried back a chain of examples in sequence, showing that the earliest geometrical pottery of Mykenæ begins about 1400 B.C. and is succeeded by the beginning of natural designs about 1100 B.C. p. 275, We have dealt with facts which are now hardly controvertible as to the well fixed age of these vases.

GUHL UND KONER, *Leben der Griechen und Römer*, vi^te vollständig neu bearbeitete Auflage, von RICHARD ENGELMANN. Pp. xii. + 896, with 1061 illustrations. 8vo. 18 Mk. Weidmannsche Buchandlung: Berlin. 1894.

THE original Guhl and Koner is too well known to need either description or criticism.

It first appeared in 1861, Guhl dying very shortly after, and ran through five editions, the last appearing in 1882. The familiar English translation is from the third edition of 1873 (?). Koner died in 1887, when his work was already in need of reediting. It is difficult to grasp the full difficulty of Dr. Engelmann's task. In 1882 the excavations at Hissarlik, Mycenae, Olympia could scarcely be said to have led to results definite enough to be incorporated in any part of the book save that on architecture. Now the progress of excavation and the opening up of such sites as Pergamon, Eleusis, and Epidaurus has made everything antiquated which does not give them full consideration.

One may say at once that Dr. Engelmann has been singularly successful in retaining a large portion of the original text, and yet in incorporating concise accounts of recent work.

The result is that the new work, instead of being grown out of knowledge, is (apart from being printed on slightly larger paper) only some fifty pages bulkier than the fifth edition.

The increase in size is entirely due to the additional illustrations, of which almost 500 have been inserted. They much improve the book, being for the most part excellent phototypes on a larger and more generous scale than the old cramped woodcuts.

Students will be grateful to Dr. Engel-

mann for the reproduction of a large number of photographs and drawings from the collections of the German Archaeological Institutes at Athens and Rome. The illustrations of the buildings on the Acropolis are especially welcome. They give cuts taken from photographs of the staircase in the north wall, the columns built into it, the Cyclopean wall, the foundations of the old palace and temple and the foundations of the Parthenon and Propylaea, as they were during the excavations. The better known monuments are also well illustrated and are accompanied by the most recent plans.

Recent archaeological publications have also been laid under contribution, *e.g.* good reproductions are given of the pictures of ships in the *Jahrbuch des Inst.* vol. iv. (with a description revised by Dr. Assmann), of the wall-paintings from the 'Casa Tiberina,' the gold cups from Vaphio, and the silver 'siege' relief from Mycenae.

The text, considering the amount of new illustrations introduced, has been very little altered. It is divided into chapters instead of the old sections, which is a distinct improvement. The greatest innovation is the introduction of a series of new chapters on important sites; Troy, Tiryns, Mycenae, the Acropolis of Athens, Olympia, Dodona, Delos, Delphi, Epidaurus, Samothrace, Pergamon and Pompeii. This alteration has introduced a cross division into the plan of the work, for many of the buildings described have to be mentioned a second time in the chapters giving the history of architecture and fortification.

The work as a whole is a great improvement on the old edition, and will no doubt sustain its deserved popularity. The most obvious criticism is that too many of the old woodcuts remain. They look poor and inadequate by the side of the new phototypes, and are in many cases painfully inadequate. Many of them, *e.g.* well-known statues and reliefs, could be replaced at once by phototypes.

Many of the descriptions, especially those of the new illustrations, strike one as inadequate, but this is due to the desire to cut the text down as much as possible, and does not affect the value of the book as a popular *résumé*.

As is usual in German popular works, the only references are to the sources of the illustrations, and even these are given in the most abbreviated form. Among them we have noticed a curious misprint. 'Camer*oon*, The Baths of the Rom.' due no doubt to the influence of German colonial enthusiasm on the printer's spelling.

The new Guhl and Koner, though far from perfect, fills a place of its own. It has not the wealth of illustration of either Baumeister's *Denkmäler* or Schreiber's *Bilderatlas*, but it gives a connected account, covering a very large field of classical antiquities and can be read as a whole, which is no small advantage.

W. C. F. Anderson.

MAPS OF ROMAN BRITAIN, ETC.

Atlas Antiquus by H. Kiepert. (Berlin: Reimer) 1893. New edition.

Atlas Antiquus, entworfen und bearbeitet von D. W. Sieglin. (Perthes: Gotha) 1893.

Ist Irland jemals von einem römischen Heere betreten worden? von W. Pfitzner. (Neustrelitz) 1893.

Any opinion of ancient geography which Mr. Kiepert pronounces is worth the careful consideration of scholars, and this may be our excuse for selecting for notice a little piece of his *Atlas* which has special interest for Englishmen. Roman Britain finds a place in two of Mr. Kiepert's maps and the workmanship is excellent. There are a few points on which the critic may pounce. A few places are dubious: the position of Praetorium, for instance, is unknown and, if the Portus Gabrantovicum was on the south side of Flamborough head, it was a singularly bad harbour. The only port on the Yorkshire coast which the Romans are likely to have occupied is the shelter of Filey, on the shore of which Roman remains were found about 1857. A few roads, too, are omitted or included with doubtful reason: there is, for instance, no authority for a road direct from Sarum to Bath, and there is some authority for various roads in Wales. More important and more difficult is the question of demarcation of provinces. Mr. Kiepert puts Britannia Superior, we observe, in the west, and Inferior in the east. We should prefer south and north, making Lower Britain a geographical anticipation of Northumbria. The frontier must remain uncertain: it may, as one scholar has conjectured, have run from the Humber to the Solway, or it may have ended on the Lancashire coast, but it is fairly certain, if only from the evidence of Dio and certain African inscriptions, that York and Hadrian's

Wall formed its substance. We are equally doubtful about Mr. Kiepert's division of fourth century Britain. Like Horsley and others before him, he takes the sketch in the manuscripts of the *Notitia* to be a map and thus, *inter alia*, gets Valentia into Wales. We do not believe that the sketch is a map and, despite theories about Offa's Dyke, we do not see how Valentia can have been elsewhere than in the north. But these are vexed questions: the general accuracy of Mr. Kiepert's map is hardly affected by our criticisms, which are rather a testimony to its merits.

Mr. Sieglin's map is larger, and, as a piece of cartography, is most admirable. As a map of Roman Britain, it seems to us open to serious criticism. Names are retained from Richard of Cirencester: we have, for example, once more the slowly dying legend of a Roman road to St. David's. That road is most improbable. The patriotic zeal of Gerard of Wales, and the undergraduate wit of Bertram of Copenhagen have foisted it into some of our maps: otherwise there is no reason to believe that Romans ever dwelt in the strange land that lies beyond Carmarthen. Mr. Sieglin has other uncertain theories. Pinnata Castra, Ravonia, Delgovicia, Rigodunum, Petuaria and more such place-names are located with undesirable precision: an odd theory is put forward about Corinium, and some roads are open to question. I cannot think that Mr. Sieglin's Britain is so good as some of his other maps: some people might call it considerably worse.

Dr. Pfitzner's pamphlet is the outcome of a controversy with the late W. T. Watkin, who denied that the Roman troops ever entered Ireland. Mr. Watkin was not a scholar, but I must confess that his opinion seems to me in this case to be the true one. Dr. Pfitzner relies mainly on a passage in the *Agricola* which he misrenders, he builds much on what he thinks probable, and he has no archaeological evidence to produce which may justify his opinion.

F. Haverfield.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF EURIPIDES' *PHOENISSAE*.

The British Museum has lately acquired a vase of exceptional interest, belonging to the class which, inasmuch as a considerable number have been found at Megara or in the neighbourhood, are known as 'Megarian bowls.' These bowls represent the last stage in the manufacture of vases in Greece proper, and belong to the Hellenistic period, about the end of the third century B.C. A red clay is employed in their production, which by means of firing at an excessive heat or the application of black varnish often assumes a black quasi-metallic appearance. They are of a hemispherical, sometimes cylindrical shape, and bear designs stamped or moulded in relief round the outside, with conventional decorative patterns. Where the designs are stamped, they are generally insignificant and with much repetition of the subject. It is not uncommon to find the same mould used for more than one vase.

It has been suggested that these vases were moulded from originals of silver for those who could not afford the more expensive material, much in the same way as plaster casts now-a-days do duty for original sculptures. The British Museum possesses two silver phialae from Roquemaure in France and two terracotta phialae (numbered G 88 and G 89), all with identical scenes, and these bear out the probability of the suggestion mentioned above.

The majority of these bowls bear subjects drawn from the epic cycle, reminding us of the Tabulae Iliacae and similar products of the age which devoted such attention to the illustration and exposition of Homer and the tragedians. It has been supposed that the *Homerii scyphi* of which the Emperor Nero was so fond (Suet. *Ner.* 47) were silver vases with subjects of this kind, and hence the name of 'Homeric bowls' has often been applied to them.

Professor Robert, in his valuable monograph, *Homerische Becher* (50*tes Winckelmannsfestprogr.* 1890), has collected all the known examples, including a small fragment in the British Museum (G 51), which Mr. Murray (*Class. Rev.* ii. p. 327) has shown to be an illustration of the *Phoenissae* of Euripides. Hitherto only one other vase of this kind illustrating Euripides was known, and that existed in three copies at Athens, Berlin and in the van Branteghem collection; it gives several scenes from the *Iphigeneia in Aulis*, and is fully discussed by Prof. Robert. The Museum may therefore be considered doubly fortunate in this new acquisition, which curiously enough, like the fragment we already possessed, illustrates the Euripidean version of the Theban story as treated in the *Phoenissae*. The reliefs fall into four groups, and all the figures have their names inscribed above them, so

that there is no doubt about the interpretation, as will be seen from the following description.

The vase, which is said to have come from Thebes, is a hemispherical bowl of plain unglazed red ware. It has been considerably injured and broken, but fortunately no part is missing; the inscriptions however are somewhat worn away, and not always easy to make out. Above and below, the design is bordered by wreaths running all round, and on the foot is a rosette. The four scenes are as follows:

(1) Cf. lines 834—959. Kreon (ΚΡΕΩΝ), wrapped in a himation, is fallen at the feet of Teiresias (ΤΗΡΕϹΙΑϹ), and places his right hand on the seer's knee in supplication against the announcement that Menoikeus must die to save the state (lines 923—928):

ΚΡ. ὦ πρός σε γονάτων καὶ γερασμίου τριχός,
ΤΕ. τί προσπίτνεις με; δυσφύλακτ' αἰτεῖ κακά.
ΚΡ. σίγα· πόλει δὲ τούσδε μὴ λέξῃς λόγους.
ΤΕ. ἀδικεῖν κελεύεις μ'; οὐ σιωπήσαιμεν ἄν.
ΚΡ. τί δή με δράσεις; παῖδά μου κατακτενεῖς;
ΤΕ. ἄλλοις μελήσει ταῦτ', ἐμοὶ δ' εἰρήσεται.

Teiresias is guided by his daughter Manto (ΜΑΝΤΩ), who in the play is a *persona muta* (cf. line 834, ἡγοῦ πάροιθε, θύγατερ· ὡς τυφλῷ ποδὶ | ὀφθαλμὸς εἶ σύ, κ.τ.λ.) She places her hands on his right arm, while he holds up in both hands what seems to be a large branch. In line 852 ff. of the play Teiresias says that he is bringing back a crown of gold (τόνδε χρυσοῦν στέφανον) granted him for giving victory to the Cecropidae in their war with Eumolpos; it is however doubtful whether this wreath can be here intended.

(2) The next group is that of Eteokles (ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗϹ) and Polyneikes (ΠΟΛΥΝΕΙΚΗϹ) in combat, thrusting at each other with their spears, as the messenger describes in his speech (1217—1263). On their right is the personified city of Thebes (ΘΗΒΗ) seated on a high rock, and wearing a mural crown; her presence perhaps signifying that the combat took place before the assembled population of the city.

(3) In the next group we have the messenger (ΑΓΓΕΛΟϹ), in cap and short girt-up chiton, carrying a spear, and leading up Jocasta (ΙΟΚΑϹΤΗ) and Antigone (ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΗ) to witness the combat between the brothers (cf. 1259—1282):

ΑΓ. στεῖχ, ἐρήτυσον τέκνα
δεινῆς ἁμίλλης, ὡς ὁ κίνδυνος μέγας...
ΙΟΚ. ὦ τέκνον ἔξελθ' Ἀντιγόνη δόμων πάρος...
ΑΝΤ. ἡγοῦ σὺ πρὸς μεταίχμι', οὐ μελλητέον.
ΙΟΚ. ἔπειγ', ἔπειγε, θύγατερ, ὡς, ἢν μὲν φθάσω
παῖδας πρὸ λόγχης, οὐμὸς ἐν φάει βίος,
κ.τ.λ.

Jocasta hurries along and seems to turn back to Antigone, urging her to greater haste. Behind them is seen the doorway of the palace which they have just left.

(4) The last scene represents Kreon (ΚΡΕΩΝ) standing half-turned away from Antigone (ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΗ), who bends forward in supplication before him, laying her hand on his arm; his arms are folded, and he has all the appearance of a person refusing to grant a favour. The reference is to lines 1643—1681, where Kreon makes known to Antigone his intention not to allow burial to Polyneikes:

ΑΝΤ. ναὶ πρός σε τῆσδε μητρὸς Ἰοκάστης, Κρέον.
ΚΡ. μάταια μοχθεῖς· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τύχοις τάδε,
κ.τ.λ.

The artistic merit of the vase is of course small, and the treatment of the drapery and other details is of the rudest description. The modelling of the human figures too is often careless and confused, *e.g.* the Antigone in the fourth group, were it not for the inscription, might well be taken for a bearded man.

The existence even of these few vases with Euripidean subjects, taken in connection with the fondness of the vase-painters of Southern Italy for subjects derived from Euripides, tends to show the great popularity that he enjoyed in the third century B.C. all over Greece, which must have manifested itself in a general revival of his plays, in Athens and neighbourhood as well as at Tarentum, Paestum, and other important centres in Magna Graecia.

An illustration of this bowl will be given in the forthcoming volume iv. of the *Catalogue of Vases in the British Museum*, which will include all the vases which can be attributed to the Macedonian and Hellenistic periods. I may mention in passing that another of these Megarian bowls in the British Museum appears to illustrate the rare subject of Herakles carrying off Auge, this group being repeated round the vase alternately with figures of Pan, who may be introduced to indicate the

scene of the rape, Arcadia. This subject cannot however be traced to any lost play or epic poem; the story is told by Pausanias (viii. 4, 6 and 48, 5) and Apollodorus (ii. 7, 4 and iii. 9, 1). A similar vase is published by Furtwaengler, *Coll. Sabouroff*, i. Pl. 73.

H. B. WALTERS.

MONTHLY RECORD.

Rome.—In the Piazza Capo di Ferro has been found a nude male torso above life size, of Pentelic marble, the arms wanting. It is in good style, and probably represents Hermes. On the Via della Polveriera a base of a candelabrum has come to light, of triangular form, with figures of Diana, Mars, and Minerva.[1]

Argos.—The excavations of the American School have laid bare a large marble building believed to be the gymnasium, and also many bee-hive tombs of the Mycenaean age, in one of which were fifty-eight vases. Several new fragments of metopes from the Heraion have also been discovered. In the lowest layer of the Heraion a number of imported Egyptian objects were found, mostly porcelain. They include a small lion with hieroglyphic inscription, figures of Bes, cats, and scarabs with cartouches of kings (chiefly Thothmes III. and Amenophis). They were presumably brought over by the Phoenicians.[2]

Epidauros.—The stadium is now being excavated, and several rows of marble seats have been brought to light, in perfect preservation, resembling those found in the theatre. A considerable portion of the original structure has been preserved. Hopes are entertained of discovering the ἄφεσις and τέρμα, and the stelae that marked the starting-point, also the *metae*, and the direction followed by the racers.[3]

Delphi.—In the course of the most recent excavations a column has come to light sculptured with reliefs after the manner of those belonging to the archaic and later temples of Ephesus. The reliefs are in excellent preservation, and consist of three figures of women in rapid motion, with flying drapery.[4]

H. B. WALTERS.

[1] *Bull. Comm. Arch.* Jan.-Mar. 1894.

[2] *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 19 and 26 May.

[3] *Athenaeum*, 19 May.

[4] *Standard*, 15 June.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

The American Journal of Philology, Whole No. 57. April 1894.

The Dramatic Satura and the Old Comedy at Rome, by G. L. Hendrickson. An attempt to show that a very close parallelism exists between *Ar. Poet.* and Livy (vii. 2) and as a result that the *saturae* of L. the *satura* of Euanthius *de comoedia* and the *satura* of Naevius are but the Roman designation of an analogue to the old Attic comedy. Some further hitherto-unnoticed analogies between the accounts of Livy and Horace (Epp. ii. 1, 145) are pointed out. *A collation of the ancient Armenian version of Plato's Laws, Books V. and VI.*, by F. C. Conybeare. Continued from No. 55 [*Class. Rev.* vi. 482]. *The ie-sound in accented syllables in English*, by E. W. Bowen. *On the authorship of the Leptinian orations attributed to Aristeides*, by J. E. Harry. The object is to prove that Morelli was right in attributing them to Aristeides. M.'s dictum was denied in 1841 by Foss, whose conclusion Schmidt accepts in his 'Atticismus' [W. Christ also agrees with Foss, *Hist. Gk. Lit.*]. There is a note on Cic. Tusc. i. §§ 18, 19 by E. W. Fay who keeps and interprets the MS. reading, and a list of corrigenda to Wickham's Horace by A. F. West. Peterson's ed. of the *Dialogues of Tacitus* is most unfavourably criticized by C. E. Bennett [*Class. Rev.* viii. 106]. Prof. Gildersleeve contributes an interesting dissertation on Plato, comparing Horn's *Platonstudien* with Pater's *Plato and Platonism*. Both the philological and the poetical aspects have their value but Pl. is a Proteus who will not reveal himself. Briefly mentioned are Tucker's *Eighth Book of Thuc.* [*Class. Rev.* viii. 152]. Burton's *Moods and Tenses in New Test. Greek*, Jebb's *Growth and Influence of Classical Greek Poetry* [*Class. Rev.* viii. 257], and Hübner's *Monumenta Linguae Hibericae*.

R. C. S.

Jahresberichte des Philologischen Vereins zu Berlin. May—August, 1893.

HOMER (higher criticism), 1891–2, by C. Rothe.

P. Cauer, *Eine Schwäche der Homerischen Denkart.* Rh. Mus. 47. Different strata, as Cauer thinks, are no doubt recognizable, but their extent is difficult to define and a judgment is always more or less subjective. R. Thomas, *Zur historischen Entwicklung der Metapher in Griechischen.* Diss. Erlangen 1891. A meritorious work showing the passage of many substantives, adjectives, and verbs from the literal to the metaphorical sense. K. Dyroff, *Ueber einige Quellen des Iliasdiaskeuasten.* Prog. Würzburg 1891. In three parts: (1) the new weapons, (2) the death of Patroklos, (3) the deceiving of Zeus. Ilg, *Ueber die Homerische Kritik seit Fr. A. Wolf.* 1. *Die Wolf-Lachmannsche Richtung.* Prog. Ravensburg 1891. A strong upholder of the unity of the Iliad. R. C. Jebb, *Homer: An Introduction to the Iliad and the Odyssey.* Glasgow 1892. J. is probably mistaken in considering that the difference in style of Ψ and Ω is sufficiently great to negative the view that they are by the same writer as the rest of the Iliad. As to the place of origin of the poem, we can only say that the first publication was Aeolic, but whether in Greece or in Asia Minor cannot be decided. G. Sortais, *Ilios et Iliade.* Paris 1892. It is here maintained that the Iliad is made up 'des rhapsodies séparées formant un tout distinct, qui peut suffire à une recitation, mais en même temps reliées entre elles par le fil de leur commune légende.' W. v. Christ, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur.* 2nd ed. 1891. On the Homeric question the second edition exhibits only slight alterations, but the author is more cautious in his views upon the contradictions in the poem. E. Meyer, *Homerische Parerga.* 1. *Der älteste Homertext.* Hermes 1892. Criticizes the fragment recently

found in Fayoum. The conclusion is drawn that before the Alexandrian critics the text showed many divergences, and that they chiefly reduced it to its present form. L. Erhardt, *Ilias* B. Philol. 1892. As in A, Erh. recognizes a double motive in B, a divine and a human. The demonstration is clear and convincing. H. Düntzer, *Der Apologos der Odyssee.* Philol. 1891. Tries to weaken Rothe's proof, in a paper eleven years ago, that Poseidon's wrath is the middle point of the Nostos, by his favourite assumption of interpolation. A. Czyczkiewicz, *Untersuchungen zur zweiten Hälfte der Odyssee.* Progr. Brody 1892. Considers that the second half also of the Od. has arisen from the joining of three epics, the old and younger Nostos and the Telemachia, and vainly endeavours to show their respective limits.

HORACE, by G. Wartenberg.

I. Editions. *Q. Horatii Flacci carmina,* by M. Hertz. Berlin 1892. The chief feature is the attention given to philology. *Q. Horati Flacci opera,* ed. O. Keller and J. Haeussner. 2nd ed. Wien and Prag 1892. A great improvement on the 1st edition, especially in the critical apparatus. *Horaz' lyrische Gedichte,* by G. H. Müller. Strassburg 1892. Rather led astray by his search for scorn and irony in Horace. *Q. Horati Flacci opera,* by H. Stampini. Modena 1892. Belongs to the new Elzevir series. The text is conservative.

II. Dissertations. M. Boissier, Acad. des inscr. 1892. On two medallions found at Pompeii supposed by the writer to represent Virgil and Horace. P. Cauer, *Wort- und Gedankenspiele in den Oden des Horaz.* Kiel and Leipzig 1892. No step in advance but a new wandering from the right path. W. A. Detto, *Horaz und seine Zeit,* 2nd ed. Berlin 1892. Excellently fulfils its aim. H. Düntzer, *Des Horatius Canidiagedichte.* N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1892. Contains nothing new or suggestive. W. Gemoll, *Die Realien bei Horaz.* Part I. animals and plants, clothing and dwelling, in the poems of H. Part II. cosmology, minerals, war, food and drink. Berlin 1892. These subjects here first meet with a satisfactory treatment. H. T. Karsten, *De Horatii carminibus amatoriis praesertim interpretandis et ordinandis.* Mnemos. 1892. Builds a structure on sand in the absence of any real knowledge. L. Pöppelmann, *Bemerkungen zu Dillenburgers Horaz-Ausgabe letzter Hand.* Part III. Progr. Trier 1892. Chiefly treats of Od. iii. 1 and 2. G. Schimmelpfeng, *Erziehliche Horazlektüre.* Berlin 1892. Analyses Epist. i. 1 and 2. J. Vahlen, *Varia.* Hermes 25. On the word *speculatum* in Suetonius' Life of H. *Horace.* The Quarterly Rev. 1892. In a review of the literature of the last ten years H. is estimated, and especially the relation of the Satires to Lucilius and the question of the originality and truth of feeling in the Odes.

III. Criticism and interpretation of single poems and passages. The Odes. i. 2, 21. P. Barth in N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1892, p. 335, conj. *secuisse* for *acuisse.* A. Platt, *Catull.* xi. *Horace, Odes,* ii. 6. Journ. of Phil. 1892. H. has not here imitated Cat. but both have imitated Alcaeus. ii. 10, 9. J. M. Stowasser, Zeitschr. f. d. öst. Gymn. 1892, p. 208, supports the conj. *sacrius* by quoting Isid. Synon. ii. 89. G. H. Müller, Zeitschr. f. d. öst. Gymn. 1892, p. 385, discusses ii. 20. K. Niemeyer, *Zur Erklärung des Horatius,* N. Jahr. f. Phil. 1891. On iii. 1–6. Opposes Kiessling, Seliger and Mommsen, who appear to have rightly comprehended only 1 and 4. N.'s work is worth consideration. J. Vahlen, in his academical paper named below, maintains the unity of iv. 6. J. Vahlen, *Uber das Saeculargedicht des Horatius* (Sitzung d. phil.-hist. Kl. d. kgl. Preuss. Ak. d. Wiss. v. 24 Nov. 1892). Consists of two prayers (9–32 and 37–72), separated by the inserted invocation to Apollo and Diana. O. Crusius, *Ad scriptores latinos exegetica.* Rh. Mus. 1892. On Epod. 5. Rightly perseveres as against Diels in his earlier reference to Proclus. The Satires. ii. 5, 41. A. Gudeman, *A Classical Reminiscence in Shakespeare.* Modern Language Notes, 1891. Thinks Shaksp. (Hen. V. Act iii. 5, 50) took *Furius* as an adj. agreeing with *Alpis.* H. Dittmar, *Horati libri* ii. *satiram* vi. *interpretatus est.* Part I. Progr. Magdeburg 1892. Shows sound judgment. L. Müller's latest lacuna-theories successfully opposed. The Epistles. Crusius (see above) interprets ii. 1, 79 *rectone talo percurrat pulpita theatri Attae fabula necne.* J. J. H. *Ad Horatii artem poeticam.* Mnemos. 1892. In A. P. 252 reads *ius est* for *iussit* [Cl. Rev. v. 138]. At the end O. Schroeder discusses Sat. i. 9, 6–8, especially whether *noris nos* is to be understood as a wish or as an assertion.

CICERO'S SPEECHES, by F. Luterbacher.

I. Contributions to knowledge of the manuscripts. A. C. Clark, *Collations from the Harleian MS. of Cic* 2682. Oxford 1892. Has collated Harl. 2682, which is of the 11th century, and recognized in it the Cod. Coloniensis supposed to have been lost. P. Thomas, *Le codex Bruxellensis (Parcensis) du Pro Caecina de Cicéron.* Rev. de l' instr. publ. en Belg. 1892, 1893. This is MS. 14492 in the royal library at Brussels, a parchment cod. written apparently by one hand and about the beginning of the 14th century.

II. Editions. *Ausgewählte Stücke aus Cicero in biographischer Folge,* by W. Jordan. 4th ed. Stuttgart 1892. This beautiful selection from the speeches, philosophical and rhetorical writings, and the letters of Cicero gives the scholar a living picture of the life and literary activity of the great orator. *M. Tullii Ciceronis orationes selectae* xiv. 21st ed. by O. Heine. Part I. *Pro S. Roscio Amerino, pro lege Manilia.* Halle 1893. The critical apparatus not thorough. *M. Tullii Ciceronis in L. Catilinam orationes quattuor,* by R. Novák. 2nd ed. Prag 1893. This edition is increased by an account of the conspiracy. *Ciceros Reden gegen L. Catilina und seine Genossen,* by H. Nohl. 2nd ed. Leipzig 1893. Though without a commentary or critical apparatus, contains much useful introductory matter. *Ciceros Reden gegen L. Sergius Catilina,* by K. Hachtmann. 4th ed. Gotha 1893. The text should have been again weighed in places where H. differs from the agreement of Laubmann and Nohl. *Ciceros Rede für L. Murena,* by J. Strenge. Gotha 1892. The text well weighed and emended, and completed for pupils. The commentary clear and concise, and shows the course of the argument. *Ciceros Rede für T. Annius Milo,* by F. Richter and A. Eberhard. 4th ed. by H. Nohl. Leipzig 1892. Much improved both in matter and form. *M. Tullii Ciceronis pro T. Annio Milone, pro A. Ligario, pro rege Deiotaro orationes,* ed. R. Novák. Prag. 1892. The text is based on Nohl's (1888). *Ciceros erste, zweite und siebente Rede gegen Marcus Antonius,* by J. Strenge. Gotha 1893. This edition will suit all readers. The text is based on C. F. W. Müller.

III. Contributions to text-criticism and interpretation. A. Spengel, *Zu Cicero pro Sexto Roscio Amerino.* Bl. f. d. bayer. G.S.W. 1891. Five places discussed. A. Kornitzer, (*a*) *Textkritische Bemerkungen zu Ciceros Reden.* Progr. Nikolsburg 1891. (*b*) *Zum Canon der in der Schule zu lesenden Reden Ciceros.* Zeitschr. f. d. öst. Gymn. 1892. (*a*) Ex-

amines ten places, viz. Verr. iv. §§ 2, 90, v. § 113, Cat. iv. § 11, Mur. §§ 43, 49, Planc. § 6, Mil. §§ 15. 39, Deiot. § 34, and seeks to justify the readings adopted in his edition. (*b*) A strong recommendation of the *pro Murena* for school reading. J. Lange, N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1892, p. 356. On Pomp. § 24. F. J. Drechsler, *Kritische Miscellen*. Zeitschr. f. d. öst. Gymn. 1892. Various conjectures. F. Becher, *Zu Cicero pro Deiotaro*, § 35. Rh. Mus. 47. E. Jullien, *Le fondateur de Lyon, histoire de L. Munatius Plancus*. Paris 1892. Gives an admirable account of all we know of Plancus. The events of 44 and 43 are illustrated by Cicero's letters. P. Dettweiler, *Untersuchungen über den didaktischen Wert Ciceronianischer Schulschriften*. 1. *Die Rede pro Roscio Amerino*. Halle 1889. Considers that on account of its length and difficulty it is more suited for a small and good class than for a large one. 2. *Die philippischen Reden*. Halle 1892. No one would read the Philippics for their form, but the importance to Roman history of this time of change from a republic to a monarchy is undervalued by D.

TACITUS (except the Germania), 1892–93, by G. Andresen.

I. Editions and translations. C. John, *Tacitus Dialogus de oratoribus cap.* xxviii. *bis Schluss*, translated and explained. Progr. Schwäbisch Hall 1892. The translation is correct and elegant, the commentary learned and acute, but in many places the text is unsatisfactory. The previous part appeared in an Urach progr. 1886. *P. Cornelii Taciti Agricola*, with introduction, notes and critical appendix, by R. F. Davis. London 1892. Essentially based on Kritz' and Draeger's edition. Contains nothing new. [Cl. Rev. vi. 461.] *Tacitus, The History*, translated into English, with an introduction and notes, by A. W. Quill. Vol. i. London. [See Cl. Rev. vii. 167.] *Cornelio Tacito Gli Annali*, by V. Menghini. Part I. Books i. and ii. Torino 1892. Excellent both in text and commentary, and up to date except that the latest investigations on the campaigns of Germanicus in Germany are not referred to. *P. Cornelii Taciti ab excessu Divi Augusti libri* i.–vi., ed. G. Némethy. Budapest 1893. Gives the variations from Halm's 4th ed., 69 in number. In these he often agrees with Nipperdey.

II. Historical investigations. Th. von Stamford, *Das Schlachtfeld im Teutoburgen Walde*. Cassel 1892. A powerful book, but the writer uses too much untrustworthy evidence to solve the question. E. Meyer, *Untersuchungen über die Schlacht im Teutoburgen Walde*. Progr. Berlin 1893. Uses the Fasti of Antium to throw light on the month in which the battle was fought. O. Kemmer, *Arminius*. Leipzig 1893. All that is valuable is taken from P. Höfer's three works on Arminius. G. Kossinna (Indo-Germ. Forsch. ii. 174–184) traces the name *Arminius* to a German *Erminz*. A. Taramelli, *Le campagne di Germanico nella Germania*. Pavia 1891. Much to be commended. Differing from most authorities, T. thinks that the accounts of Tacitus and Dio of Varus' defeat can be reconciled. A. Breysig, *Germanicus*. 2nd ed. Erfurt 1892. Considers G. as the type of *pietas* in all its manifestations. He follows Tacitus' account of the campaigns in Germany. Phil. Fabia (Meeting of the Acad. des sc. et b.-l. of 7 April, 1893). Upon the year of Tacitus' consulship places it in 97, which was the date usually assigned before Asbach put it in 98, under Trajan.

III. Language. *Lexicon Taciteum*, ed. A. Gerber and A. Greef. Fasc. x., ed. A. Greef. Lipsiae 1892. Contains the words *oriens—potestas*. The same high standard of excellence is maintained. R. Macke, *Die römischen Eigennamen bei Tacitus* iv. Prog. Hadersleben 1893. The last part: the three previous parts appeared in 1886, 1888 and 1889. The *praenomina* are here dealt with. It is very common with T. to repeat a proper name where a pronoun would have been sufficient. R. B. Steele, *Chiasmus in Sallust, Caesar, Tacitus and Justinus*. Northfield, Minn. 1891. Chiasmus is less frequent in Caes. and Just. than in Sall. and Tac., and in the latter is more frequent than one would infer from Draeger (Synt. und St. des Tac. § 235). The examples in Dial. and Germ. (in which anaphora prevails) are proportionally fewer.

IV. Criticism and interpretation. H. J. Heller, *Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung der Taciteischen Werke*. Philol. 51. A great number of conjectures, mostly worthless. Two only in Ann. worth consideration, viz. i. 28 *quae properent*, and ii. 36 the insertion of *quum* before *legionum legati*. F. Zöchbauer, *Studien zu den Annalen des Tacitus*. Wien 1893. Written in the spirit of Pfitzner, with much acuteness, much originality, but little feeling for style. The last fifth part is a commentary, linguistic and technical, on vi. 16 and 17. W. Peterson, *Emendations on Tacitus, Dialogus de Oratoribus*. [Cl. Rev. vii. 203.] None of these can be approved of. F. Walter, in the Abhand. aus d. Gebiete der klass. Altertumswiss. For the 60th birthday of W. v. Christ. München 1891. Makes some conjectures to Tacitus, viz. Agr. 33, Ann. xii. 63, H. iv. 73 and i. 67. O. Keller, N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 145. On Bachrens' conj. to Agr. 5. In c. 17 Tac. uses *alterius* for the gen. of *alius*, which is not used In c. 9 *elegit* is perf. P. R. Müller, N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 145. Several conjectures on Agr. In Ann. i. 20 reads *nimius operis ac laboris*. S. Spitzer, Weiner Studien xiv. In Ann. xi. 27 reads *atque libum divisisse*. S. A. Naber (Mnemos. 20), doubts the trustworthiness of Tac.'s account of the pretended marriage between Messalina and Silius. Nixon (Acad. 1038) considers the question what river (*Trisantona? Antona?*) is meant in Ann. xii. 31. On the same chap. W. Ridgway (Archaeol. Journ. 1893) discusses the account of the battle against the Iceni. F. Haverfield (Archaeol. Journ. 1893) discusses the real name of the people called *Decangi* in Ann. xii. 32.

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CONJECTURES ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF ATHENS, 594–580 B.C.

THE period of Athenian history extending from Solon's year of office to the year of ten archons is a particularly attractive field for the exercise of conjecture: since the brief account of it given in Ἀθ. Πολ. (ch. 13) tells us enough to show that a full knowledge of it would be highly interesting to the student of Greek constitutional history, yet not enough to give such a student any real instruction, unless he permits himself to interpret its meagre statements by adding conjectures and merely probable inference. I venture in the present paper to attempt such a process of conjectural interpretation. I will begin by quoting from Dr. Sandys' edition the passage from the 'Constitution of Athens' which contains almost all the information that we possess on the subject:

Σόλωνος ἀποδημήσαντος, ἔτι τῆς πόλεως τεταραγμένης, ἐπὶ μὲν ἔτη τέτταρα διῆγον ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ· τῷ δὲ πέμπτῳ μετὰ τὴν Σόλωνος ἀρχὴν οὐ κατέστησαν ἄρχοντα διὰ τὴν στάσιν, καὶ πάλιν ἔτει πέμπτῳ διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν ἀναρχίαν ἐποίησαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν χρόνων Δαμασίας αἱρεθεὶς ἄρχων ἔτη δύο καὶ δύο μῆνας ἦρξεν, ἕως ἐξηλάθη βίᾳ τῆς ἀρχῆς. εἶτ' ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ στασιάζειν ἄρχοντας ἑλέσθαι δέκα, πέντε μὲν εὐπατριδῶν τρεῖς δὲ ἀγροίκων δύο δὲ δημιουργῶν, καὶ οὗτοι τὸν μετὰ Δαμασίαν ἦρξαν ἐνιαυτόν. ᾧ καὶ δῆλον ὅτι μεγίστην εἶχεν δύναμιν ὁ ἄρχων· φαίνονται γὰρ ἀεὶ στασιάζοντες περὶ ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς.

The first point to determine, before we can even begin to conjecture, is what is meant by the phrases, used as equivalents, οὐ κατέστησαν ἄρχοντα and ἀναρχίαν ἐποίησαν. Is it meant that the nine ἄρχοντες were not appointed, or only that there was no appointment of the chief ἄρχων, called in the last sentence simply ὁ ἄρχων? The latter is certainly the natural meaning of the phrase οὐ κατέστησαν ἄρχοντα, and it is the more probable: for if there had been a complete failure to appoint archons there must have been some other government, and it is probable that we should here heard something about this other government. I shall therefore assume that the other eight ἄρχοντες were appointed, and carried on the necessary functions of government in the years of so-called ἀναρχία.

If this be so, it seems most probable that the chief ἄρχων was appointed somehow differently from the other eight. And this seems to me to be confirmed by an examination of the language of the passage, since Damasias is said to have been 'chosen' archon (αἱρεθείς)—although we were before told that the ἀρχαὶ were κληρωταὶ ἐκ προκρίτων.

And I think that the failure to appoint is more easily explained if we assume choice and not sortition. For a refusal to abide by the result of the lot would have been a violently revolutionary proceeding: and if such a blow had been given to the Solonian constitution only four years after Solon, and a second similar blow four years later, it seems to me that the new political order established by Solon could hardly have stood the shock:—the revolution would

have gone further and Solon would not have held the place in traditional Athenian history which he always has held.

But if we once suppose that the chief ἄρχων was elected, not appointed by lot, it is easy to conjecture conditions of election which might bring about a failure to appoint, without any revolutionary breach of the constitution. The most obvious way in which such a failure to appoint might occur is if the concurrence of two or more bodies was required. It seems on other grounds a not improbable conjecture that this was the case, and that one of the bodies whose concurrence was required was the Areopagitic Council: since we are told in ch. 8 that in pre-Solonian times this Council had the appointment of annual magistrates entirely in its hands; and it seems therefore natural that in the Solonian constitution it should have been allowed to retain a share—but only a share—in the election of the chief magistrate. If this was the case, it is not difficult to understand why from time to time there was no election. For we may infer from the concluding portion of the narrative above quoted that the στάσις which is going on more or less throughout this period is an evenly balanced struggle between the εὐπατρίδαι and the rest of the citizens:—I say 'evenly balanced,' because the change from nine to ten ἄρχοντες is obviously made in order that an *equal* representation in the government may be given to the two contending parties—five Eupatrids and five non-Eupatrids. Now the εὐπατρίδαι may be assumed to have had before Solon—and to have retained for some time after—a decisive majority in the Areopagitic Council; while it is easy to suppose that, in spite of the numerous *clientèle* of the old families, the party of the ἄγροικοι and δημιουργοί combined may have had sometimes a majority in whatever more popular body had to concur in the election. This is just the state of things in which an obstinate struggle, both parties refusing to give way, might from time to time result in a failure to appoint any chief ἄρχων at all.

The conjecture that the other eight ἄρχοντες were appointed differently from the chief ἄρχων is further supported by considering the probability that there was a constitutional arrangement for distributing the ἄρχοντες equally among the tribes. I regard it as probable that this was the case; because we learn from ch. 55 of Ἀθ. Πολ. that, in the later constitution, each of the *ten* tribes had a representative on the board of ἄρχοντες—the number ten being made up by adding the secretary to the nine ἄρχοντες. Now it would be contrary to analogy to suppose that sectional political feeling was stronger in the ten tribes of the post-Kleisthenean period than it was in the four tribes of the older constitution: and therefore we may fairly infer from the equal representation of the ten tribes on the later board of ἄρχοντες, that the four tribes had similarly equal representation in the period with which we are now concerned: just as they had in the Council of 400. Now I need not point out that eight is divisible by four, whereas nine is not: it is therefore reasonable to suppose that of the eight ἄρχοντες two were drawn by lot from the ten nominated by each tribe.

But if the probable existence of a tribal sentiment sufficiently strong to demand and obtain equal representations for each tribe in the chief executive organ be granted, we are naturally led to carry our conjecture a step further, and devise some plan for distributing the chief ἄρχων also. Otherwise the existence of a chief archon—who must be a member of one tribe or another—seems to impair the tribal equality, attained by distributing the other eight in pairs. My plan for meeting this difficulty furnishes at the same time a conjectural explanation of a feature in the narrative which I have hitherto left unnoticed,—viz. the regularity with which irregularity occurs in the appointment of ἄρχοντες. After Solon, we are told, 'they keep quiet for four years'; then they have a year with no archon: then after the same period of quiet regular employment to office, ἀναρχία from the same cause occurs again; then after the same interval—διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν χρόνων—the irregular extension of Damasias' tenure of office occurs. Before we attempt to explain this, it is necessary to determine the length of the recurrent period. The writer seems to say that ἀναρχία occurs in the fifth year after four years of order. But the commentators seem to be agreed that we cannot put the date of the ἀρχή of Damasias later than 582: so that if we take the commonly accepted year of Solon's government—594—there is obviously no room for twelve years of order and two of ἀναρχία between Solon and Damasias. Moreover it is quite in accordance with Greek habits of numeration to describe a quadrennial period as quinquennial; *e.g.* Pindar repeatedly refers to the Olympian games as πενταετηρὶς ἑορτά. I therefore agree with Mr. Kenyon in interpreting the 'fifth year' to mean the fifth from Solon's year inclusive, so that the recurrence of irregu-

larity will be quadrennial. I am confirmed in this view by the fact that I can conceive no explanation of irregularity occurring periodically every *fifth* year; whereas its occurrence every fourth year may be conjecturally explained without much difficulty. For in the latter case we may fairly assume that the recurring period of four years was somehow connected with the four tribes; and if so, it seems an admissible conjecture that the demand of each tribe to have an equal representation on the executive was extended to the head of the government, and was satisfied in his case by choosing him from each tribe in rotation: and, accordingly that the recurring crisis of ἀναρχία was due to a peculiarly violent antagonism between *one* of the four tribes and some other body which had to share in the appointment—as I have already conjectured, the Areopagitic Council. This special antagonism does not seem to me *a priori* improbable. For though, as I have already said, we may infer from the compromise of the ten-archon year that the struggle between the Eupatrids and the non-Eupatrids was tolerably evenly balanced, there is no reason to suppose the two parties were evenly balanced in each tribe. On the contrary, as there is reason to regard the Attic tribes as partly localized, it would be *a priori* likely that both the oligarchically inclined landowners of the plain, and the democratically disposed peasants of the mountain, would be stronger in some one tribe than in the others. Let us suppose then that the Areopagitic Council was in each year constitutionally bound to choose the chief archon from the ten πρόκριτοι of a particular tribe; that it was determined to choose a Eupatrid; that, as three of the tribes nominated at any rate some Eupatrids among their ten πρόκριτοι, the Council found no difficulty in keeping the headship of the government for three years to the class of 'well-born'; but that when it came to the fourth year, the tribe nominated only non-Eupatrids, and the Council refused to make a selection. Both sides being obstinate, there was a deadlock: so—ἀναρχίαν ἐποίησαν.

This is, of course, only one way among several in which the deadlock may have been brought about. *E.g.* I may be wrong in supposing that the premier ἄρχων was chosen ἐκ προκρίτων: it may be that he was selected by the Areopagitic Council from each tribe in rotation, the concurrence of the tribe being required, and that one obstinately democratic tribe refused to accept the nomination of the oligarchical council. All I am concerned to suggest is that the only probable explanation of the quadrenniality of the disorder is to be found in the quadruplicity of the tribes: that each tribe in rotation had some defined share along with some other body, in the appointment of the chief archon who was chosen from it: and that one of the four tribes was specially antagonistic to the body with which it had to concur.

Let us now pass to consider the extension of the ἀρχή of Damasias. In accordance with the general view that I have taken of ἀναρχία and its causes we shall not regard this irregularity as at first a mere usurpation—a simple though brief Tyrannis—but rather as originally another method of getting over the deadlock which had twice led to ἀναρχία. I conjecture that Damasias was a Eupatrid, and that when some such deadlock as I have suggested occurred for the third time—in 582-1—he continued in his office with the approval, or at least acquiescence, of the Areopagitic Council. I conjecture, however, that it was *not* with their approval that his government went on into a third year: Damasias, I conjecture, having committed one irregularity for his party, thought that he could avail himself of the precedent to commit a second for himself. He was, in fact, working towards Tyrannis; and probably he had the support of partisans, so that the Eupatrids became alarmed and combined with their plebeian opponents to get rid of him. In order to effect this combination, the patricians, I conjecture, had to grant the plebeians an equal share in the executive government, and therefore to increase the number of ἄρχοντες from nine to ten, so that exact equality might be realized.

I have reached the last stage of my conjectural history: for with the year after Damasias the data come to an end. We must suppose that this is the only year with ten ἄρχοντες—if there had been another, the chronicler would have known of it, and we should have heard of it. We must suppose they went back to the old executive of nine: yet the periodic ἀναρχία seems to cease, and we hear no more of the conflict between Eupatrids and non-Eupatrids. Why is this short year—only ten months, I suppose—such a critical time? I must try to guess the answer to this question before concluding.

First, I must say a word on the constitutional import of this 'decemvirate.' There seems to me no reason to hold with Dr. Sandys that it was a 'reactionary measure, implying an abandonment of the classification by assessment.' I see no ground for

assuming that these were not ἄγροικοι and δημιουργοί wealthy enough to be eligible for the chief magistracy, according to Solonian conditions: accordingly I regard the equal division of offices as simply an arrangement between two parties within the constitution, not a violation of it. On the other hand I see no reason to regard the classes of ἄγροικοι or γεωμόροι and δημιουργοί as species of nobility (*Adel*)—as Busolt and Wilamowitz hold: for all our information as to the meaning of the threefold division into εὐπατρίδαι, γεωμόροι, and δημιουργοί points to its being an exhaustive division of Athenian citizens;—all inhabitants of Attica who were not slaves, freedmen or aliens, must be regarded as belonging to one or other of these classes. Accordingly I imagine the social conflict of Solon's time to be like that at Rome in the fourth century—a struggle of poor plebeians against the economic oppression of wealthy patricians, combined and complicated with a struggle of wealthy plebeians to share the honour of the wealthy patricians. But I conjecture that the latter struggle is in Athens much briefer. I do not mean that the power and prestige of the old families is broken—had that been so, the reforms of Cleisthenes at the end of the century would hardly have been needed—but I conjecture that the compromise of the decemvirate is a sign that they are learning to moderate their exclusiveness. I guess that the 'party of the plain,' of which we hear afterwards, included wealthy plebeians though its nucleus was patrician; and that that is why we hear no more of the old three-fold division into classes, which seem in pre-Solonian times to have had almost the fixity of castes. This, of course, will serve as a part of the explanation why the periodical 'anarchy' ceases. But another reason for this may be suggested. It seems to me very likely that the κλήρωσις ἐκ προκρίτων was abandoned for the decemvirate and not afterwards renewed: probably simple election by the assembly was substituted. We are told (ch. 22) that 'all the ἄρχοντες were αἱρετοί' for twenty-four years after the expulsion of the tyrants: and this makes it probable that the change from *lot* to *choice* was not introduced by the tyrants: otherwise appointment by *choice* could hardly have lasted through the reforms of Cleisthenes. Thucydides tells us (vi. 54) that the Pisistratids did not interfere with the working of the previously established constitution, except that they always contrived to have one of their numbers in office: such contrivance would be easy under a system of election, but difficult in the case of appointment by lot. Again, on my view, the decemvirate offered a plausible excuse for changing from sortition to election, since it would have been a complicated matter to arrange sortition so as to bring about the division of ἄρχοντες among the three *classes* while at the same time respecting the claim of the four *tribes* to equal representation. And having once got sortition abandoned, it would be the interest of the Eupatrids to prevent a recurrence to it; and the coalescence with wealthy plebeians, which I assume to have taken place, would enable them to prevent it.

H. Sidgwick.

SUR LES ACTES DE XANTHIPPE ET POLYXÈNE.

M. James, en publiant pour la première fois les Actes de Xanthippe et Polyxène,[1] les a fait précéder d'une Introduction excellente, à laquelle je saurais à peine que reprendre ni qu'ajouter. Il a fort bien démontré, en particulier, le manque d'originalité de cette composition, dont presque tous les éléments se retrouvent soit dans les Actes apocryphes des Apôtres, soit dans les romans grecs. C'est là en effet le principal intérêt qu'elle présente. Elle peut servir d'exemple, dans l'antiquité, du genre hybride qui fleurit aujourd'hui sous le nom de roman religieux.

On peut discuter, naturellement, sur le détail de l'imitation. Ainsi, les apôtres sont représentés comme médecins ailleurs que dans les Actes de Pierre; voyez *Acta Philippi*, ed. Batiffol, p. 14 et 15; *Acta Thomae*, ed. Bonnet, p. 59, 33. Avec la lumière qui rayonne sur la face de Philippe, *Acta Ph.*, p. 25, 1, on comparera mieux *Acta X. et P.*, p. 68, 38 εἶδεν τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ λάμπον ὡς τὸ φῶς, que les empreintes simplement dorées (χρυσᾶς) qui se voient sur le front de l'apôtre Paul, p. 63, 1; etc.

[1] *Texts and Studies*, edited by J. Armitage Robinson, ii. 3. Cambridge, 1893. p. 58.

On pourrait aussi relever quelques traits de plus empruntés aux Actes apocryphes. Ainsi par exemple, p. 84, 8, un certain Onésime se dévoile comme étant l'auteur du récit. Il y a de même dans les Actes de Jean un témoin des événements qui parle à la première personne, *Acta Ioannis*, ed. Zahn, p. 225 et 252. De même encore dans une Passion de saint André inédite, qui sera publiée dans le second fascicule de la nouvelle édition des Actes apocryphes des Apôtres, et *Acta Philippi*, p. 11, 11 et 26, 6, où le manuscrit porte *ἐμείναμεν*. Comparez aussi *Acta X. et P.*, p. 79, 25, et *Acta Thomae*, p. 29, 32 ou *Acta Philippi*, p. 46, 2 ; p. 76, 37, et *Acta Philippi*, p. 22, 15 ; p. 66, 11 et *Acta Thomae*, p. 67, 12 ou 78, 34 ; p. 65, 11, et *Acta Thomae*, p. 66, 25 ; etc.

Mais ce qu'il y a de plus caractéristique, ce sont les apparitions de Jésus et les enseignements de l'auteur sur les relations conjugales. Jésus apparaît sous la forme d'un bel adolescent, *νεανίας εὔμορφος* ou *εὐειδής*, *Acta X. et P.*, p. 66, 30 ; 68, 20 ; 74, 8, comme *Acta Thomae*, p. 20, 26 ; 80, 17 ; *Acta Andreae et Matthiae*, 33 p. 165 ; *Acta Matthaei*, 1 p. 167 ; Fabricius, *Codex apocryphus N.T.*, i. p. 549 ; 552 ; enfin dans un fragment inédit du plus haut intérêt, découvert par M. James, et dont il a bien voulu très gracieusement me permettre de prendre connaissance.[2] P. 68, 26, Jésus prend la figure d'un apôtre, comme *Acta Thomae*, p. 11, 1 ; 79, 5, et dans un fragment inédit des Actes d'André, qui sera joint aussi à la nouvelle édition des Actes apocryphes des Apôtres.

Les relations entre Probus et Xanthippe sont manifestement copiées, avec les modifications que comportait la situation, sur celles de Charisius et de Mygdonia dans les Actes de Thomas ; comparez *Acta X. et P.*, p. 60, 4, et *Acta Th.*, p. 57, 19 ; 61, 19, et 58, 27 ; 61, 22, et 62, 15 ; 66, 17, et 61, 15 ; etc. Aussi, il me paraît inutile de chercher avec M. Bennett[3] à identifier les héros de notre roman avec des personnages réels. Ce n'est pas un roman historique que nous devons voir dans ces Actes, ce serait plutôt un roman didactique. Il nous montre la rupture des relations conjugales imposée par la foi nouvelle, et les incidents qui s'en suivent. Car, chose curieuse, l'auteur, tout orthodoxe qu'il paraît être d'ailleurs, s'est tellement nourri de la lecture des Actes apocryphes, qu'après avoir reproduit, p. 72, 14, la doctrine biblique sur la légitimité relative du mariage, il tombe en plein dans l'hérésie dont ces Actes sont tout pénétrés : *Καὶ κρεῖττον ἡμῖν ἐστίν*, s'écrie une jeune fille chrétienne, *μετὰ θηρίων οἰκεῖν καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων καὶ εἰδωλολατρῶν εἰς βόρβορον γάμου ἀναγκασθῆναι ἐμπεσεῖν* (p. 80, 9). Comp. aussi p. 83, 6, *νυμφίος φθορᾶς*.

Certains détails peuvent servir à déterminer approximativement le temps et le lieu où nos Actes furent composés. Déjà, après M. James, M. Bennett en a signalé quelques-uns.[4] On peut ajouter que l'auteur a lu les Actes apocryphes complets, et non pas seulement les chapitres détachés qui depuis le IXe siècle, et peut-être plus anciennement, continuèrent presque seuls à se propager, c'est à dire, le commencement des Actes de Thomas, la fin de ceux de Philippe, l'assomption de Jean, etc. Puis, p. 74, 33, Xanthippe (étant en Espagne ?) fait venir de Rome une Bible, ou peut-être seulement quelques livres de la Bible (*βίβλους*), parmi lesquels un psautier, et elle en tire des sorts (*ps.* 141 [142], 5 ; et plus loin, p. 77, 24, *ps.* 37 [38], 7). Ces livres se payent sept cents pièces d'or. Voir encore p. 73, 5 *τὸ τῆς ζωαρχικῆς τριάδος ὄνομα* ; p. 82, 29 *προσάγω σοι τὰς εὐχὰς τοῦ ἁγίου κήρυκός σου Παύλου*. Enfin, comme on va le voir, certaines fautes du texte s'expliquent par l'emploi de lettres capitales ; preuve d'une assez haute antiquité. Car pour le reste, je partage l'avis de M. Bennett : les Actes de Xanthippe et Polyxène me paraissent être moins anciens que ne les estime M. James (milieu du IIIe siècle). Je serais porté à croire qu'ils le sont beaucoup moins.

Quant au texte, M. James a dû le donner d'après un seul manuscrit, ce qui, comme M. Usener le remarquait récemment[5], à propos de la Vie de saint Théodose publiée par lui, ne peut être considéré jamais que comme un pis-aller. Mais ce manuscrit, le *Paris. gr.* 1458, du XIe siècle, est le seul qui existe, à ce qu'il paraît, et heureusement du moins il n'est pas trop mauvais. En somme, le texte de nos Actes est lisible. Non pas pourtant qu'il n'ait fallu, pour le rendre tel, certaines retouches du savant éditeur ; peut-être aussi quelques-unes des corrections

[2] Il s'agit d'un morceau des Actes de Jean, recueilli par M. A. Robinson, d'après une indication de M. James, et qui faisait partie des Actes primitifs non remaniés, puisqu'il renferme les fragments i. et ii. de l'édition Zahn, p. 219 et 221, les relie entre eux et les complète. Espérons que ce document si intéressant ne tardera pas à venir continuer la belle série des *Texts and Studies*. Un autre morceau très semblable, qui renferme le fragment iii. de Zahn, p. 223, paraîtra dans les *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*.

[3] *Classical Review*, viii. p. 103.

[4] *Classical Review*, viii. p. 102.

[5] *Literar. Centralblatt*, 1894, p. 403.

que nous allons proposer ne paraîtront-elles pas inutiles.

En fait d'accentuation, M. James a-t-il cru devoir conserver des particularités du manuscrit dans *ἀμετρητός, θησαῦρε, λογχῇ, ἀναστῆθι*, et plusieurs autres mots? Même quand le sens en souffre, comme p. 79, 19 *τί ἆρα* pour *τί ἄρα*; p. 79, 11 *ἀνακαλέσαι* pour *ἀνακάλεσαι*; p. 84, 25 *πλόος* pour *πλοὸς* (génitif); plusieurs fois *βασίλεια* pour *βασιλεία*; p. 67, 22 *ἐκχεεῖς* pour *ἐκχέεις*[6]; p. 73, 14 *εἶθ' οὕτως* pour *εἶθ' οὕτως*[7]? Il y aurait là, si je ne me trompe, un scrupule excessif. Il y en a un également, semble-t-il, à respecter les confusions de lettres équivalentes (*αι* = *ε*, *ει* = *η* = *ι*, *ο* = *ω*), et à écrire p. 66, 29 *ἱστήκει*; p. 58, 24 *περιοδεύθησαν*; p. 63, 36 *δμονοήσατε*, à côté de p. 70, 8 *παρειστήκεισαν*; p. 75, 1 *ὥδευον*; p. 77, 4 *παρώργισα*; etc. *Ἀρχιατρὸς* est si bien attesté par des manuscrits et des inscriptions, c'est un mot si commun, qui a passé même en latin, qu'on a de la peine à admettre p. 58, 18 *ἀρχιϊατροῦ*. P. 81, 21 *προηλθοῦσαι* n'est sans doute qu'une faute d'impression.

Souvent la ponctuation des textes anciens faite d'après la coutume d'un pays déconcerte les lecteurs d'une autre contrée. Qui ne s'est achoppé, en France et en Angleterre, aux virgules que tant de savants allemands ne manquent pas de mettre, en latin et en grec, devant le pronom relatif? Heureux le jour annoncé par M. L. Havet[8] où les ponctuations modernes, allemande, anglaise, française, pourront, et par suite devront, faire place à la ponctuation latine en latin, grecque en grec! En attendant, ne pourrait-on pas réformer la ponctuation des textes anciens là où elle est le plus clairement contraire au génie des langues anciennes, comme par exemple quand nous mettons le vocatif entre virgules? Voyez les notes de M. Weil sur Euripide, *I. A.* 613; 1062; *I. T.* 336. M. Jeep a eu le courage de supprimer la plupart de ces virgules dans son Claudien. M. Birt aurait bien fait de le suivre (comme, en général, de reconnaître plus franchement le mérite de son devancier). M. James aussi écrit p. 77, 34 *συμπάθησόν μοι τὸ θηρίον καὶ μή με σκορπίσῃς*. On devrait en conséquence supprimer la virgule p. 85, 6 *καλῶς ἐληλύθατε, οἱ τεθλιμμένοι*, et ailleurs. Il y a d'autres virgules qui sont peut-être conformes aux habitudes anglaises, mais qui nous gênent, comme p. 63, 15 *πολλοὺς ἐμακάρισα ἕως τοῦ νῦν, τοὺς ὑμῖν συντυγχάνοντας*; p. 63, 19 *ὁ τῷ δρόμῳ τὴν ξηρὰν ἁλιεύων, καὶ τοὺς ἐμπίπτοντας ἰχθύας συνάγων*; même cas p. 75, 18; etc. L'interprétation est en jeu p. 67, 21 *ὅσον γάρ σε ἐὰν παροργίσῃ ἄνθρωπος πολυπλασίως, τὰ ἐλέη σου ἐκχέεις ἐπ' αὐτὸν δέσποτα*, où je mettrais la virgule avant *πολυπλασίως*; et peut-être p. 71, 4, où je mettrais un point après *σταυρόν*. P. 76, 9 *ἀπηγγέλη αὐτῷ ὅτι ἡ παρθένος οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε*, ce dernier mot semble indiquer que le discours est direct, et qu'on écrirait mieux *ἀπηγγέλη αὐτῷ ὅτι Ἡ παρθένος κ.τ.λ.*

Les Actes de Xanthippe et Polyxène comme la plupart des textes de même sorte, présentent de fréquents exemples de confusion des cas, accusatif et datif, parfois même génitif. Il est fort difficile de dire dans quelle mesure ces fautes sont imputables à l'auteur. M. James s'est trouvé évidemment embarrassé. P. 59, 33 *ὁ κἀμὲ τὴν ἀναξίαν καὶ ταπεινὴν δείξας τὸν σπόρον τὸν ἀεὶ ζῶντα*, il change les quatre premiers accusatifs en autant de datifs, *κἀμοὶ*, etc. P. 62, 13 *ἐγγίσας τὰ πρόθυρα* (comp. p. 78, 14 *ὡς ἤγγισεν τῇ Πολυξένῃ*; 22 *μὴ ἐγγίσῃς μοι*) il ajoute <*εἰς*>. P. 70, 25 *πιστεῦσαι εἰς τῷ ἐξαποστείλαντι τοὺς ἄνδρας*, il change *εἰς* en *ἐν*. Mais il laisse subsister p. 59, 25 *ἐπικαλέσομαι τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ θεοῦ* (malgré p. 77, 3 *τίνα οὖν ἐπικαλέσομαι*); p. 60, 13 *ἄνες μοι...καθευδῆσαι*; p. 71, 13 *τὰ λεχθέντα παρ' ἐμοί*; p. 77, 1 *οἴμοι τήν ποτε...μανικὴν* (malgré p. 76, 36 *οἴμοι τῇ ἐγκαταλελειμμένῃ*; etc.); p. 78, 34 *σφραγίζει διὰ λουτρὸν παλιγγενεσίας*; p. 80, 12 *συναντῶσι κτηνίτην* (p. 75, 12 *συναντήσει σοι πλοῖον*; comp. p. 75, 24; 81, 7); p. 81, 30 *πρὸ τῇ χθὲς ἡμέρᾳ*; p. 82, 29 *δεηθῆναί σοι* (p. 60, 2 *δέομαί σου*; p. 85, 19 *δεομένη τοῦ θεοῦ*); p. 85, 13 *ἀπήγγειλε τὴν Ξανθίππην τὴν παρουσίαν τῆς Πολυξένης*. S'il est permis de corriger, c'est *διὰ λουτρὸν* et *πρὸ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ* dont je tiendrais le plus à me débarrasser; puis *παρ' ἐμοί*. Mais peut-être faut-il savoir supporter même cela.

En effet, quand la langue classique est pour un auteur, au point où elle paraît l'être ici, une langue apprise par l'étude, on est toujours à se demander dans quelle mesure on doit le rendre responsable des incorrections qu'on rencontre dans ses écrits. P. 64, 21 *τινὲς γὰρ...ὄντες ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἑωράκασι τὰ...τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα καὶ παρεγένοντο*, le parfait

Non contracte, comme *συγγενέα* p. 76, 4; le futur n'a pas de raison d'être.

[7] Cette locution, expliquée par M. Usener, *Der heilige Theodosios*, p. 126, n'est pas rare; voir, outre les exemples cités dans le *Thesaurus*, Aristote, Πολ. Ἀθ., 24 et 40; *Acta Thomae*, p. 46, 8; Cyrille de Scythopolis, *uita Sabae*, 22 p. 249 B; Palladius (Migne xxxiv.) *Historia Lausiaca*, 42 p. 1147 C; 103 p. 1210 B; Syméon le Métaphraste, *uita Ignatii*, Migne, cxiv. p. 1277 A; *de Thecla*, cxv. p. 841 B; etc.

[8] *Prose métrique de Symmaque*, p. 21 suiv.; comp. p. 12.

est-il pour l'aoriste, comme cela arrive si souvent (p. 84, 24 γέγονεν, etc.), ou faut-il écrire ἑωράκεισαν? Inversement, p. 79, 21 κατειλήφει με ἡ εὐχὴ τῆς ἐκ δεξιῶν σου ἱσταμένης, ce plusqueparfait peut-il tenir lieu du parfait, qu'on a p. 80, 30, καὶ σὲ κατείληφεν ἡ πρόνοια τοῦ θεοῦ? P. 64, 34 αἰσθανεὶς doit-il subsister à côté de ᾔσθοντο (p. 67, 16) et αἰσθόμενοι (p. 75, 22), ou doit-on mettre au moins αἰσθανθεὶς? P. 65, 24 τότε ὁ Πρόβος προσκαλεῖται τὴν Ξανθίππην ἐν τῷ δείπνῳ· τῆς δὲ μὴ προσθείσης λέγει ὁ Πρόβος: ce participe actif est-il admissible, à la place de προσθεμένης,[9] ou lirons-nous πεισθείσης?

Dans la syntaxe du verbe, une des confusions les plus ordinaires en bas grec est celle du futur indicatif et de l'aoriste subjonctif.[10] Cependant quand les deux temps ne diffèrent que par des lettres équivalentes, ο = ω, η = ει, ne devrait-on pas corriger, comme le demande, trop absolument peut-être, Cobet, *N. T. gr.*, p. lxii.? P. 60, 17 ποίοις τρόποις χρήσομαι ἢ ποίαν ἔννοιαν ἀναλάβω, écrivons χρήσωμαι, puisque c'était indifférent à l'oreille du copiste. Au contraire, p. 75, 23 ἂν γὰρ συναντήσωμεν αὐτῷ, οὐ κἂν κινήσωμεν, κινήσομεν serait mieux, si οὐκ ἂν κινήσοιμεν paraît trop hardi.[11] Mais p. 76, 17 ἴσως κἂν ἐν τούτῳ πληροφορηθῇ ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, le subjonctif doit être sans doute respecté; de même p. 62, 32 ἴσως γένῃ; p. 78, 9 ἴσως μνησθῇ, malgré p. 66, 12 ἴσως πεισθήσεται.

Voici maintenant quelques corrections plus importantes pour le sens, et que je proposerais cependant avec moins d'hésitation.

P. 61, 22 ὃς ἐρωτώμενος τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς λύπης ...ἔλεγεν...εἰς πολλὰς καὶ ἀνυποστάτους αἰτίας ἐμπεπτωκέναι. Je soupçonne que αἰτία(ν) est revenu sous la plume du copiste au lieu de αἰκίας.

P. 69, 30 τοὺς σοφοὺς Βάρανδον καὶ Γνωστέα. Ce dernier s'appelle Γνωστέας (p. 70, 3 et 71, 35; datif Γνωστέᾳ p. 70, 2). N'est-il pas bien probable qu'un trait sur l'α a pâli, ou a été oublié, et qu'il faut lire Γνωστέαν?

P. 71, 36 εὖξαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν...τοῦ καταγεῖναι καὶ ἡμᾶς εἰς τὸν σὸν ἀριθμόν. Ecrivez καταμιγῆναι; comp. *Acta Thomae*, p. 81, 13 τῷ ἀριθμῷ ἐγκαταμίγων (ἐγκαταμίσγων?) τῷ σῷ.

P. 73, 24 καὶ εὐθέως ἁρπάσασα κογχοστάτην σιδηροῦν, ῥίπτει εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ, καὶ συνέτριψεν αὐτοῦ ὅλην τὴν ὄψιν. τότε ὁ δαίμων ἀνεβόησε λέγων· Ὦ βία· ἀπὸ τούτου χανότου καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ἔλαβον ἐξουσίαν τοῦ τύπτειν ἡμᾶς. Que veut dire ἀπὸ τούτου χανότου? Si vous ne réussissez pas à l'expliquer, au lieu de ΩΒΙΑΑΠΟΤΟΥΤΟΥΧΑΝΟΤΟΥΚΑΙ, lisez ΩΒΙΑΑΠΟΤΟΥΚΟΓΧΟΣΤΑΤΟΥΚΑΙ, c'est à dire Ὦ βία ἀπὸ τοῦ κογχοστάτου· καὶ, et voyez sur ὦ βία ἀπό, H. Usener, *Legenden der Pelagia*, p. 44. Le κογχοστάτης de fer que Xanthippe lance à la tête d'un démon (comme Luther son encrier) paraît être le pied sur lequel on pose le vase appelé κόγχη ou κόγχος, comme le στυλοβάτης est le pied sur lequel se tient la colonne.

P. 73, 28 ἡ δὲ Ξανθίππη ἐδείμασεν σφόδρα. De δειμαίνω, il n'est pas précisément incroyable qu'on ait fait l'aoriste ἐδείμασα. Il est plus probable cependant que ΕΔΕΙΜΑΣΕΝ doit se lire ΕΔΕΙΛΙΑΣΕΝ, ἐδειλίασεν; comp. p. 60, 20 δειλιῶ, et 83, 4 ἐδειλίασεν.

P. 75, 1 ταῦτα δὲ αὐτῆς λεγούσης ὤδευον οἱ καθέλκοντες ἐν τάχει· καὶ δὲ φθασάντων αὐτῶν τὸν αἰγιαλὸν μισθωσάμενοι πλοῖον ὥρμουν ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν. L'imparfait ὥρμουν pour ὥρμων n'a rien d'extraordinaire; on lit de même ailleurs ἠγάπουν, ἠρώτουν, etc.[12] Mais pour le second δὲ il faut peut-être δή; et φθάνω étant employé absolument p. 75, 32, et construit p. 65, 31 avec ἕως; p. 72, 7 avec ἐγγύς; p. 84, 13 avec ἐν; p. 77, 27 avec εἰς; p. 67, 3 avec ἐπί; nulle part avec l'accusatif, il semble qu'on doive ajouter ici ἐπί; comp. p. 83, 24 κάτελθε ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγιαλόν.

P. 83, 7 ἐγὼ γὰρ οἶδα τοῦτον τὸν θεόν...ἀνὴρ γάρ τις...ἐκήρυττε τοῦτον θεόν. Il est probable que τὸν est tombé après le second τοῦτον.

P. 83, 23 δεῦρο οὖν κόρη βαλοῦσά μου τὸ σχῆμα κάτελθε. Est-ce que βαλεῖν, sans un complément avec préposition, peut signifier mettre, en parlant de vêtements? Je n'en pourrais citer qu'un autre exemple, *Acta Philippi*, p. 22, 13 ἔκδυσαι ταῦτα τὰ ἱμάτια τὰ διάχρυσα καὶ βάλε τὰ κοσμοῦντά σε εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν.[13] Mais je me demande s'il ne faut pas corriger dans ce dernier cas λάβε et dans l'autre λαβοῦσά μου.

P. 83, 33 ἔδωκαν...δόξαν τῷ φιλανθρώπῳ θεῷ, λέγοντες· Ὄντως εἶ, καὶ μόνος ἐστὶ θεὸς ὁ διὰ Πολυξένης ὀνομαζόμενος. Lisez Ὄντως εἶ καὶ μόνος θεὸς κ.τ.λ.

[9] Théophraste, *de sens.* 2 τούτῳ προσέθεσαν τὴν γνώμην, est différent.

[10] Voyez Lobeck, *Phrynichus*, p. 723; G. N. Hatzidakis, *Einleitung in die neugriechische Grammatik*, p. 218; *Zeitsch. f. vergl. Sprachf.* xxxiii. (1893) p. 110; etc.

[11] D'ailleurs l'auteur affectionne la particule κάν. Il s'en sert 8 fois en 27 pages.

[12] Voyez Hatzidakis, *Einleitung*, p. 129; H. Gelzer, *Leontios von Neapolis*, p. 198; etc.

[13] Il en existe à la vérité un troisième, dans une Passion d'André déjà mentionnée: ἑτέρας βαλλόντας (lire βαλόντες) ἐσθῆτας. Mais au même endroit un récit parallèle, également inédit, porte ces mots: λαβόντες ἐσθῆτας ἑτέρας.

Il me reste sur d'autres passages des doutes que je dois laisser à de plus habiles à dissiper, en expliquant, s'il se peut, le texte tel qu'il est, ou en le corrigeant, s'il le faut. J'ajouterai seulement que certaines corrections de M. James ne me paraissent pas suffisamment motivées, comme p. 62, 24 καταγγελεῖ pour καὶ ἀγγελεῖ; p. 65, 33 διορθώσῃς pour διορθώσῃ (moyen); etc.; et je terminerai par une remarque d'une portée plus générale.

Les savants les plus compétents sont d'accord sur l'extrême difficulté que présente l'établissement de ces textes rédigés à la basse époque par des auteurs imparfaitement lettrés, qui écrivent en une langue artificiellement conservée ou rappelée a la vie.[14] Il est presque impossible souvent de faire le départ entre les fautes qu'ont pu commettre les auteurs et celles qu'il faut attribuer aux copistes. On en a vu assez de preuves dans les pages qui précèdent. En cet état de choses, le meilleur parti à prendre ne serait-il pas de tenir strictement séparées la recension et l'émendation? J'entends par recension—une définition précise n'est pas superflue, en présence des confusions qu'on voit faire tous les jours—le travail qui consiste à tirer de la tradition tout le parti qu'on en peut tirer. J'appelle émendation toute correction apportée par conjecture au texte constitué par la recension. Si donc le principe que je viens d'énoncer était adopté, le texte mis en pleine page serait exactement tel qu'il ressort de l'ensemble des témoignages, écoutés selon leur valeur relative, sans une lettre ajoutée ou retranchée par conjecture. Tout essai de restitution, toute correction, si évidente qu'elle puisse paraître, serait reléguée dans les notes, dont on pourrait faire d'ailleurs deux séries: l'une donnant les variantes des manuscrits, avec la tradition indirecte, s'il y a lieu; l'autre, tout ce qui concerne l'émendation.

Les avantages d'une telle disposition me paraissent évidents.

D'une part, elle obligera le lecteur, précisément dans les cas douteux, à contrôler l'œuvre de l'éditeur, et à exercer son propre jugement. Car en présence d'une forme insolite ou d'une phrase inintelligible, il ne manquera pas d'abaisser les yeux sur les notes, pour y chercher secours ou confirmation; tandis que dans nos textes tout replâtrés et badigeonnés, son attention n'étant sollicitée par aucune aspérité, il aura bien des chances de passer outre, en prenant une conjecture incertaine ou fausse pour la vraie ou pour la seule leçon. Il en résulte —qui ne l'a constaté maintes fois?—que les inventions des éditeurs, soigneusement recueillies, passent dans nos dictionnaires et nos grammaires, parfois même servent d'appui à des affirmations historiques ou autres, et qu'au contraire des leçons vraiment instructives, et parfois excellentes, mais méconnues par les éditeurs, restent cachées dans le fouillis des notes.

D'autre part, l'éditeur scrupuleux ne se trouvera pas dans la fâcheuse nécessité de décider entre deux probabilités qui peuvent être absolument égales: est-ce l'auteur qui a commis la faute, est-ce un copiste qui l'a introduite dans le texte? Il jouira au contraire de la plus large faculté de proposer, suivant les cas, des corrections de vraisemblance diverse, et graduée à volonté par des points d'interrogation ou des adverbes dubitatifs.

Peu importe, d'ailleurs, qu'un texte nous soit transmis pas un seul manuscrit ou par plusieurs. Dans le premier cas, c'est le manuscrit unique, dans le second, c'est l'archétype des manuscrits existants dont nous reproduirons les leçons avec une fidélité absolue, quitte à indiquer au bas de la page les corrections nécessaires, ou simplement probables, ou même seulement possibles.

Est-il besoin d'ajouter qu'il ne s'agit nullement de pousser cette fidélité à la tradition jusqu'à faire de notre texte une sorte de facsimilé, ni ce qu'on a coutume d'appeler une édition diplomatique? Nous y marquerons, selon notre propre jugement, la séparation des mots, la ponctuation, les accents et les esprits; nous corrigerons sans hésiter les fautes qui ne consistent qu'en confusion de lettres équivalentes ($\alpha\iota = \epsilon$, $\epsilon\iota = \eta = \iota$, $o = \omega$; et dans les manuscrits récents, $o\iota = \upsilon$, enfin même $\upsilon = \iota$). En d'autres termes, nous donnerons le texte tel que, à l'époque où la tradition nous permet de remonter, il se présentait, non à l'œil, mais à l'oreille du lecteur, ou mieux encore, à son esprit. En le faisant, nous ne prendrons guère plus de liberté que ne s'en attribue quiconque, par exemple, transcrit un texte hébreu en y ajoutant les points-voyelles. Ou, plus exactement, nous agirons comme le font aujourd'hui, pour les statues antiques, les conservateurs les plus intelligents: ils en recueillent les fragments, les nettoient et les assemblent, mais ils n'ajoutent ni pied ni bout d'oreille au

[14] Voyez G. N. Hatzidakis, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, i. p. 98; K. Krumbacher, *Studien zu den Legenden des h. Theodosios*, p. 264; H. Gelzer, *Leontios von Neapolis*, p. xli.; etc. On me permettra de rappeler aussi mes propres remarques, *Acta Thomae*, p. xii.

marbre : les essais de restauration se font sur un moulage en plâtre qu'on place à côté de l'original. C'est l'office de ce moulage que remplira notre seconde série de notes.

Mais aux statues mêmes on ôte les fausses têtes appliquées dans l'antiquité : n'enlèverons-nous pas de nos textes les mots, les phrases, les chapitres inauthentiques qui peuvent se trouver déjà dans l'archétype de nos manuscrits? Les interpolations anciennes sont souvent aussi trompeuses et plus que les conjectures modernes : y a-t-il moins de danger à les laisser pénétrer dans nos dictionnaires et nos grammaires? Il y aurait lieu de répondre à ces objections et à d'autres qui m'ont été faites ou que je prévois, si l'on devait traiter de la même façon tous les ouvrages anciens. Mais il ne s'agit pour le moment que des écrits qui présentent les difficultés spéciales signalées plus haut, et pour lesquels il est particulièrement aisé de voir que ces objections renferment une pétition de principe. En tout cas d'ailleurs, qu'on ne croie pas les droits de la critique menacés. La critique, on l'a vu, ne serait que plus libre de ses mouvements. Ce n'est même pas, à proprement parler, une question de méthode que je pose ; c'est une question de pratique, de procédé, je dirai presque de disposition typographique. Ce n'en est pas moins une question qui a son importance.

MAX BONNET.

THE ATHOS MS. OF THE HOMERIC HYMNS.

ATTENTION was first drawn to the Athos MS. of the Homeric Hymns by Prof. J. P. Mahaffy in the *Athenaeum* for May 18, 1889. The present collation of the MS. is the work of Prof. Michael Constantinides, now of Athens, but for many years a resident among us, and the author of the very valuable volume, entitled *Neohellenica*, which appeared in London in 1892. The facsimile specimens, to which reference is made in the article, I shall be happy to show to any scholar interested in these matters.

INGRAM BYWATER.

Σύντομος περιγραφὴ
τοῦ ἐν τῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ τῆς Μονῆς Βατοπεδίου ἀποκειμένου πολυβίβλου χειρογράφου, ἐν ᾧ εὕρηνται καὶ οἱ Ὁμηρικοὶ Ὕμνοι.

Τὸ χειρόγραφον τοῦτό ἐστι δεδεμένον νεωστὶ καὶ φέρει ἔξωθεν ἀριθμὸν αὔξοντα 587· ἔχει δὲ μῆκος μὲν ο, 27, πλάτος δὲ ο, 20, καὶ πάχος ο, 05. Τὸ κάλυμμα αὐτοῦ ἡμιδερμάτινόν ἐστιν καὶ φέρει ὄπισθε τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν τήνδε :

ΣΟΦΟΚΛΕΩΣ	(οὐχὶ ΟΥΣ)	
ΤΡΑΓΩΔΙΑΙ	4	(ἀντὶ τοῦ 3)
ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ	3	
ΟΜΗΡΟΥ	32	(ἀντὶ τοῦ 31)
ΚΑΛΛΙΜΑΧΟΥ	4	(ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀριθμ. 6)

Ἔστι δὲ γεγραμμένον ἐπὶ χάρτου ἀρχαίου παρεμφεροῦς μεμβράνῃ. Ἐμπεριέχει φύλλα 247 (ἤτοι σελίδας 492). Ἔστι δὲ πλῆρες καὶ ἐν ἀρίστῃ καταστάσει, καὶ ἡ γραφὴ τοῦ κειμένου ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μέχρι τέλους τῆς αὐτῆς χειρός. Ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ σελίδι, ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς, ἔχει κόσμημα ἐρυθρόχρουν καὶ κατόπιν τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν τήνδε

ΓΕΝΟΣ ΣΟΦΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΤΑΠΚΟΥ

Ἕπεται βιογραφία Σοφοκλέους—ἀκολούθως Ὑπόθεσις Αἴαντος. Ἕπεται τὸ δρᾶμα πλῆρες, μεθ' ἑρμηνειῶν καὶ σχολίων, ὡς ἐν τῷ ἐγκλείστῳ μικρῷ πανομοιοτύπῳ δείγματι. Τὸ δρᾶμα τοῦτο λήγει ἐν τῷ 32ῳ φύλλῳ τοῦ χειρογράφου, καὶ εὐθὺς ἕπεται ἡ Ὑπόθεσις τῆς Ἠλέκτρας, ἀκολουθεῖ τὸ δρᾶμα ὅπερ λήγει ἐν τῷ 62ῳ φύλλῳ. Τὰ σχόλια τῆς Ἠλέκτρας ἐγράφη ὑπ' ἄλλης χειρός. Ἐκ τοῦ ἄλλου μέρους τοῦ αὐτοῦ φύλλου ἄρχεται ὁ Οἰδίπους Τύραννος ἄνευ ὑποθέσεως· οὐκ ἔχει δὲ σχόλια καὶ λήγει ἐν τῷ 92ῳ φύλλῳ οὕτως :

† Τέλος τοῦ Οἰδίποδος.

† Τέρμα τῆς βίβλου Σοφοκλέους ὧδε. Ὥστε ἐν τῷ χειρογράφῳ τούτῳ ὑπάρχουσι τρεῖς μόνον τραγῳδίαι τοῦ Σοφοκλέους καὶ οὐχὶ τέσσαρες ὡς ἐσημειώθη ἔξωθεν ὑπὸ τοῦ βιβλιοδέτου.

Ἀπὸ τοῦ 93ου φύλλου ἄρχεται 'Γένος Εὐριπίδου,' ἕπεται ὑπόθεσις Ἑκάβης καὶ κατόπιν τὸ δρᾶμα τῆς Ἑκάβης λῆγον εἰς τὸ ἄλλο μέρος τοῦ 120ου φύλλου. Ἀκολουθεῖ Ὑπόθεσις Ὀρέστου, Ὀρέστης, καὶ λήγει ἐν τῷ φύλλῳ 155. Ἀπὸ τὸ ἄλλο μέρος τοῦ αὐτοῦ φύλλου, ἄρχεται ἡ ὑπόθεσις τῶν Φοινισσῶν, ἀκολουθεῖ τὸ δρᾶμα καὶ λήγει ἐν τῷ ἄλλῳ μέρει τοῦ φύλλου 190. Τῶν τριῶν τούτων τραγῳδιῶν τοῦ Εὐριπίδου ἡ Ἑκάβη μόνον ἔχει ἑρμηνείας καὶ σχόλια, ὡς ἐν τῷ μικρῷ ἐγκλείστῳ δείγματι, ὁ Ὀρέστης ὅμως καὶ αἱ Φοίνισσαι οὐκ ἔχουσιν εἰ μὴ ἑρμηνείας μόνον τινὰς σποράδην.

Ἀπὸ τοῦ 191ου φύλλου ἄρχονται οἱ Ὁμηρικοὶ ὕμνοι κατὰ τὴν ἑξῆς τάξιν :

(1) Ὁμήρου ὕμνος εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα (191 φύλλ. —199).
(2) ———— εἰς Ἑρμῆν (199—207).
(3) ———— εἰς Ἀφροδίτην (208–212).
(4) Ἕτερος ὕμνος εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν (αἰδοίην χρυσοτέφανον κ.τ.λ.).
(5) Διόνυσος ἢ λῃσταί.
(6) Εἰς Ἄρτεμιν.
(7) Εἰς Ἀφροδίτην.
(8) Εἰς Ἀθηνᾶν.
(9) Εἰς Ἥραν.
(10) Εἰς Δήμητραν.
(11) Εἰς Μητέρα θεῶν.
(12) Εἰς Ἡρακλέα λεοντόθυμον.
(13) Εἰς Ἀσκληπιόν.
(14) Εἰς Διοσκούρους.
(15) Εἰς Ἑρμῆν.
(16) Εἰς Πᾶνα.
(17) Εἰς Ἥφαιστον.
(18) Εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα.
(19) Εἰς Ποσειδῶνα.
(20) Εἰς ὕπατον Κρονίδην, ἢ Δία.
(21) Εἰς Ἑστίαν.
(22) Εἰς Μούσας καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα.
(23) Εἰς Διόνυσον.
(24) Εἰς Ἄρτεμιν.
(25) Εἰς Ἀθηνᾶν.
(26) Εἰς Ἑστίαν.
(27) Εἰς Γῆν μητέρα πάντων.
(28) Εἰς Ἥλιον.
(29) Εἰς Σελήνην ☾.
(30) Εἰς Διοσκούρους.
(31) Εἰς Ξένους.

τέλος τῶν ὕμνων.

φύλλον 219ον—Ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς κόσμημα ἐρυθρόχρουν, ἔπειτα ἡ ἑξῆς ἐπιγραφή : ‘Ἡροδότου περὶ Ὁμήρου γενέσεως.’

ἕπεται τὸ κείμενον, ὅπερ λήγει ἐν φύλλῳ 224—Ἀπὸ τοῦ φύλλου 225 ἄρχονται οἱ ὕμνοι τοῦ Καλλιμάχου, τοῦ Κυρηναίου ποιητοῦ :

Εἰς Δία,
Εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα,
Εἰς Ἄρτεμιν,
Εἰς Δῆλον,
Εἰς Λουτρὰ τῆς Παλλάδος,
Εἰς τὴν Δήμητρα.

Εἰς τὸ τέλος τοῦ ὕμνου εἰς τὴν Δήμητρα ὑπάρχει κόσμημα καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ ἑξῆς τέσσαρες στίχοι γεγραμμένοι διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς χειρός :—

‘Ὑμνῶ τὸν ὑψίζυγον ἐν πρώτοις Δία,
Φοῖβον δ' ἔπειτα καὶ τρίτην τὴν Ἄρτεμιν·
Δῆλόν τε τετάρτην· εἶτα λουτρὰ Παλλάδος
Ἕκτην δὲ τὴν Δήμητρα τὴν παλαιτέραν.’

Ἐνταῦθα λήγει τὸ χειρόγραφον.

Ἀντιβολὴ τῶν Ὁμηρικῶν ὕμνων τοῦ Βατοπεδινοῦ χειρογράφου πρὸς τὸ κείμενον τῆς ἐκδόσεως τοῦ Augusti Baumeister, Λειψίᾳ, τύποις B.G. Teübνέρου, 1888.

Ἐν πρώτοις σημειοῦμαι ὅτι ὁ Ὕμνος εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα ἐν τῷ Βατοπεδινῷ χειρογράφῳ οὐ διαιρεῖται εἰς δύο ὕμνους, ἀλλ' ἔστιν εἷς καὶ συνίσταται ἐκ στίχων 538, ἔπειτα ὅτι οἱ στίχοι 14—15—16—17—18 καὶ 20—21—22—23—24 καὶ 96, οἳ ἐν τῇ ἐκδόσει τοῦ Αὐγ. Βαουμεΐστερ ἀπεχωρίσθησαν τοῦ κειμένου, ἐν τῷ Βατοπεδινῷ χειρογράφῳ μένουσιν ἕκαστος ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ αὐτοῦ θέσει.

φύλλον τοῦ χειρογράφου 191ον. Ἐπὶ τῆς ἄνω ἄκρας τοῦ φύλλου ὑπάρχει ἡ ἑξῆς ἐπιγραφή :

† Ὕμνοι Ὁμήρου εἰς τοὺς θεούς.

Επειτα κόσμημα ἐρυθρόχρουν—ἀκολούθως ἥδε ἡ ἐπιγραφή :

† Ὁμήρου ὕμνος εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα.

ἔπειτα τὸ καίμενον ἄνευ ἑρμηνειῶν ἢ σχολίων. Ἡ πρώτη σελὶς ἔχει στίχους 31, αἱ δὲ ἀκόλουθοι 14 σελίδες ἀνὰ 34 στίχους, ἡ δὲ τελευταία σελὶς τοῦ ὕμνου εἰς Ἀπολλωνα 31, ὥστε ἐν συνόλῳ ἅπαντες οἱ στίχοι εἰσὶν 358, ἐνῷ ἐν τῇ ἐκδόσει τοῦ A. B. εἰσὶ 546. ἄρχομαι τῆς ἀντιβολῆς.

Στ. 3. καὶ ῥάγ'. Στ. 6. βίον. 12. καθίζουσι, ἄνευ τοῦ εὐφωνικοῦ ν. 17. κύνθειον—ἀγχοτάτῳ. 18. ὑπ' Ἰνόποιο. 19. πῶς γάρ σ'. 20. γάρ τε. 20. νόμος. 22. ᾖδον. 25. ἠώς σε. 30. Κρήτη ἐντός. 31. Αἴγινα. ναυσικλείτη. 32. τ' εἰρεσίαι τε. 33. Ἄθως. 36. οὗτος ὁ στίχος λείπει καὶ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχει ὁ 41 ‘καὶ Σάμος ὑδρηλὴ, Μυκάλης τ' αἰπεινὰ κάρηνα.’ Μετὰ τοῦτον ἕπεται ‘Ἴμβρος τ' εὔκτιμένη’ κ.τ.λ. 41. ἐνταῦθα ἀντὶ τοῦ στίχου ‘καὶ Σάμοι’ κ.τ.λ. ὑπάρχει Μίλητός τε κ.τ.λ. 44. Ῥηναία. 45. ἐπωδίνουσα. 46. εἴ τις σοι. 54. οὐδ' εὔμηλον. 55. οἰσεῖς. 62. Μεγάλοιο κρόνοιο. 65. γ' ἐροίμην. 73. ὥσει. 75. εἰδῆ οἱ. 87. αἰέν. 90. γόνῳ. 93. ἔσαν—Ῥέη. 104. χρυσείοισι λίνοισι ἐεργμένον ἐννεάπηχυν. 116. τὴν τότε δὴ. 125. ἀθανάτῃσι χερσίν. 129. δεσμάτ' ἔρυκε. 132. χρήσω τ'. 133. ἀπὸ χθονός. 136—137—138. Οἱ τρεῖς οὗτοι στίχοι οὐχ ὑπάρχουσιν ἐν τῷ Βατοπεδινῷ χειρογράφῳ. 147. Ἰάγονες. 151. ἔμμεναι ἀνὴρ. 152. Οἳ τότ' ἐπαντία σεῖο τ' ἰάονος ἀθρόοι εἶεν. 157. Δηλιάδες δ'. 163. μιμεῖσθαι 165. Ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ Λητὼ μὲν Ἀπόλλων Ἀρτέμιδι ξύν. 171. Ἀφ' ἡμέων. 172. Χίῳ ἐνί. 173. τοῦ πᾶσαι μετόπισθεν. 174. ἡμέτερον. 184 (6). ἔχων τε θυώδε'. 197 (19). οὔτε λάχεια. 209 (31). ὁππόσ' ἀνώμενος ἔκιες Ἀζαντίδα κούρην. 211 (31). λείπει ὁ στίχος οὗτος ἐν τῷ χειρογράφῳ 213 (35)..... ; οὐ μὴν Τρίοπος γ' ἐνέλιπεν. 216 (38). Πιερίης. 217 (39). Λέκτον τ' ἠμαθόεντα παρέστιχες ἢ Μαγνῆτας. 218 (40). Ἰωλκόν. 231 (53) ἀναπνείει. 233 (55). οὐδὲ τέως μὲν. 235 (57). ἄγησιν. 247 (69). Δελφοῦσ'. 256 (78). Δελφοῦσα. 459 (81). οἱ δέ

τοι αἰεί. 272 (94). ἀλλὰ καὶ ὣς προσάγοιεν. 276 (98). Δελφούσῃ. 277 (99). προτέρῳ. 281 (103). πρὸς δειράδα θύων. 283 (105). κνῆμον. 284 (106). ὑποκρέμαται. 295 (117). διαμπερὲς (ἀντὶ τοῦ, διηνεκές). 299 (121). κτιστοῖσι λάεσσιν. 306 (128). τυφλὸν (ἀντὶ τοῦ, Τυφάονα). 309 (131). ἐν κορυφῇ. 326 (147 *b*). ὁ στίχος οὗτος οὐχ ὑπάρχει ἐν τῷ χειρογράφῳ. 327 (148). καὶ νῦν μέντοι γὰρ. 331. χωομένη περ. 337. αὐτοὶ (ἀντὶ τοῦ, αὐτὰρ). 339. φέρτερος ἢ πόσσον Κρόνου. 343. δ' ἤπειτα 347. πολυαλίστοισι. 355. ὅς κακὰ πολλ'. 359. κατὰ χώραν. 363. πουλυβοτείρῃ. 364. σύ γε ζωοῖσι. 367. θάνατόν τε. 368. οὐδὲ χίμαιρα. 371. ἴμερον μένος. Οἱ στίχοι 372, 373, 374 λείπουσιν ἐκ τοῦ Βατοπεδινοῦ χειρογράφου. 379. ἐξαπάφουσα. 383. πέτρῃσι προχυτῇσιν. Οἱ στίχοι 391, 392, 393 λείπουσιν ἐκ τῆς θέσεως αὐτῶν καί εἰσι μετατεθειμένοι μετὰ τὸν 396 στίχον. (391. Ἱερά τε ῥέζουσι καὶ ἀγέλλουσι θέμιστας). 395. ἠμαθόην (ἀντὶ τοῦ, νῆα θοήν). 402. ἐπεφράσατο νοήσας. 403. ἀνασείσασκε. 406. οὐδὲ λύον λαῖφος. 408. ἔγειρε. 410. ἁλιστέφανον πτολίεθρον. 417. ἀμφὶς ὀρούσει. 419. πίειραν ἔχουσα. 420. ἦεν ὁδόν. 423. εὔκτίμενον αἰπύ. 436. δ' ἤπειτα. 444. φλόγα δαῖε. 452. πόθεν ἐστέ. 456. τετιηότες. 460. ἀδηκότες. 468. ἐκγεάγασιν. 488. νῆα δ' ἔπειτα θοήν. 492. δ' ἤπειτα. 500. καὶ ἰηπαιήονα νηόν. 501. οὗτος ὁ στίχος λείπει ἐκ τοῦ χειρογράφου. 507. παρὰ δ' ἕρματα. 509. ἐπὶ δ' ἄλφιτα. 516. οἱ δὲ φρίσσοντες. 521. ἔμελλεν. 522. τετιμημένος. 523. δῆξε δ' ἄγων αὐτοῦ δάπεδον καὶ πίονα νηόν. 544. σὺ φρεσί.

Ὕμνος εἰς Ἑρμῆν.

στιχ. 1. Ἑρμῆν ὑμνεῖ Μοῦσα. 5. ἠλαύνετ' ὅμιλον. 31. χοροιτύπε. 37. ἔσαιαι αἰχμά. 38. τότε ἂν. 44. ὄντε θαμιναί. 45. αἳ ὅτε δυνηθῶσι. 48. διὰ ῥινοῖο χελώνης. 52. τεῦξε φέρων. 54. κονάβισε. 58. ἑταιρείῃν. 79. σάνδαλα δ' αὐτίκ'. 82. ἀγκαλόν. 83. ἀβλαβέως 87. δόμων αἴθουσαν. 93. ὅτε μηκέτι. 94. τόσσον φασὶν ἔσευε βοῶν. 99. σκοπιῇ. 100. Μεγαμηδείαο. 103. ἀδμῆτες δ' ἤλαυνον ἐς αὔλιον ὑψιμέλαθρον. 110. ἐν παλάμῃ ἀναδάμπνυτο. 114. φύζαν. 116. ὑποβρυχίας. 122. νῶτα γεράσμια. 124. ἐνὶ πέτρῃ. 125. ὡς ἔτι νῦν τάμε τ' ἄσσα. 127. χαρμοφέρων. 132. ἤδει (ἀντὶ τοῦ ἡδεῖ'). 133. πέρην'. 136. σῆμα νέης φωνῆς—ἀείρας. 138. ἐπεὶ πάντα. 148. ἰθύνας. 155. πόθεν τάδε. 156. νῦν δέ σε. 157. ἦ τάχα. 160. ἔρρε πάλιν. 163. τιτύσκεαι. 168. ἀδώρητοι καὶ ἄπαστοι. 175. δύναμαι δέ. 212. ὁδὸν κίε φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων. 224. Οὔτε τι κενταύρου λασιαύχενος ἐστὶν ὁμοῖα. 232. κιδνᾶτο. 238. πρέμνων ἀνθρακίην ὕλης σποδὸς ἀμφικαλύπτει. 241. δή ρα. 242. ἄγρης εἰνετιόν τε χέλυν. 254. ὃς ἐν κλίνῃ. 256. ῥίψω γάρ σε βαλὼν. 259. ὀλίγοισιν ἐν ἀνδράσιν. 262. καὶ βοῦς ἀγραύλους. 265. ὁ στιχος οὗτος τελευτᾷ 'οὐ ἐμόν.' 266. οὗτος δὲ ἄρχεται 'ἔργον τοῦτο.' 279. ὀφρύσι ῥιπτάζεσκε. 280. τὸν μῦθον ἀκούων. 288. ἀντήσεις ἀγέλῃσι βοῶν καὶ πώεσι μήλων. 289. πύματον καὶ ὕστατον. 306. ἀμφ' ὤμοισιν ἑλιγμένος. 316. οὐκ ἀδίκως. 322. αἶψα δὲ τέρθρον ἵκοντο. 325. εὐμυλίῃ. 326. ἄφθιτοι ἠγερέθοντο ποτὶ πτύχας Οὐλύμποιο. 342. εὐθυπόρον δ' ἐλάων· τὰ δ' ἄρ' ἴχνια δοιὰ πέλωρα. 345. αὐτὸς δ' οὗτος, ὁδ' ἐκτὸς ἀμήχανος. 357. καὶ διὰ πῦρ μᾶλ' ἄμησεν ὁδοῦ. 361. αὐγὰς ὠμάρταζε. 366. Ἑρμῆς δ' αὖθ' ἑτέρωθεν ἀμειβόμενος ἔπος ηὔδα. 376. τάδε τ' οἶδε καὶ αὐτός. 381. Ἥλιον μᾶλ' αἰδέομαι. 383. Ἐπιδαίομαι ὅρκον. 384. εὐκόσμητα. 385. καί ποτ'...νηλέα φωνήν. 397. σπεύδοντο. 398. ἠμαθόεντα δ' ἐπ...400. ᾗχ' οὗ δὴ τὰ χρήματα.

407. θαυμαίνω. 410. ἁγνοῦ. 414. ἀθροίσας τότε δὴ κρατὺς Ἀργειφῶν τις. 415. πῦρ ἀμαρύσσων. 419. κατὰ μέλος. 420. γέλασε φοῖβος. 422. ὁ στίχος οὗτος λείπει ἐκ τοῦ χερογράφου. 431. κατὰ πρέσβην. 446. φηλητά. 453. ὧδε μέλησεν. 457–458. Οἱ στίχοι λείπουσιν ἐκ τοῦ χειρογράφου. 459. καὶ μητρὶ τόδ' κ.τ.λ. 460. κρανάϊνον. 472. παρὰ θέσφατα. 473. ἔγωγε παῖδ' ἀφνειὸν. 474. αὖτ' ἄγρετόν ἐστι. 478. εὐμόλπει. 479. ἐπισταμένως. 482. ὅστις ἂν αὐτὴν. 486. φθέγγουσα δύπαθον. 487. ἐρέεινε. 488. θρυαλίζοι. 497. ἔχων. 501. κατὰ μέλος· ἡδ' ὑπὸ καλόν. 502. ὑπὸ μέλος ἄεισεν. 503. βόες. 507. καὶ τὸ μὲν Ἑρμῆι. 508. ὡς ἔτι καὶ νῦν. 515. ἀνακλέψῃς. 520. ἔρδοις. 531. ἐπικραίνουσα θεούς. 539. χρυσάραπι. 540. Ὅσα βούλεται. 543. καὶ μὴν. 547. ἐθελήσει. 552. Μοῖραι γάρ τινες. 557. ἀλέγυνεν. 558. δ' ἤπειτα. 563. πηρῶνται δ' ἤπειτα πάρεξ ὁδὸν ἡγεμονεύειν. 565. καὶ ἦν βροτὸν. 572. Οἷον εἰς ἀΐδην.

Ὁ ὕμνος εἰς Ἑρμῆν κατέχει ὀκτὼ φύλλα καὶ μίαν σελίδα τοῦ χειρογράφου, δηλαδὴ 17 σελίδας ἐν συνόλῳ. ἡ τελευταία σελὶς ἔχει στίχους 32, πᾶσαι δὲ αἱ ἄλλαι ἀνὰ 34.

Ὕμνος εἰς Ἀφροδίτην.

10. ἄδεν. 13. ποιῆσαι σκύτινα καὶ ἅρματα. 14. ἥδε τε. 20. πόλις ἀνδρῶν. 22. Ἑστίῃ. 32. πρέσβυρα. 46. μιγήμεναι. 52. ἀνέμιξε. 56. τὸν δ' ἤπειτα...φιλομειδής. 65. φιλομειδής. 72. ἤεσαν. 87. ἐπιγναμπτάς. 93. χρυσῆ Ἀφροδίτη. 99. βήσεα. 103. ἄνδρα. 132. οὐ γάρ τε. 136. οὔ σφιν ἀεικελίη νύος ἔσσομαι, ἀλλ' εἰκυῖα. μετὰ τοῦτον ἀκολουθεῖ ὁ στίχος ὅδε: 'εἴ τι ἀεικελίη γυνὴ ἔσσομαι ἠὲ καὶ οὐκί.' 139. οἱ δέ τε χρυσόν κεν. 141. δαίνυν. 173. εὐποιήτοιο. 174. ἦρε κάρη. 200. Ἄγχι θεοί. 203. ἥρπασε ὄν. 206. ἐκ κρατῆρος. 209. τὸν δ' ἤπειτα. 214. καὶ ἀγήραος ἤματα πάντα. 229. εὐγενέος. 244. λείπει τὸ, τ ά χ α. 245. τό γ' ἔπειτα. 247. μετ' ἀθανάτοισι. 252.

οὐκέτι μοι στοναχήσεται. 254. οὐκ ὀνότατον. 272. τῶν δεχ' ὁμοῦ. 284. φασί τι νύμφης.

Τὸ χειρόγραφον ἔχει στίχους 294.

† Ἕτερος ὕμνος εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν.

στιχ. 7. ἐὔτικτον.

† Διόνυσος ἢ λησταί.

στιχ. 8. τοὺς δ' ἤγαγε. 13. λυδοὶ (ἀντὶ λύγοι). 22. αὐτὸν ἀφῶμεν. 27. Σύμπανθ' ὅπλα. 43. μὴ δήδειν (ἀντὶ, νῆ ἤδη).

† Εἰς Ἄρεα.

Οὐδεμία διαφορὰ ὑπάρχει.

† Εἰς Ἄρτεμιν.

στιχ. 1. Ἄρτεμιν ὑμνεῖ. 3. βαθυσχοίνοιο μελήτης. 7. θεαὶ δ' ἅμα.

† Εἰς Ἀφροδίτην.

οὐδεμία διαφορὰ ὑπάρχει.

† Εἰς Ἀθηνᾶν.

οὐδεμία διαφορά.

† Εἰς Ἥραν.

οὐδεμία διαφορά.

† Εἰς Δήμητραν.

οὐδεμία διαφορά.

† Εἰς μητέρα θεῶν.

στιχ. 2. ὑμνεῖ. 3. τυμπάνων.

† Εἰς Ἡρακλέα λεοντόθυμον.

οὐδεμία διαφορά.

† Εἰς Ἀσκληπιόν.

στιχ. 3. κούρη φλεγύος.

† Εἰς Διοσκούρους.

οὐδεμία διαφορά.

Εἰς Ἑρμῆν.

στιχ. 8. ἔχει.

Εἰς Πᾶνα.

στιχ. 11. μηλοσκόπον. 12. αἰγινόεντε. 14. τότε δ' ἕσπερος ἔκλαγεν οἶον. 15. ἄκρης ἐξανιών. 16. νήδυμον. 17. πολυάνθεος. 18. χέει μελίγηρυν. 31. ἔνθα δέ οἱ. 32. ψαφερότριχα. 33. παρὰ θνητῷ· θάλε γάρ. 38. ἀναΐξας.

† Εἰς Ἥφαιστον.

στιχ. 1. ἀείδεο.

† Εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα.

οὐδεμία διαφορά.

Εἰς Ποσειδῶνα.

στιχ. 3. Αἶγας. 6. Ποσειδάον.

† Εἰς ὕπατον Κρονίδην ἢ Δία.

οὐδεμία διαφορά.

† Εἰς Ἑστίαν.

στιχ. 4. ἐπέρχεο θυμὸν ἔχουσα.

† Εἰς Μούσας καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα.

στιχ. 1. Ζηνός τε. 5. φίλων τε.

† Εἰς Διόνυσον.

οὐδεμία διαφορά.

† Εἰς Ἄρτεμιν } οὐδεμια διαφορά.
† Εἰς Ἀθηνᾶν }

Εἰς Ἑστίαν.

λείπουσιν ὁ ἕνατος καὶ δέκατος στίχος ἐκ τῆς θέσεως αὐτῶν, εἰσὶ δὲ μετατεθειμένοι μετὰ τὸν ἑνδέκατον στίχον.

† Εἰς τὴν γῆν μητέρα πάντων.

στιχ. 14. περεσανθέοι. 15. χαίρουσι.

† Εἰς Ἥλιον.

στιχ. 7. ἀκάματ'. 10. χρυσῆς ἐκ. 12. χάριεν. 16. θεσπέσιος πίμπησι.

† Εἰς Σελήνην.

στιχ. 1. μήνην ἀείδειν. 6. ἀκτῆρες δ' ἐν διάονται. 11. Ἑσπερίη διχόμενος· ὅτε πλήθει.

† Εἰς Διοσκούρους.

στιχ. 16. πόνου σφίσιν. 19. ὑμέων καὶ ἄλλης.

Εἰς ξένους.

Αἰδεῖσθε ξενίων κεχρημένον ἠδὲ δόμοιο
Οἱ πόλιν αἰπεινὴν νύμφης ἐρατωπίδος Ἥρης
Ναίετ' ἐς ἀδην ἧς πόδα νείατον ὑψικόμοιο
Ἀμβρόσιον πίνοντες ὕδωρ ξανθοῦ ποταμοῖο
Ἕβρου καλὰ ῥέοντος, ὃν ἀθανατος τέκετο Ζεύς.

τέλος.

Ἐτελείωσα τὴν ἀντιγραφὴν τῶν ἀνωτέρω ἐκ τῶν σημειώσεων τῶν ἐν τῷ τετραδίῳ μου τῇ 10/23α Αὐγουστου 1893 ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Νάξῳ τὰς διατριβὰς ποιούμενος.

M. ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΙΔΗΣ.
ἐκ Πανόρμου τῆς Κυζίκου.

NOTES ON *ELEMENTUM*.

In Allen and Greenough's *Latin Grammar*, p. 146, we read :—' So *elementum* is a development from L-M-N-a, l-m-n's (letters of the alphabet), changed to *elementa* along with other nouns in *men*.'

This has all the appearance of a folk-etymology and its first occurrence seems to be unknown. In the Döderlein-Heindorf ed. of Horace's *Satires* (Leipzig, 1859), in the note to i. 1, 26, we read :—' Scharfsinnig leitete jemand das etymologisch nicht erklärten Wort *elementa* aus der Zusammenstellung der Buchstaben *l*, *m*, *n*, her wie wir sagen das A. B. C. Gewiss bedeutete *elementa*, wie das Griech. στοιχεῖα ursprünglich die einzelnen Buchstaben welche Wörter bilden, erst metaphorisch überhaupt einzelne Bestandtheile (*elementa* mit ἄλεμα, ἀλέκτης verwandt, als Mehlstäubchen).' This view, supported by Keightley and the Century Dictionary, has been rejected by almost all etymologists. Cf. Pott, *Etymologische Forsch.* ii. 1, 192, where he combats this derivation, which he speaks of however as an 'als

hübscher Einfall nennenswerthe Herleitung.'

No trace of this etymology occurs, so far as I can find, in any Latin grammarian, where certainly we might have expected it, if true or supposable.

It is evident that if it can be proved that *elementum* meant first a letter, and only by metaphorical use the element of a thing, this etymology will have more probability. Conversely, if it can be shown with reasonable certainty that the word was first used in the latter sense, grave doubt is cast on this derivation.

The Latin grammarians discuss the word as follows:—Diomedes, *Ars Gramm.* (Keil i. 421, 17) elementum est minima vis et indivisibilis materia vocis articulatae vel uniuscuiusque rei initium a quo sumitur incrementum et in quod resolvitur.

Priscian. *Inst. Gramm.* (Keil ii. 6, 14) literas autem etiam elementorum vocabulo nuncupaverunt ad similitudinem mundi elementorum; sicut enim illa coeuntia omne perficiunt corpus, sic etiam haec coniuncta literalem vocem quasi corpus aliquod componunt vel magis vere corpus...Litera igitur est nota elementi...abusive tamen et elementa pro literis et literae pro elementis vocantur.

See also Probus, *Inst. Artium* (Keil iv. 48); Serg. *Explanat. in artem Donati* (Keil iv. 487); *Audacis Excerpta* (Keil vii. 321); Dosithei *Ars Gramm.* (Keil vii. 381); Marius Victorinus, *Ars Gramm.* (Keil vi. 5), where the same explanation is repeated.

In Lucretius (who, with Cicero, first uses it) the word occurs twenty-four times, if I have counted correctly, and in only seven instances does it mean the letters of the alphabet, never the alphabet itself. In fact, the only case I find where it means the alphabet itself is the well-known one in Suet. *Jul. Caes.* 56. Cicero uses the word for the beginnings, constituent elements of things, and for the rudiments of arts and sciences, nowhere, I think, distinctly for the letters of the alphabet.

The number of cases where it means *letters* is very small both absolutely and relatively. Palmer, in his note to Hor. *Sat.* i. 26, says '*elementa* by itself is the alphabet only. Suet. *Jul. Caes.* 56.' Perhaps I do not quite understand what is meant by 'by itself,' but cf. Quint. i. 1, 24 pudeatne me in ipsis statim elementis, where we have in the preceding section prima literarum elementa; Quint. ii. 3, 1 ad suscipiendas elementorum molestias, where it seems to me that the whole context is against limiting the meaning to letters; Cic. *Acad.* i. 7, 26 ergo illa initia et, ut e Graeco vertam, elementa dicuntur; Ov. *Met.* xv. 237 Haec quoque non perstant quae nos elementa vocamus; Hor. *Epist.* i. 1, 27 ut his ego me ipse regam solerque elementis.

Elementa was the equivalent of στοιχεῖα, as shown in the passage quoted above from Cicero's *Academica*, where *initia* represents ἀρχαί and *elementa* στοιχεῖα. The transfer of meaning from element in this sense to the parts of a word seems more natural and easy than the transfer in the other direction. No sufficient evidence can be produced to prove that *elementa* meant first letters and then elements, and probability is against it.

In Fulgentius and ecclesiastical Latin we find the word *abecedaria* for the alphabet. Why should this have been coined if elementa represented the same idea and formation?

Most etymologists accept the ordinary derivation (*al, ol + mentum*), recognizing the difficulty of explaining the weakening of *al* or *ol* to *el*, and the existence of *elementum* and *alimentum* side by side. The antepenultimate *e* is however explained satisfactorily by King and Cookson (*Principles of Sound and Inflexion*, pp. 91-2) by the 'balancing power of *l*,' so that *elimentum* easily becomes *elementum*.

Samuel Ball Platner.

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OPERA AND OPERAE EST.

Being dissatisfied with some interpretations of *opera* and the usual explanation of *operae est*, I have examined a number of passages in which *opera* occurs and I think all the passages in which *operae est* is found.

From this investigation I deduce the following statement of the meaning of

Opera:—

1. A working, exertion.
2. A working willingly, willing service. (This is the predominant meaning.)

3. A willingness to work, energy. (Of this meaning examples are Cic. *Q.Fr.* 3. 4. 4 *de versibus, quos tibi a me scribi vis, deest mihi quidem opera.* id. *Mur.* 36 *quis Philippum summo ingenio, opera, gratia,* &c. id. *Att.* 15. 13. 6 *exstabit opera preregrinationis huius,* 'you will see how energetic I have been during this tour.')

Opera is used in the plural very frequently to indicate repeated action. It is also used in a concrete sense = workman, usually in plural, but [Horace *Sat.* ii. 7. 118 *accedes opera agro nona Sabino,* of a single slave.

[For the sake of analogy compare these uses of *imperium.* Cic. *Leg.* 3. 3. 9 *imperia* = *imperatores.* *Verr.* 4. 111 *decumarum imperia,* 'repeated imposition of tithes.]

Applying the result of this investigation to all the passages where the phrase *operae est* occurs, I find that the second meaning of *opera* exactly suits every passage, if *operae* is taken as predicative dative.

I conclude therefore that the meaning of OPERAE EST is 'it is a willing service, a pleasant task.' The phrase is exactly similar to *voluptati est, exitio est,* or any other phrase in which the predicate dative occurs.

Just as *cordi* is qualified by *magis* and *maxime, voluptati* by *maxime* (Seneca *de Benef.* 1. 11 § 6), so *operae* is qualified by *magis,* Plaut. *Ps.* 377 *magis operae si sit plus tecum loquar.*

The person or thing pleased is put in the dative case.

To take a few examples:—

Persius vi. 9 (from Ennius) *Lunai portum, est operae, cognoscite cives!* Persius is speaking of the beauties of the Gulf of Spezzia. The subject of *est operae* is *cognoscere* to be supplied from *cognoscite.* 'Acquaint yourselves with the haven of L., 'tis a pleasant task.'

Plautus *Merc.* prol. 14 *sed ea ut sim implicitus, dicam, si operaest auribus atque advortendum animum adest benignitas,* i.e. 'if your ears are willing to listen.'

Plautus *Amph.* 151 *adeste: erit operae vobis inspectantibus Iovem et Mercurium facere hic histrioniam,* 'attend: the acting here of J. and M. will give a pleasant employment to (the minds of) you spectators.'

Livy xliv. 36. fin. *non operae sit stanti nunc in acie docere, quibus de causis hodie quiesse melius sit: rationes alias reposcito.* 'I should be unwilling to explain to you now (*sc.* if you asked me).' *Non operae sit* (*sc. mihi*) = *nolim,* the protasis being mentally supplied from *reposcito.* Cf. Roby, 1536.

I shall now discuss some of the explanations which seem to me to have arisen from an inedequate conception of the meaning of *opera* and the phrase *operae est.*

LEWIS AND SHORT, s.v. *opera* B. 'Leisure, spare time,' citing *operae est,* the meaning of which I have explained, and Plaut. *Merc.* 2. 2. 15 *dicam si videam tibi esse operam aut otium,* where *operam* evidently means willingness to hear and is distinguished from *otium.* Cf. *Merc.* prol. 14 cited above. L. and S. also cite *Rudens* 440 *quor tu operam gravare mihi?* where the context shows that *operam* is = *operam amatoriam,* 'why do you grudge me the favour?'

SPENGEL, *Truculentus,* p. 122, l. 30. n. *operae erit* = *otium erit.*

What authority is there for assigning this arbitrary meaning?

HEITLAND, Cic. *Murena,* Pitt Press, Cambridge, 1886, p. 47 § 21 n. on *assiduitatis et operarum harum cotidianarum.* '*operarum*] "jobs," perhaps with a touch of the sense "day-labourers," as Zumpt thinks. The plural is certainly contemptuous.' It seems to me that *operarum h.c.* means 'this daily display of energy,' or more literally 'these daily labourings,' the plural like that of other abstract substantives denoting the repeated display of the quality. I am not aware either of any reason for limiting the concrete meaning of *opera,* by confining it to one who works by the day. Nor does it seem to me possible that Cicero should speak contemptuously of the forensic labours of Servius Sulpicius Rufus, and two lines before he says *summa in utroque est honestas, summa dignitas, quam ego si mihi per Servium liceat, pari atque eadem in laude ponam.*

WORDSWORTH, *Frag. and Spec. Early Latin,* Clarendon Press, 1874, p. 614 n. '*operum operarumque* = *operum dierumque.* "Opera est quantum uno die operis potest fieri, et dierum significationem includit recte monente Gesnero." (Schneider).' The words of the passage in Cato's *De Re Rustica* to which this note refers are: *rationem inire oportet operarum, dierum, si ei opus non apparet. Dicit vilicus sedulo se fecisse, servos non valuisse, tempestates malas fuisse, servos aufugisse. Ubi eas aliasque causas multas dixerit ad rationem operum operarumque vilicum revoca.* I have no doubt that *operarum* means 'slaves employed on the farm' in this place. Cf. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 7. 118 *accedes opera agro nona Sabino.*

NÄGELSBACH, *Lat. Stilistik,* 7th ed. p. 45 der Lat. Plural für das deutsche Abstractum. 'Thätigkeit: *operae* nicht selten, z. B. Cic.

Off. 2. 12 *pleraque sunt hominum operis effecta.*' Surely the plural here denotes the working of different men at different times, and cannot be the plural of a concrete substantive used in abstract sense, like *facta, instituta, mores, munera, dedecora,* &c.

Revised Latin Primer, 1889, p. 32 § 61. 'Some words have a different meaning in singular and plural: *opera* labour, *operae* work-people.' This seems misleading as *operae* rather more frequently, I think, does not mean 'work-people.'

Roby 1283, '*operae est* usually with negative *nec* or *non* "it is a matter of attention," hence colloquially = commodum est.' Out of seventeen places in which I have found the phrase only ten have a negative. This translation, I think, is ambiguous and misses the chief idea, that of willingness. Livy uses the phrase more frequently than Plautus, and with exactly the same meaning. It is not, so far as I can discover, used by Cicero, who seems to have avoided also the phrase *operae pretium est* in his later speeches. Plaut. *Merc.* 5. 2. 76 *qua causa?* EU. *operae non est.* CH. *Cur?* EU. *quia non est illi commodum,* seems to show that it is not equivalent to *commodum est.*

Tyrrell,[1] *Miles Gloriosus*, 1881, p. 163. n. 252. '*operae non est,* "she is not at leisure for it," literally, "it is not a thing (a case) of work" = "it is not a thing about which she feels bound to trouble herself." *Operae* is the *genetivus generis.*' This is perhaps the best attempt to explain *operae* as a genitive, treating it as similar to *moris est Graecorum ut,* &c. Cic. Verr. l. 66; but the genitive *Graecorum* (Tac. *Agr.* 42 and Quintilian 1. 1. 13. however use dative), the absence of any phrases at all similar, except where the possessive genitive is used predicatively *e.g. fortitudinis est,* and the alien idea suggested by 'at leisure,' seem to me decisive against this interpretation. '*Genetivus generis*' seems to be a misprint due to dittography. The real meaning seems to me to be 'she is not inclined to, she does not wish,' literally, 'it is not a pleasant task.' Cf. *Merc.* 5. 2. 73 *seqq.*

Conington and Nettleship,[2] *Persius*, 2nd ed. 1874, p. 118. n. 6. 9. '*est operae,* "now's your time." *Opera* for opportunity or working time, especially in the genitive which seems to be partitive.' I do not think that this translation suits the context so well as that which I have suggested. I have not been able to discover any passage in which *opera* means working time, or opportunity. The term partitive genitive does not seem to be used in exactly the same sense as by Madvig, *Gram.* § 284, Zumpt, *Gram.* § 429, Roby 1290 *seqq.*

In conclusion, it has occurred to me that perhaps in *opera* (and in *cura*) we have an old verbal substantive, with the same suffix as appears in the present infinitive active.

J. S.

June 4, 1894.

[1] Unchanged in last edition.

[2] Unchanged in last edition.

Ἑκτημόροι or ἑκτημόριοι (p. 296).

I am quite willing to believe that I may have been carried too far by modern analogies. Any farmer or *métayer* whose rent was only a sixth of the gross produce would now be thought to have a sufficiently good bargain: on the other hand, the penalty for default was worse than mere eviction. The case however is not so one-sided as it appears in my friend Prof. Sidgwick's presentment of it. It will be seen from the article 'Hectemorii' in the *Dictionary of Antiquities,* or from Dr. Sandys' note on Ἀθ. Πολ. c. 2, that the ancient authorities are divided on the question whether the ἑκτημόροι paid, or retained, five-sixths of the produce. Modern scholars from Schömann (*de Comitiis,* 1819) downwards have been (or were until quite lately) almost to a man in favour of the former view: Boeckh, who in his first edition held that the rent was one-sixth, was afterwards converted by Schömann; Gilbert (*Staatsalterth.* i. 125) remarks, in words equivalent to my own, 'Im letzten Fälle könnte von keiner Härte die Rede sein'; Büchsenschütz, the specialist on Greek economics, noticing the passage from Isocr. *Areop.* § 32, which had been adduced by K. F. Hermann, observes '*τοῖς μὲν γεωργίας ἐπὶ μετρίαις μισθώσεσι παραδιδόντες* ist nach allen Seiten zu allgemein und unbestimmt um für die hier behandelte Frage etwas entscheiden zu können' (*Besitz und Erwerb,* p. 50). I will add that the 'good old times' of Isocrates in the *Areopagiticus* appear to me to be the

moderate democracy after Solon and Cleisthenes but before Pericles (see especially § 16), not the pre-Solonian oligarchy of which he knew so little. This is likewise the opinion of Prof. Jebb (*Att. Or.* ii. 202). An entire generation of scholars were practically unanimous in what I ventured to call the 'common-sense view' of the condition of the Hectemorii. I am not prejudiced in its favour, but I think it deserves to be re-stated before being finally abandoned.

W. Wayte.

OSCAN ANAϹAKET.

Mr. Horton-Smith's ingenious discussion of this form in the May No. of the *Cl. Rev.* is a little difficult to follow, from the wealth of alternatives which he offers. But on the main point, the value of the symbol ϟ or S in inscriptions in Greek alphabet, I cannot accept his conclusions.

Mr. Horton-Smith supposes the word to be 'borrowed' from the Greek ἀνέθηκε. Passing by the impossibility of -ἐθακε in any dialect but Elean,[1] and the very serious questions whether a verb can be 'borrowed' with its tense termination affixed, or whether a *verb* can be borrowed at all except under certain special (*e.g.* political) conditions—we have to ask simply, 'What was the sound of S in Oscan?' Mr. Horton-Smith seems to hesitate between (1) an Attic θ, (2) a Laconian θ, *i.e.* the English aspirant in *thin*, and (3) an *s* pure and simple. Now (1) we know from innumerable examples how the regular Greek aspirates were represented in Italic, namely by the corresponding tenues (*Santia, Pilipus*), and there is no evidence whatever that ϟ could be also used to represent them: (2) Mr. Horton-Smith seems himself to recognize the complete absence of evidence for a spirantic θ anywhere in Magna Graecia in the third century B.C., and there is absolutely none for such a use of the ϟ; and will he read the nomen of the other inscription as θεστιες?[2] (3) If we are bidden to read the symbol S simply as equivalent to the four-stroke unrounded ϟ of the same two inscriptions, then is it not remarkable that this S should be used elsewhere with the value *f*, and only used in these two inscriptions (once beside three examples of ϟ in the one, once beside five examples of ϟ in the other) in words in which it may perfectly well be read as *f*? And secondly, can there be found in the 1200 pages of Saalfeld's *Thesaurus Italo-Graecus* a single example of an Italic word with *s* derived from a Greek word with θ? No mention of such a change is to be found in his *Lautgesetze der Griechischen Lohnwörter;* on the contrary he expressly accepts (p. 19) Curtius' remark (*Grdzge.* p. 416) that the absence of such forms proves that θ was not a spirant.

Mr. Horton-Smith prudently abstains from pledging himself to any one of these alternatives, and, however it be interpreted, the hypothesis of borrowing appears to me to hang upon a string of desperate improbabilities.

In favour of reading the ϟ or S as *f* we have the strong direct evidence of the *fensernu*: ϟενσερ coins with identical types, the fact that some symbol for *f* must have been devised in a Greek alphabet used to write Oscan, the *a priori* probability that a discarded form of the symbol of a similar sound would be chosen for the purpose, and the fact that both *Festies* and *anafaket* are perfectly good Oscan words. The latter I prefer to regard (with von Planta) as containing two prepositions, so that the corresponding Latin form would be '*inaffecit.'

R. S. Conway.

Cardiff, *June* 1894.

[1] The alternative suggested is no doubt less improbable in itself, viz. that the supposed stem *anasēc-*, meaning 'to dedicate,' should have been influenced by the Oscan stems *sākro-, sākā-*. But I know of no examples of the transference of a verb in a particular tense, and that tense only, from one language to another.

[2] Dr. von Planta tells me there is a clear ι between the τ and the ε.

AN EMENDATION.

In the 'Letter of Aristeas to Philokrates' concerning the Translation of the Law of Moses by the LXXII. under the patronage of Ptolemy Philadelphus occurs the following (ed. M. Schmidt in Merx's *Archiv* for 1868). When the king is taking leave of the Translators, he tells them (p. 69) should they return to him παραγενηθέντας δὲ, ὡς θέμις, ἕξει αὐτοὺς φίλους, καὶ πολυδωρίας τῆς μεγίστης τεύξεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ. The word πολυδωρία may be a good Greek word; it occurs once in Xenophon, but it makes very bad sense here, and puts into the king's mouth a most vulgar sentiment. I have no doubt we should read πολυωρίας, a word occurring in the early papyri of the third century B.C. as well as the verb πολυωρέω, for the opposites of ὀλιγωρία and ὀλιγωρέω. The king says that, whenever they choose to return, he will treat them with *the greatest consideration*. The two verbs are our 'make much of' and 'make little of.'

So also (p. 35) it is said M ἀνδρῶν ἔγκληροι καθειστήκεισαν ἑκατονταρούροις. Read ἑκατοντάρουροι, a technical term common in the Petrie Papyri. The word is omitted in Liddell and Scott's Lexicon.

J. P. Mahaffy.

PLAUTUS *RUDENS* 160—2. SCHOELL.

Sed o Palaemon, sancte Neptuni comes,
Qui aerumnae Herculeae socius esse diceris
Quod facinus video?

By all means bracket 161. Is it a result of reading in 160—

Sed o Palaemon, Sance Neptuni comes

upon which a gloss has been appended

'Qui Herculē N[eptuni] sociû esse diceres'?

'How could you call Hercules (*i.e.* Sancus) a comrade of Neptune?'

Ernest T. Robson.

MILTON AND PINDAR.

Literary parallels appear differently to different minds, but the following seems to me as close as others which have been quoted in the *Classical Review*:—

Yet, be it less or more, or soon or slow,
It shall be still in strictest measure even
To that same lot, however mean or high,
Toward which Time leads me, and the will of Heaven.

Milton, *Sonnet* vii.

ἐμοὶ δ' ὁποίαν ἀρετὰν
ἔδωκε Πότμος ἄναξ,
εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι χρόνος ἕρπων πεπρωμέναν τελέσει.

Pindar, *Nem.* iv. 67.

Had Milton read Pindar—of course he may have done so—in his 'three and twentieth year'?

Lewis Campbell.

JEBB'S *ELECTRA.*

In welcoming the sixth volume of Professor Jebb's great critical work on Sophocles, it is idle to expatiate on the qualities which distinguish it, for they are known to all scholars. If the Greek scholarship of England is able in this generation to 'speak with its enemies in the gate,' there are few men who will have a larger share of the credit for this achievement than the editor of Sophocles, with his fine taste and sober judgment, his full but discriminating knowledge, his detailed thoroughness of work, his unrivalled instinct for the subtleties of Greek expression, and his luminous and forcible exposition.

The introduction contains the history of the legend of Orestes from its first appearance in the *Odyssey* to 1783, when Alfieri published his *Oreste.* Perhaps the most interesting pages are those (xv.-xxii.) where Professor Jebb, following mainly the *Bild und Lied* of Robert, builds up, from evidences scattered about among ancient references and extant vase-paintings, a highly probable restoration of the treatment of the myth in the *Oresteia* of Stesichoros. There could not be a better example either of Professor Jebb's power of lucid statement, or of the unexpected light which the recent study of Greek art, on a thorough and systematic plan, may throw on old literary problems.

In making a full and careful comparison of the three extant Oresteiai of the tragedians, Professor Jebb is of course traversing old ground. His most instructive contribution here is the great stress he lays on the question, Why does Sophocles give no hint that Orestes after his matricide was liable to the visitation of the Furies? The editor suggests that it is because the poet chose to adopt the Homeric view of the story, viz. that Orestes' vengeance was entirely laudable. But he argues that this is an incomplete defence for Sophocles, since in the poet's version Apollo is still an element in the story: and the god was introduced not only to command the murder, but to purify the murderer. And if the murderer is not purified, or needs no repentance, is not the presence of Apollo superfluous?

The difficulty is a real one; but it is at least certain that Sophocles could not have been blind to it: if he ignored the Erinyes, he must have done it deliberately. Perhaps the truth may be (as the *Electra* is a late play) that the higher moral teaching about guilt, so emphatically insisted on in the *Coloneus,* is here implicitly but intentionally applied to the Erinyes. If guilt (as Oedipus passionately pleads) lies *in the evil will, and not in the deed,* then Orestes requires no formal purification when once Apollo, the god of light and justice, has taken the responsibility of the deed.

If this is so, then Sophocles' view is not only not a return to Homer's crude approval of the vengeance: it is the last stage in the moralization of the tale. Justice requires the murder: and in Homer it is therefore done without misgiving. But matricide is horrible guilt: and so from Stesichoros to Aeschylus the Furies punish it, though Apollo saves and purifies the offender. Thus arises a theological 'scheme of salvation' for Orestes, which is worked out in Aeschylus' trilogy. Sophocles' solution is simpler and higher: if Apollo ordered the matricide, it is a just and not a guilty deed. It follows that the Erinyes, who punish unjust homicide (113) and adultery (276), are to be feared by Klytaemnestra and Aigisthos, but not by Orestes: and thus Electra may even invoke them (115) to help in the deed of vengeance.

In the commentary on the text there is no new emendation as brilliant as ὥσπερ ἰάλεμον χέων (*O. T.* 1219) or λυτήριον λώφημα (*Trach.* 554); but there are many places where Professor Jebb's lucid and subtle discussion of difficulties gives material help toward the settlement of disputed questions of reading or interpretation. Such are his notes in favour of reading ὅρκον (47), ἀχέων and not ἄχεων (159), τεκέων (187), ἐλάνθαν' ἄν (914), and Musgrave's τἀφέσει for τῇ φύσει in the well-known *crux* of 686. There is an excellent note and appendix on ἀρχέπλουτον (72), where the editor shows strong ground for translating '*master* of my possessions': τοὐμὲ μὴ λυπεῖν (363) is well defended against the numerous corrections: and there is much to be said for the correction θάρσος τι in 495. We are glad to see that Prof. Jebb is converted from his old view of τὸ μὴ καλὸν καθοπλίσασα in 1086: for though the participle is still very doubtful, there can be little question that σοφά τ' ἀρίστα τε παῖς κεκλῆσθαι must be the praise which the chorus *give,* and not that which they *refuse,* to Electra.

On the other hand there are one or two

points on which the editor has not converted us, and where at least an appeal may be made to him for further consideration. One concerns the 'divided attribute,' which occurs three times in the play (133, 284, 1143), and on which the notes give an uncertain sound. On 133 Prof. Jebb says, commenting on the phrase *τὸν ἐμὸν πατέρ' ἄθλιον*, that 'an adjective, though not a predicate, is sometimes thus placed': but he nowhere clearly says that it is *only where the attribute consists of two elements* (as *ἐμὸν ...ἄθλιον* here) that *one* may be placed, and more commonly is placed, *after* the substantive. Nor is it needful that *either* of these elements should be adjectives: on 284 (where no reference is made to 133) he correctly quotes Thuc. vii. 23, *αἱ πρὸ τοῦ στόματος νῆες ναυμαχοῦσαι*, where one element is a preposition-phrase and the other a participle.

In 155, *οὔτοι σοὶ μούνᾳ...ἄχος ἐφάνη...πρὸς ὅ, τι σὺ τῶν ἔνδον εἶ περισσά*, Prof. Jebb's note 'in respect to whatever grief' seems misleading: the *ὅ, τι* is due to the *negative* (as in *οὐδέν...ὅ, τι*) and means (as the editor gives it in his translation) 'not to you alone has any grief come wherein.' And *εἶ περισσά* can hardly mean 'less moderate in *showing*,' but simply 'thou dost exceed': so that the whole clause practically contains *two* points, 'you are not the *only* one afflicted' and 'you are not *more* afflicted than your sisters.'

In 443 why should *δέξασθαι* not be right, even if it be the only Sophoclean instance of the well-known use of the *aorist* infinitive with verbs of thinking? There are many other examples besides those which Professor Jebb quotes: *e.g.* Thuc. ii. 2 *ἐνόμισαν ῥᾳδίως κρατῆσαι*, *id.* vi. 24 *νομίζων ἢ ἀποτρέψειν ἢ... ἐκπλεῦσαι*, Eur. *Or.* 1527 *μῶρος εἰ δοκεῖς με τλῆναι*, and *Aias* 1082 (where some editors strangely take it *gnomic*) *νόμιζε τῷ χρόνῳ πειστεῖν*.

In 564 it is surely better to translate 'she *kept* those many winds at Aulis': we cannot feel it natural that the expression 'those many winds' should be used of the winds that did *not* come: they must be the *adverse* winds which Artemis *held* or *kept* at Aulis.

For the corrupt *τὸν ἀεὶ πατρὸς δειλαία στενάχουσα* in 1075 Prof. Jebb prefers (though he does not adopt) the ingenious *ἁ παῖς οἶτον ἀεὶ πατρός* of Heath. But does he not go too far in saying that Dindorf's *τὸν ἑὸν πότμον* 'is *excluded* by the comparison with *ἀηδών*, which indicates that the doom she mourns is not her own'? There is no incompatibility in Electra lamenting *her own fate* and her *father's too*: she does both constantly in the play. Nor does the comparison exclude it: the chorus in *Agamemnon* 1142 say to Kassandra

> *ἀμφὶ δ' α ὐ τ ᾶ ς θροεῖς*
> *νόμον ἄνομον, οἷά τις ξουθὰ*
> *Ἴ τ υ ν Ἴ τ υ ν στένουσ' ἀηδών,*

where the very same comparison of the nightingale mourning for Itys is applied to the prophetess lamenting for herself.

Lastly, in 1106, is it not both more dramatic and more natural that Orestes should not recognize his sister until he hears her lamentation over the urn? Prof. Jebb says that he would be 'dull' not to make the discovery sooner, and that he is acting a part. But it must be remembered that he has not before set eyes on her, and that she is not dressed as a princess but as a slave. When he does recognize her he is shocked at her *σῶμ' ἀτίμως κἀθέως ἐφθαρμένον*: there is indeed nothing to suggest to him who she is, until her sorrow over the supposed ashes reveals her. The coldness of *οὐκ οἶδα τὴν σὴν κληδόν'* (1110) and the dramatic irony of *δόθ' ἥτις ἐστί* (1123) lose their point if Orestes is acting a part.

In the appendix on 780 Professor Jebb has an excellent analysis of the uses of *ὥστε οὐ* with infinitive. The only comment we should like to add is that in the two passages under class III. which he quotes from Dem. 53 and *Phoeniss.* 1357 *ὥστε οὐ* stands not for *ὥστε μή* (as the editor says) but rather for *ὥστε μὴ οὐ*. This suggests that we should insert *μή* in the Demosthenes passage, and perhaps read *ὡς μὴ οὐχ ἅπαντα* in *Phoenissae*.

In conclusion a word of thanks should be given to the editor for the firm stand he has made here as elsewhere against the tendency of critics to suspect interpolation on perfectly inadequate grounds. The worst offender in the *Electra* is Nauck, who excises twenty-two lines altogether: and, as a specimen of his literary taste, it will be enough to quote the two beautiful lines which (if he had his wicked will) would no longer be read in Electra's lament over the urn:—

> *νῦν μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ὄντα βαστάζω χεροῖν·*
> *δόμων δέ σ', ὦ παῖ, λαμπρὸν ἐξέπεμψ' ἐγώ.*

A. S.

GANZENMÜLLER'S *CIRIS*.

Beiträge zur Ciris von Dr. Carl Ganzenmüller. Leipzig. 1894.

Dr. Ganzenmüller in this excellent dissertation on the *Ciris* (which forms part of the twentieth supplemental volume to Fleckeisen's *Jahrbücher*), has reopened the questions which the problematical character of the poem raises, and which he satisfactorily shows to be hitherto unsolved. Teuffel had fixed the date of its composition from 19-14 B.C. Dr. Ganzenmüller finds in it too many parallelisms with Ovid to admit so early a date. Zingerle in his *Kleine philologischen Abhandlungen* iii. pp. 23-31 (Innsbruck 1892) had already called attention to these correspondences between the two poets, but had not pressed the inquiry. The present treatise is minute and detailed, filling more than 100 pages of close small print. It must form the basis of any future edition, commentary or dissertation on the poem.

Unlike the *Culex*, *Moretum*, *Dirae*, *Copa*, the *Ciris* is preserved in no good or early MS. One short fragment alone 454-541 is contained in a Brussels codex of the twelfth century: all the other MSS. are, so far as is yet known, of the fifteenth. It was my hope, when working in Rome in 1887, to have discovered a new and independent source for the text of the *Ciris*, as the Corsini is for the text of the *Culex*, but in this I was disappointed, though some vestiges of a better tradition are mentioned in my article 'Further Notes on the *Ciris* and other poems of the Appendix Vergiliana' published in vol. viii. of the *American Journal of Philology*. After all, the text of the *Ciris* is less desperate than the *Catalepta*, a collection preserved in very few MSS., and those so hopelessly corrupt as to baffle all the ingenuity of criticism.

The first part of Ganzenmüller's dissertation is a comparison of the verses of the *Ciris* with those of other poets, mainly of the Ciceronian and Augustan eras, though those of a later time are sometimes cited also, *e.g.* Manilius, Lucan, Val. Flaccus, Statius.

Catullus and Vergil are the poets most largely borrowed from: but there are many parallels with Lucretius, and, as Ganzenmüller successfully shows, with Ovid, though in reading them side by side it is difficult to feel any certainty which of the two poets preceded the other. G. believes that the *Astronomica* of Manilius were read and used by the poet of the *Ciris* (p. 561, note). The combination *Felix illa dies* in both is at least noticeable: but it is not certain that *illa* was written by the author of the *Ciris*, some of the MSS. giving *ille*.

The juxtaposition of so large a collection of passages where the same combinations of words in the same place of the verse occur is very instructive, even if it leaves the reader in doubt as to such combinations being anything more than fortuitous. V. 122 of the *Ciris* ends with the words *vertice crinis*; G. cites the same ending (sometimes with *crinem* or *crines*) ten times from Catullus, Vergil, Ovid, Manilius, Lucan, Silius and Statius. It is obvious that little or nothing can be inferred from so large an array of coincident endings as to any one of the poets being indebted to the other. *Perhaps*, and this is all we can say, Catullus set the tone, and it was taken up more or less unconsciously by the poets who followed him. Again *Cir.* 170 ends with the words *bacata monilia collo*, and the same combination, only with the participle altered, is cited four times from Ovid. But it is at least as possible that Ovid took the combination from the *Ciris*, as *vice versa*. What is certain is that the poet of the *Ciris* copied, not Ovid, but Vergil, *Aen.* i. 654 *colloque monile Bacatum*. So, if both the *Ciris* and the account of Scylla in *Metamm.* viii. have *Nise pater!* as an exclamation, it is more than probable that one borrowed from the other: but I am not prepared to say with Ganzenmüller that Ovid was the prior of the two.

Let me put the point in another form. The active use of *requiescere* is found in Calvus, the *Eclogues* of Vergil, and the *Ciris*. In all these cases the accusative is *cursus*. Here it is likely that Vergil copied Calvus, certain that he was himself copied by the poet of the *Ciris*. No such use is found in Ovid. What is to be inferred? I should suppose that the construction was felt by Ovid to be too harsh and strange to be admissible: the language of poetry had become more sensitive and intolerant of abnormal uses. If it was so, the *Ciris* would seem to belong to the less exacting and earlier period, and such real parallelisms with it as are found in Ovid are imitations of the *Ciris*.

The same reasoning may be applied to another of G.'s arguments. The *Ciris* omits those parts of the Scylla-legend which Ovid dwells upon, because they were familiar already as Ovid had presented them in *Metamm.* viii. It is equally possible that Ovid, having the *Ciris* before him, enlarged on those parts which he did not find there.

The general view of G. may be thus stated. The first sketch of the *Ciris* was made shortly after the publication of the *Georgics* (four lines of which (i. 406-409) form the argument of the poem and are repeated in it word for word *Cir.* 538-541), *i.e.* in 30-29 B.C. Its author, at the time quite young and under the influence of Catullus and the imitators of the Alexandrian school, was diverted from his project and only resumed it in later life, perhaps when sixty years of age. What it may have lost in youthful fire, it has gained in finish and apt imitation of other and later poets, particularly Ovid. In form however it still retains the Alexandrian outline on which Catullus and Calvus constructed their epyllia, the nuptials of Peleus and Thetis, and the Io: with an additional tendency to Lucretian reminiscences, natural to an author who had purposed, as he tells us (5 *sqq.*), a more ambitious poem of a philosophical or scientific, probably astronomical, character. His training shows itself pre-eminently Greek: he seems indeed to have fixed his residence in Athens, and to this are probably owing not only his frequent allusions to recognized Athenian customs and observances, *e.g.* the *navis Panathenaica* and *peplum* embroidered with the battle of the Giants, the τέττιγες used to fasten the hair (Thuc. i. 6), but the minute description of the coast-scenery in the neighbourhood, and the details about the founding or building of Megara. Hence also the number of Greek words, which G. estimates as 146 in a total of 1360, an average exceeding Catullus, many of them not proper names, *psalterium, storax, thallus, sophia, haliaeetos, oestrus.* In estimating the merits of the poem, G. is inclined to side rather with the depreciatory side. It is, as has often been observed, in an extraordinary manner a cento: the vast array of parallels now collected does not seem to me to add much to this at once obtrusive and palpable note of inferiority. It abounds, too, in parentheses and repetitions, sometimes, no doubt, purposely introduced to give a rhetorical effect, more often from imperfect command of poetical technic. G.'s lists here are curious and very interesting in comparison with Catullus' sixty-fourth poem, which is open to the same criticism. My own inclination is to rank the *Ciris* higher than G. would admit: especially the speeches of the Nurse are well conceived and the suggestion of Scylla's real object in her mysterious visit to Nisus' bed-chamber is conveyed in language which recalls Ovid without his indecency. It is a pity that we cannot compare here Cinna's *Smyrna* with the *Ciris:* but from Martial's epigram it seems to have been doomed early to extinction; yet we may feel certain from Catullus' high-flown eulogy, as well as from the fine fragments which have survived, that Cinna had poured all the resources of a lavish art into his portrayal of Myrrha's incestuous passion.

Much is to be learnt from the metrical details which form another section of Ganzenmüller's dissertation. I cannot but agree with him in his disparagement of Drobisch's and Lederer's statistics; in contrast with these mechanical appraisers of poetry, all that G. has put together as to the characteristics of the *Ciris*, looked at as a new experiment in hexameter, is sound, judicious, and convincing. There are however points on which he is silent, and to which I hope again to return.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

SCHLEE'S *SCHOLIA TERENTIANA.*

Scholia Terentiana. Collegit et disposuit FRID. SCHLEE. Leipzig: 1893. Teubner. 184 pp.

THIS is an attempt to place within convenient reach of Terentian scholars all that are valuable of the scholia existing in manuscripts other than the Bembine; and to establish the antiquity and importance of these scholia, in opposition to the adverse judgment of Umpfenbach in *Hermes* ii. 338—a judgment that now for the first time is shown to have had little foundation in fact. Indeed, since the year 1867, when Umpfenbach edited the Bembine scholia in the journal already named, the scholia of the

other MSS. have in general been regarded as unworthy of particular study, no one thinking it worth his while to test the accuracy of Umpfenbach's unfavourable verdict.

The test has at last been made by Frid. Schlee, with the result that the value of a large portion of the other Terentian scholia is established as equal, or nearly so, to that of the scholia of the codex Bembinus; and the importance of the lemmata of the codex Monacensis is for the first time brought to light.

The editor has made special use of the following codices: Victorianus (D), Decurtatus (G), Vaticanus (C), Riccardianus (E), and Monacensis (M), the last the oldest of the MSS. containing lemmata, and assigned by Halm to the eleventh century. The lemmata referred to are of considerable length, and fairly numerous, and since they are evidently derived from an ancient codex of the D family, are considered to be deserving of publication, especially as the MSS. of this family are more or less in a mutilated condition.

As a basis for what is to follow the editor begins his book with a discussion of the Calliopian recension, pp. 1–11. Students are familiar with the threefold classification of the Terentian codices, attributed to Umpfenbach. The codex Bembinus (A) constitutes in itself class I. To class II. belong the codices Victorianus (D), Decurtatus (G), and Fragmentum Vindobonense (V). This is the D family. Class III. contains the Parisinus (P), Vaticanus (C), Basilicanus (B), Ambrosianus (F), and Riccardianus (E). These are known as the P family. The most ancient of all these MSS. is the Bembinus. It is also the most trustworthy, because it is the only one certainly free from the arbitrary alterations of the unknown grammarian Calliopius. Which of the other two families is more strictly representative of the original Calliopian recension is a question concerning which there still exists considerable doubt, notwithstanding many efforts have been made to solve the problem. All that has been positively ascertained is that each family has suffered, to a greater or less degree, from the correcting hand of a commentator of the fourth or fifth century, whose name was probably Calliopius.

In Umpfenbach's opinion the Parisinus (P) and Vaticanus (C) exhibit the Calliopian corrections and alterations more faithfully than do the Victorianus (D) and the Decurtatus (G). Frid. Leo ('die Ueberlieferungsgeschichte des Terenz,' *Rh. Mus.* 1883) finds the original recension preserved in DG, while in PC he discovers the same recension revised and changed by some writer who failed to subscribe his name. Dziatzko (*Comment. Woellflin.* Lips. 1891) concludes that Calliopius, about the fifth century, produced an edition of Terence in which he had made many violent and arbitrary alterations, both verbal and metrical, and that this edition is now represented by the codices PC; that this edition gradually acquired such importance and authority that many of its readings crept into the vulgar text, and that the vulgar text, thus corrupted, is to be seen in a more or less genuine form in the codices D and G; and, further, that the similarity now traceable between these two classes of MSS. is due not so much to the readings which have passed from the family of PC into that of DG, as to those which belonged originally to the accepted text, and have remained common to the two families in spite of subsequent alterations.

It will be noticed that Leo's view attaches the name of Calliopius to the DG recension, while Umpfenbach and Dziatzko give it to the recension of which PC are the exponents. But the question, says Schlee, to which of the two the name more properly belongs is of slight consequence, so far as the constitution of the text is concerned. A more important point is the relative antiquity of the two recensions,—a matter regarding which both Leo and Dziatzko are in substantial accord and one that has been ably treated by Schlee. The latter is at pains to show that DG are descended from an archetype older than that of PC, while each family springs ultimately from the same recension—a recension believed to have been in common use in the third or fourth century of our era.

In short, our editor reaches a conclusion in all essentials the same as that arrived at by Dziatzko, and differing from that of Leo in regard merely to the name of the author of the later recension (= PC). From the third century to the fifth there existed, besides the Bembine, a second recension in common use. The MSS. of this recension, being circulated in the schools, gradually became burdened with scholia, and often, to save space, were written without due attention to the metres. In the fifth century Calliopius made his recension from a MS. of this class, and in doing so introduced many metrical corrections, omitted not a few of the scholia, added marginal

illustrations from an earlier MS., and altered the text (=PC). This recension acquired considerable authority. But the other MSS. also, which had been supplied with scholia for use in the schools, were passed from hand to hand, and frequently copied, and in this way became more and more similar (=DG) to the Calliopian recension. DG therefore are derived from a recension older than the Calliopian, and according to Schlee are entitled to greater consideration, especially as Calliopius declined to adhere to his exemplar, but made changes in the text in harmony with his own peculiar fancies and prejudices.

But while DG may be of greater importance than other MSS., wherever the question of the scholia is to be considered, it is improbable that they are so important to the constitution of the text as Schlee appears to maintain. Indeed there is evidence that our editor, like others before him, has underrated the value of PC in this regard. A discussion of this point in detail would be out of place here; but the reader is referred to an article of the relative value of the MSS. of Terence by Prof. E. M. Pease in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association* for 1887, vol. xviii. (see also my edition of the *Adelphoe*, pp. li. and lii., Macmillan & Co.), in which the writer proves at length that, next to the Bembinus, the Parisinus is the most trustworthy of the MSS., and that, while the original form of the Calliopian recension is to be sought in DG, yet PC represent by their archetype an edition of the Calliopian recension, worked over, illustrated and arranged according to a MS. sprung from the best period; that PC are more closely bound together and have suffered less from errors creeping into the individual MSS. than DG, and that in general more changes have been made in the archetype of the D family than in the archetype of the P family. The similarity of these conclusions to those of Leo will be readily observed.

The theory that Calliopius is only another name for Alcuin, the celebrated Anglo-Saxon scholar of the time of Charlemagne, has lately been revived by Gutjahr (*Act. Reg. Soc. Litt. Sax.* 1892), but is rejected by Schlee.

The second paragraph, pp. 11–17, estimates the value to be attached to the scholia handed down by the codex Monacensis (M). In *Hermes*, vol. ii. p. 388, Umpfenbach says: 'Kaum auf ein ursprüngliches corpus gehen die Trivialscholien zürück, die sich in gleicher oder sehr ähnlicher Fassung in den Handschriften seit dem ix.—x. Jahrhundert, nur bald vermehrt, bald vermindert, finden und ihren Ursprung aus halbbarbarischer Zeit nicht verleugnen. Die undankbare Mühe, sie zusammen zu schreiben, hat sich ein Namenloser zu Verona im xi. Jahrhundert gegeben. Die Frucht seines Fleisses ist die Münchener Handschrift 14420 = M.' To this our editor replies: *haec fere omnia prava sunt;* for, as he explains, the writer of M was not the first to collect the materials (lemmata and scholia) of which the commentary is composed. He merely made a copy of a commentary already in existence, as may be proved from an examination of the lemmata themselves. Nor was M made from any one or more of the MSS. as they now appear. A comparison of the *subscriptiones* and *indices* of this and other codices indicates that M, while not derived immediately from G, must have proceeded from some MS. of the DG family very closely related to G; and its lemmata are the more valuable for the reason that they supply much of what is lacking in the codex Decurtatus, a MS. now in great part destroyed. Hence just so many of the lemmata are printed on pp. 17—34 as, in the judgment of our editor, are useful in determining the text, or otherwise important to a correct valuation of the codex itself.

The fourth paragraph, pp. 34—37, reviews those particular points on which the authority and importance of the Monacensis are believed to rest: (1) This codex confirms certain good readings which, on account of the discrepancies between the MSS., were previously doubtful; (2) it establishes the correctness of certain ancient forms; (3) it agrees in some particulars with the codex Bembinus, against the testimony of the other MSS.; (4) it adds weight occasionally to recent conjectures; (5) it frees the text from a number of superfluous readings which are found in all the MSS.—both the later ones, and even the Bembinus; (6) it helps to restore the ancient reading of the DG family in many places where the true reading has been altered through the influence of PC; (7) finally the lemmata of this codex lend confirmation to the theory that the Riccardianus (E) and the Ambrosianus (F) belong, not to the PC, but to the DG family—a matter regarding which there has been some difference of opinion.

According to the fifth paragraph, pp.

37—39, the scholia in DGEFPC and M fall into three groups. The first group consists chiefly of extracts from Servius and Priscian, which occur only in DGE, and are written in the margin. They are by the same hand as the words of the text, or at least by one that is not later. The second group embraces many more scholia than the first, which consists for the most part of brief glosses; each scene begins however with a so-called *explanatio praeambula*, indicating the characters about to be introduced, and explaining how the scenes are connected one with another. These scholia are more perfectly preserved in M than elsewhere; they appear however also in DGEFPC. In PC they are added by a later hand; in the rest they are by the same hand as the text itself. The scholia of the third group are only fragments of what was once a much fuller commentary, and are found in the last pages of D and G.

The sixth paragraph, pp. 39—42, deals exclusively with the first group of scholia. Here the editor explains that certain scholia taken from Donatus, Eugraphius, Festus, Porphyrion, and Isidorus, are to be reckoned in the same category with those of Priscian and Servius; and that all these are to be distinguished from the remainder of the great body of the scholia, and are to be esteemed as of primary importance on account of their antiquity and fulness. The scholia of the first group are printed on pp. 53—78; those of Servius and Priscian being given on pp. 53—67, those of Donatus on pp. 67—75, those of Eugraphius on pp. 75 and 76, and the rest, together with those of an unknown scholiast, on pp. 76—78.

A. Funck, in his review of this work in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, Oct. 28, 1893, suggests a comparison of the scholia of Donatus with the commentary that passes under his name, and remarks that the commentary is fuller and more to the point. Only occasionally, he says, do the scholia add anything new, as *e.g.* on *Phorm.* ii. 2, 24, where a citation from Juvenal, i. 135, is given in illustration of the use of *rex = patronus*.

The seventh paragraph, pp. 42—48, discusses the second group of scholia. These are taken from M, and are here printed for the first time—on pp. 79—162. Owing however to the frequent repetitions and unnecessary fulness which characterize the group, the editor has omitted a good deal of what, after due deliberation, has appeared to him to be superfluous. The scholia are by an unknown hand, distinguished for convenience as Commentarius Antiquior. At the top of the first page of G are to be found the letters: COMMENTARII OOPEIVS. The letters OO are uncertain. That Calliopius is not intended there can be little doubt. Woefflin (*Arch.* viii. 419 *sq.*) hints that the reference may be to the grammarian Pompeius who wrote a *Commentum Artis Donati* about the close of the fifth century. To this group of scholia was originally prefixed a *Vita Terenti*. The life however has not been fully preserved in any of the MSS., owing, in some instances, to the loss of the original first page, as in the case of D and G; in another instance, that of C, to the obliteration of the life by a scribe who wished to make way for other scholia.

As the unknown scholiast has nowhere mentioned any of his authorities, it is difficult to determine the sources from which the scholia of the second group have been drawn. Our editor however thinks he has detected points of contact with Festus, Isidorus, Eugraphius, Donatus, and the scholia of the codex Bembinus. He traces certain agreement also between the glosses of this group and those of the *Corpus Glossariorum*. A list of glosses is given on pp. 45—47, with references to the plays in a parallel column. It is probable, says Schlee, that the scholia of this group accumulated by degrees from various sources—the writings of grammarians, commentators, *glossatores*, etc.,—and that accordingly they were penned by different hands; but that the *praeambulae explanationes* prefixed to the scenes were the work of a single scribe,—a fact indicated by the character of their diction. These scholia in question are chiefly valuable for the elucidation of the text of the codices Victorianus and Decurtatus, since in this family they appear as given by the first hand, and are better preserved than in the Parisinus and Vaticanus.

The eighth paragraph, p. 49, gives a brief account of the third group of scholia, of which a specimen taken from codices Barbarinus, Riccardianus, and Victorianus is printed at the close of the volumes, on pp. 163—174. These scholia are in the form of a continuous commentary, and are later than the eleventh century. Their purpose is similar to that of the preceding group, except that they bear upon the meaning of sentences as a whole, rather than upon the peculiar significance of single words. The first part of the commentary

contains a brief life of the poet which, being taken from Orosius iv. 19, falls into the error of confusing the name of the dramatist with that of Q. Terentius Culleo, the Senator (Liv. xxx. 45). Following the life is a treatise in comedy, taken principally from Euanthius, and enriched with quotations from Horace and Juvenal. Then follow a commentary on the prologue to the *Andria* and a summary of the plot; after which come certain *explanationes praeambulae* which outline individual scenes in the play, and enlighten the reader as to the characters that appear in them.

Our editor finally felicitates himself on having worked in an unknown field, for, as he has already remarked, the scholia which he edits have been looked upon as of slight importance—the work of the unlearned of the Middle Age. The ground for this unfavourable judgment he claims to have removed. Terence, he says, was studied by school children in the very earliest times (cf. Sid. Ap. *Ep.* iv. 12), and his diction could not have been properly understood without assistance. The commentary of Donatus was of too learned a character to be suited to boys, for whose use editions with brief notes or glosses were better adapted. In one of these school editions, he repeats, the codices known as the Victorianus and Decurtatus had their origin, and the scholia are derived from a similar source.

That this collection, so well edited, of Terentian scholia will be generally helpful to students of Latin comedy, and of special service in settling difficulties in criticism and interpretation, no one need doubt. We have only to regret, in company with the writer of the review in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, that the editor has not added to this most praiseworthy edition both the commentary of Donatus and the scholia of the codex Bembinus. The former is at present accessible only in such early editions of the poet as those of Lindenbrog, Klotz, Westerhovius, and Stallbaum. The latter must be sought in the special articles of Umpfenbach in *Hermes* ii. and Studemund in *Neue Jahrb.* 97. To combine these four available sources of early Terentian criticism in one convenient volume would greatly facilitate the labours of modern scholars, and would be an undertaking worthy of the special experience and critical skill of the editor of the *Scholia Terentiana.*

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HÜBNER'S *MONUMENTA LINGUAE IBERICAE.*

Monumenta Linguae Ibericae edidit AEMILIUS HÜBNER. 4to. pp. cxlii. 264. Berlin, Reimer, 1893.

AT the request of the editor of the *Classical Review* I submit to its readers a very brief description of the last and not the least noteworthy outgrowth of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.* Its unique importance and interest would demand in justice a far fuller notice than, unhappily, I can at present attempt to give.

The lingua Iberica is that of the primitive inhabitants of the Spanish peninsula, the people, that is, who were there before Phoenicians, Greeks, Celts or Romans. Its remains are now collected, practically for the first time, by the great epigraphist who edited the Spanish volumes of the *C.I.L.*, Emil Hübner. The courage needed to undertake such a task is matched by the scrupulous care with which it has been executed, though neither is new in the army of scholars whom Mommsen has inspired; and it is not to be counted the least of their triumphs to have rescued from the dust what must be by far the largest articulate record of pre-Aryan Europe.

In Hübner's numbering the volume contains some seventy-six inscriptions, five or six of which are of some length (containing from fifty to a hundred and fifty letters), besides coins from nearly 200 towns, each of which shows several different species and legends. The types of these are described, not reproduced, but of the inscriptions in the narrower sense facsimiles are frequently given. In all points of method the editor follows the lines which the *C.I.L.* has once for all established, fulness and definiteness of all certain information bearing on the text of the inscriptions, combined with a jealous repression of merely conjectural matter. All the inscriptions are transcribed into italics, and those given in facsimile are represented also in black and white in Iberian $\alpha\beta$. But in two respects the plan of the book goes beyond that of the *Corpus.* Its admirable indices include all the ancient local and personal names of Iberian territory, taken

either from *C.I.L.* ii. or from literary sources —an invaluable complement to the inscriptions themselves. Similar collections for the whole of Europe—the materials for which no doubt exist in some form or other in all its parts—would be a laborious but a most welcome contribution to primitive history. Secondly, in a long and masterly introduction, the editor has collected what may be said to be known about the Iberians, their alphabet, and their language (including some fifteen good glosses), and by his careful lists of forms classified according to their endings and other phonetic characteristics he has at least laid the foundation of a scientific study of this *terra incognita.*

How much has yet to be done, and how scrupulous the present editor has been the reader may judge from the fact that, so far as I can find, he does not confess to even an inkling of the meaning of more than some half-a-dozen words. The longest of the inscriptions is the bronze tablet found at Castellon (on the east coast south of the mouth of the Ebro) in 1851 and now in the Museum at Madrid, which contains a hundred and fifty-three letters. But, though abstaining from interpretation, Hübner has come to a conclusion as to the character of the language, based on its phonetic characteristics, namely that it is *not* Indo-European. 'Linguam apparet secutam esse leges formationis et flexionis diversas non tantum a Graecis Latinisque, sed etiam ab eorum populorum quos Iberis aliquando vicinos fuisse scimus, quatenus de linguis eorum iudicare licet; Venetos dico, Ligures, Etruscos, Celtas' (p. cxli.), and he points out that this was the belief of Humboldt (the one illustrious name in the scanty list of Iberian students), and he goes on to quote with sympathy rather than definite approval the same scholar's conjecture that the modern representatives of the Iberians in race and language were no other than the Basques. But he refuses at present to appeal to Basque words or forms as a means of interpretation. For this there are two unassailable reasons: first, that the only sound method of interpreting an unknown language is to begin by working simply at the monuments of the language itself with whatsoever light their surroundings and mutual relations can shed upon it;[1] and, secondly, that there is as yet no satisfactory grammar of the Basque language. Will Professor Rhys help us here? It should be added that Hübner follows Kiepert's treatment of the Celtic invasion (*Monatsber. d. Berl. Akad.* 1864, p. 143, and *Lehrbuch d. alt. Geogr.* p. 478–498) and carefully eliminates place and personal names of Celtic origin.

[1] I should perhaps explain that this is not a quotation of Hübner's own words, but only an inference from the method he actually pursues.

The Iberian alphabet or rather alphabets, for the signs vary considerably in Hither and Further Spain, are derived directly from the Phoenician, as appears clearly in the tables on pp. liv. lvi. It may be useful to reproduce the shorter of these; *b* is wanting, and in Hither Spain the direction is mainly from left to right, in Further always right to left.

Value.	Phoenician.	Further Spain.	Hither Spain.
a	𐤀	𐤀	𐤀
c	𐤂	𐤂	𐤂
d	𐤃	𐤃	𐤃
e	𐤄	𐤄	𐤄
z	𐤆	𐤆	𐤆
h	𐤇	𐤇	𐤇
th	𐤈	𐤈	𐤈
i	𐤉	𐤉	𐤉
k	𐤊	𐤊	𐤊
l	𐤋	𐤋	𐤋
m	𐤌	𐤌	𐤌
n	𐤍	𐤍	𐤍
o	𐤏	𐤏	𐤏
p	𐤐	𐤐	𐤐
q	𐤒	𐤒	𐤒
r	𐤓	𐤓	𐤓
s	𐤔	𐤔	𐤔
š	𐤔	𐤔	𐤔
t	𐤕	𐤕	𐤕
u	𐤖	𐤖	𐤖

Further there are five signs not borrowed from the Phoenician *αβ*, but 'exemplo Romano':

𐤀	*g*
𐤁	*ĭ*
𐤂	*ca*
𐤃	*ce*
𐤄	*du*

Hitherto the value of ϵ, M, and ϛ has been uncertain, of Δ, T, and ꟼ (a variant of ✳, *k*) unknown. In a few points, I may add, these *αβ*'s resemble those of the enigmatic pre-Italic inscriptions of the Adriatic coast.

As to date, the coins range roughly from 241–133 B.C., the inscriptions 'probably' from the Hannibalic war to the fall of the republic, the latest being in Latin *αβ*. But, naturally, there are very few, if any, of the inscriptions whose date in particular can be fixed.

For curiosity's sake may be given Hübner's transcription of the *Tabula Castellonensis* (the words are separated by a triple interpunct, but after the last it is only double).

[*z*]*ĭrtaims aĭrieimth sinektn urcecerere aurunikiceaiasthkiceaie ecariu aduniu kduei ithsm eosu shsinpuru krkrhniu qšhiu ĭithgm kricarsense ultthcraicase argtco aicag ĭlcepuraies ĭithsĭniecarse.*

If the transcription is correct it would seem that some vowel sounds must be unwritten in the heavy consonant groups; and one cannot help asking, Were the Iberians quite innocent of sonant nasals and liquids?

Unless one is prepared to become a serious student of Iberian, all criticism must be more or less nugatory. Yet perhaps it may be asked whether Hübner's negative conclusions as to the character of the language can be called 'proved,' at least so far as they are based, as they seem to be in chief, merely on its phonetic characteristics. Does the foregoing inscription strike the average scholar as more outlandish than would an extract of similar length from, say, Armenian, Old Church Slavonic, or even Old High German?

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CARDIFF, *June* 1891.

BOLDERMAN'S *STUDIA LUCIANEA*.

Studia Lucianea. Specimen Litt. Inaug. Scripsit P. M. BOLDERMAN. Lugd. Bat. 1893.

THE original purpose of the writer in undertaking the study of Lucian was to discover quotations from Attic Comedy. So far as this definite purpose is concerned his conclusions are negative: not only are no new comic fragments to be found in Lucian but the number of references to comedy assumed by Kock and others is to be materially reduced. The tendency to find satire, evident or concealed, in all the works of Lucian and to reject as spurious those in which no satire can be found, together with the failure sufficiently to take into account the changes in the character of his works incident to changes of age or purpose in writing, constitute the principal defects of previous studies of Lucian. The positive results of the comparison with comedy are that Lucian's works are to be divided into these four classes:

I. The Rhetorical works in which, with the exception of the *Toxaris*, no comic influence is traceable.

II. Dialogues in which the matter or method is comic.

III. Satires in which contemporaries and their faults are rebuked, but without evidence of imitation of comedy except in three cases.

IV. The works of Lucian's old age,—rhetorical declamations in which the comic element is also lacking.

These classifications of his works correspond to periods in the life of the author. From the *Somnium* and *Bis Accusatus* we learn that he studied and practised rhetoric in Asia Minor, Greece and Italy until his fortieth year, then turned to Dialogues in the style of the comic writers and Menippus. In this style he continued until the *Piscator* in which, himself turned philosopher, he attempts to retract his former abuse of the old philosophers and promises to satirize his contemporaries. This period of his life and style, to which belong the satirical *Fugitivi*, *Philopseudes*, and *Convivium*, lasted until his old age, when he was forced by poverty to ask for an official position from the Prefect of Alexandria. After the loss of office he was compelled to support himself by returning to the practice of rhetoric.

In discussing the date of Lucian's birth, Bolderman defends the accuracy of the notice in Suidas (*γέγονα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος Τραιανοῦ καὶ ἐπέκεινα*) against the usually accepted 125 A.D. The *Mors Peregrini* was written in 165 and in it he says that at the age of forty he turned from rhetoric to his

comic and Menippean style, but Bolderman urges that he did not necessarily write the *Mors Peregrini* at that time, but ten years later, when fifty years old, and during these ten years he wrote in the comic and Menippean style. This places his birth at 115 and gives as approximate dates for the four periods of his writings:

I. The Rhetorical, 115—55.

II. Comic and Menippean, 155—65.

III. Censorious of his contemporaries, 165—80.

IV. Old Age, 180 till death.

To the discussion of each of these periods of his life and style a chapter of the *Studia* is devoted.

The artificial and romantic tendencies which characterized the writings of the rhetors and sophists of the age of the Antonines exerted a strong influence upon the first, or rhetorical period of Lucian's life, the works of which were not the expression of his own sentiments but were composed to meet the taste and demands of the audience. To this purely declamatory time and class belongs the *Patriae laus*, which is not to be considered with Wieland and Jacobs, 'eine reife und edle Frucht seiner spätern Jahre, mehr ein Werk des Herzens als des Witzes.' The *De balneo* and *De domo* were also written from interested (mercenary) motives and neither in them nor in the *De salutatione* is to be sought the overworked *satira latens*. On account of its rhetorical character Bolderman discusses in this connection the *Imagines*. The explanation of ὁμώνυμος γάρ ἐστι τῇ τοῦ Ἀβραδάτα ἐκείνῃ τῇ καλῇ (X) as a reference to the Panthea who accompanied Lucius Verus to the Parthian War and the conclusion that the *Imagines* was therefore written in 162 to win the favour of that emperor certainly seem probable.

The *Anacharsis* and *Toxaris*, though belonging to the rhetorical age, give evidence of a comical or satirical spirit sufficient to justify the assumption that they belonged to the transition from the first to the second period.

The third division of this chapter deals with Kock's attempts to restore fragments of comedy by assuming common comic sources for Lucian and Alciphron. Bolderman thinks that Kock carries this method to extremes in that he too readily finds comedy where similarity of words, subject matter, or expression may be purely accidental or proverbial. Very likely some of Kock's restorations have not sufficient reason, but to urge that because many of his assumptions are false others probably are, is perhaps quite as dangerous as to have too much faith, and some fragments which Bolderman attacks seem too reasonable to be lightly given up.

After calling attention to the diversity of opinion hitherto prevailing among scholars as to the chronological order of the dialogues, Bolderman proceeds to discuss the place of the *Piscator* and *Bis accusatus* and concludes that the former, from its professional respect for the old philosophers and the announcement of the intention henceforth to attack the vices and pretences of contemporary would-be philosophers, marks the close of the second era of Lucian's life, during which he had bitterly attacked the ancient philosophers but after which he never depreciated them. The *Bis accusatus* from its milder tone toward contemporaries is to be placed just before the *Piscator*, while the *Fugitivi*, which is severer, follows immediately and in fact introduces the style of the third period. Accepting as correct this conclusion from philosophical content for the position of the *Bis accusatus* and *Piscator*, the next steps are easy. The *Dial. Mort.*, *Menipp.*, *Icaromen.*, *Charon*, *Jup. Trag.*, *Hermot.*, and *Vit. Auct.* are mentioned or referred to in the *Bis Acc.* or *Pisc.*, therefore precede them. To the other dialogues the test of Lucian's treatment of the old philosophers is to be applied and the works in which he abuses them precede the changed disposition evidenced in the *Bis Acc.* and *Piscator*. A still further subdivision of the works of this period is attempted, into (*a*) those attacking all philosophers without distinction and written under the influence of comedy, viz. *Dial. Mer.*, *Timon*, *Dial. D.*, *Dial. Mar.*, *de Parasito*, *Vit. Auct.*, *Deorum Conc.*, and *Prometheus*; (*b*) those which breathe a cynic spirit, the *Cronica*, *Dial. Mort.*, *Menippus*, *Hermot.*, *Jup. Confut.*, *Charon*, and *Navigium*; (*c*) those in which cynic philosophy is put in the mouths of comic characters, the *Jup. Trag.*, *Gallus*, *Tyrannis* and *Icaromen.*

It is difficult to find a place for the *Nigrinus* in this list if we are to accept it as literally meaning that Lucian was at one time a follower of Platonism. This objection Bolderman meets without resorting to the usual explanation, that Lucian was once for a brief period Platonist, or the *Nigrinus* contains *satira latens*, or is pseudo-Lucianic. The name *Nigrinus* and the introductory letters addressed to Nigrinus he considers sophistic fictions—the matter is cynic—the

manner comic. The *Nigrinus* then belongs to subdivision *c*.

The analysis of the *Timon* and the determination of comic sources for it, as well as for the *Prom.*, *Vit. Auct.*, and several of the *Dial. Mer.*, *Dial. Mar.*, and *Dial. Deorum* (p. 73 *sqq.*) form one of the strongest features of the *Studia*.

To adjust the *Vitarum Auctio* and *Hermotinus* to this antiphilosophic period of Lucian's life, it becomes necessary to explain sundry remarks favourable to philosophy found in them. This our author does by assuming that we have second editions of these works revised to suit the new position taken in the *Piscator*.

After Bolderman has so strongly insisted that the Dialogues are to be absolutely separated from the works which preceded the fortieth year and that Lucian entirely forswore rhetoric at that time, we are somewhat startled to read that the Dialogues, because they were composed by a rhetor who follows the example of comic writers, and because Lucian wrote the *Imagines*, which is also rhetorical, at a later date, are 'nihil nisi rhetoricae disciplinae specimina.' Well does Bolderman remark 'Multi statim exclamabunt: "Quid de satirico Luciano restat?"'

The third period of Lucian's life began, as already noticed, with the *Fugitivi*, in which he began to carry out the promise of the *Piscator*—to censure his depraved contemporaries. As regards his attitude towards Christianity, his writings do not show knowledge of the subject sufficient to warrant the assumption that he was bent upon persecuting the Christians, nor can the theory that he was a supporter of that faith be established in view of the few disparaging remarks. The *Philopatris* and its attack upon the Trinity Bolderman agrees with Gesner was not written by Lucian.

In this third period of his life he wrote the *Convivium*, *Philopseudesis* and *Eunuchus* against the philosophy, and the *de Hist. Con.*, *Rhetor. Praec.*, *Lexiph.*, *Ver. Hist.*, and the *de Merc. Conductis* to attack the other vices, of his contemporaries.

From a discussion of Photius (*Bibl.* 129) and a comparison of the *Asinus* with Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* Bolderman concludes that both may have used Lucius Patrensis as a common source, but that Lucian was not writing a parody of Lucius but rather a simple fabella in the style of Lucius. The *Asinus* is therefore to be placed at the transition from age I. to II. This question can of course never be settled definitely without the lost *Metamorphoses* of Lucius of Patrae.

The *Demonax*, written to praise the philosopher of that name, is vindicated as Lucian's work by assuming that the references to Sostratus in the preface were inserted by some one who tried thus to make Lucian responsible for a *Vita Sostrati* by another author.

The increasing sadness and moroseness successively exhibited by the *Adversus Indoctum*, *Pseudologistes*, *de Luctu* and *de Sacrificiis* give evidence of the approach and transition to the fourth age in which, compelled by poverty, he seeks public office for support. This abject office-seeking period produced the *Apologia* and *De Lapsu in salutando*. Failing in his political aspirations, Lucian returned to rhetorical declamation for a livelihood, but that his spirit was broken is seen in that the *Hercules*, *Bacchus* and *Dipsades* are much more insipid and cringing than the rhetorical work of his earlier years.

A paragraph in this chapter devoted to the suppositious writings attributed to Lucian acknowledges as such the *Amores*, *Halcyon*, *Nero*, *Demosth.*, *Encom.*, *Charidemus* and *Macrobius*, but defends the *Dea Syria* and *Astrologia*.

A *tabula chronologica* follows which groups the writings under the different ages and classes. An appendix contains an excellent bibliography of works on Lucian.

The propositions of the *Studia* are ingenious if the reasons are not always convincing. The arguments advanced cannot from the nature of the case be supported by many proofs; often they are little better than mere assertions. There is too much of an effort to differentiate in every case upon the basis of subjective analysis and, because a tendency appears stronger than another in a given work, to assign the work to an arbitrarily prepared place in the author's life.

Affected and monotypical as was the rhetoric of his time, one cannot help being reluctant to see in Lucian the typical rhetor. Lucian had innate satirical tendencies not wholly acquired from study and imitation, and the literature of comedy and satire may well have exerted stimulating influence upon his mind long before he was forty years old. May we not then be justified in expecting to find traces of both tendencies and influence in some of the works which Bolderman ascribes to the first age? Again, is it probable that Lucian's philosophical

tendencies came from Menippus and comedy alone? Is it not more probable that he or any other rhetor as such busied himself largely with the study of philosophy, the influence of which might thus be expected to operate upon the writings of the rhetorical or youthful age (40—50)? If so, the principle of division cannot be insisted upon between the first and second age. An author is not likely during his whole life to confine himself exclusively to one style of composition for a certain period and then turn abruptly to another, and the greater the number of subdivisions or changes assumed the greater the improbability and difficulty of proof. Should we then take even Lucian's references to himself too literally and should we not allow flexibility in his style varying at any period of his life according to his moods or to the nature and needs of his subject? These are some of the doubts which the *Studia*, bold and captivating as they are, have failed to drive from the reviewer's mind. As to Bolderman's methods, one cannot help remarking that the assumption of interpolation and revised editions to substantiate a definite theory seems quite as radical as to argue along stilistic lines, or to deny Lucianic authorship or to search for fragments of comedy or *satira latens* in an author whose natural tendencies were those of Lucian.

But in spite of these misgivings the *Studia* form a valuable contribution to Lucianic literature. The Latinity is good except for a monotonously frequent repetition of *licet* when *quamquam* or some other construction might have been used.

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HEBERDEY ON PAUSANIAS.

Die Reisen des Pausanias in Griechenland; von Rudolf Heberdey: Vienna, Tempsky, 1894.

In a review of Dr. A. Kalkmann's *Pausanias der Perieget* in the *Classical Review* for 1887 the wish was expressed that the imputations on Pausanias' veracity, which were made in that able but aggressive book, should be examined, and if possible refuted, in detail. Between that time and the present this wish has been to a considerable extent fulfilled—notably by Gurlitt in his valuable work *Ueber Pausanias;* nevertheless, the passages in the ancient topographer which imply personal observation on his part of the places and objects which he describes were nowhere systematically brought together—a strange omission, it might seem, because it is on these that the decision of the question mainly turns. This task has been accomplished by Heberdey in the dissertation now before us, so that every one has the opportunity of judging for himself, whether the claims which Pausanias thus puts forward to the position of an independent inquirer are genuine, or whether they are purely fictitious and intended to throw dust in the reader's eyes. The evidence furnished by these passages is either *direct*, where the writer says (that he has been in a place, or *indirect*, where his presence is implied by the words used in the description. And here at starting Heberdey draws a distinction between such categorical statements as are introduced by *εἶδον, ἀφικόμην, θαῦμα παρέσχε μοι* and the like, and those which are made by *λέγουσι, φασί,* and even by *ἐπυνθανόμην* and *ἤκουσα.* The expressions contained in the latter of these two groups, though by earlier critics they would have been regarded as proofs of personal inquiry, are now considered in many cases to be used where quotations from other treatises are spoken of. It is at first sight perhaps a shock to our modern notions of strict accuracy in the citation of evidence to find such ambiguous terms employed—somewhat in the same way as the English visitor to Italy is apt to regard it as a proof of a lower standard of morality, when he discovers that fixed prices for objects of sale are the exception and not the rule in that country: but in both these subjects a rigid estimate of such practices, independent of the view taken of them by those among whom they prevail, is apt to be unfair. Anyhow it is certain that the use of these words with regard to literary as well as oral sources of information is found not only in Pausanias, but also in other ancient writers whose veracity has

not been questioned. And, to show that they are employed *bona fide* by Pausanias, and not with the view of masking the origin of the statements, Heberdey cites a number of passages, where the various terms which are used in this way are undisguisedly employed with reference to earlier compilations. In like manner, though a class of *ἐξηγηταί* or local *cicerones* is known to have existed in the cities of Greece in Pausanias' time, and therefore it is reasonable to suppose that he may have obtained some of his information from them, yet Heberdey maintains that, when the term *ἐξηγητής* is used simply, and without further qualification, as an authority for statements, it is equivalent to 'local handbook' or 'guide.' Excluding, then, the passages in which these equivocal terms occur, we find that there are fifty-five instances, in which the words used (*ἰδών* and such like), if they are not unqualified falsehoods, are direct statements of personal observation; and the great majority of these refer to places in Greece, though a few are employed of localities outside the borders of that country. Of the passages which afford indirect evidence of the same thing the most numerous are those in which there is a change from the present to the past tense; for, as the present is used in descriptions, it is reasonable to suppose that, when the historic tense is introduced, the writer is going back to his own experiences, whether in seeing objects or hearing narratives: *e.g.* 2. 34. 11, *τεῖχος μὲν δὴ περὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑρμιόνην ἕστηκε· τὰ δὲ ἐς συγγραφὴν καὶ ἄλλα παρείχετο, καὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ποιήσασθαι μάλιστα ἠξίωσα μνήμην.* At the same time due allowance has to be made for a certain number of passages, in which there is the possibility of a different interpretation of the tense. The total number of those that fall under this head is 150, and deducting thirty-nine as possibly doubtful, there remain 111 as certain evidence. The personal observation which is implied in these is in many cases further confirmed by other expressions which occur in the same context. The result of combining these two sources of evidence, the direct and the indirect, is to show that there were ninety-nine places in Greece which Pausanias is proved to have visited. Heberdey appends a table of these, arranged according to the different districts to which they belong.

Having thus determined the central points at which Pausanias' presence is guaranteed, our author proceeds to trace the course which he seems to have followed in his archaeological journeys, and notes the roads which, to judge from his method of description, and from the objects mentioned or omitted in their neighbourhood, he did or did not take in passing from one place to another. He also in numerous instances assigns the reason why the traveller chose one of these in preference to another, by pointing out the objects of special interest which attracted him in this or that direction. For instance, in journeying from Sicyon to Phlius Pausanias does not appear to have followed the direct road, for he does not describe it, whereas he does carefully describe the more circuitous one by way of Titane; and his reason for preferring this is easily discoverable in the interest which he shows in the rites observed in the temple of Asclepius in that town. For this part of his investigation Heberdey is especially well equipped, because, as he tells us in his preface, he has himself on various occasions travelled over the same ground as Pausanias. He further draws attention to a principle, already noticed by Gurlitt, which the old topographer generally, though not universally, observes in his description of districts —viz. that he begins with the central city, and then describes the roads that radiate from it. This is especially noticeable in the case of Mantineia and Megalopolis, from the former of which towns four, from the latter five, divergent routes are traced. And it is suggested that it may be a farther extension of this method when, in giving an account of cities, he commences, not from the point at which he entered, but from the chief central place, whether agora or sanctuary, and then proceeds to the noticeable objects in other parts. Our confidence in the trustworthiness of Heberdey's conclusions is increased by finding that he fully allows that Pausanias frequently drew his information from other topographical works, and even introduced quotations from them. For various parts of the Peloponnese, and in a lesser degree for Northern Greece, he shows that he is largely indebted to a *Periplus;* for Elis also to a book on Homeric topography, perhaps that of Demetrius of Scepsis; and here and there evidence of quotation from local guidebooks is discovered in traits of local patriotism emerging from the narrative. Very interesting also are the passages where Pausanias corrects the statements of an earlier authority from his own observation; *e.g.* 8. 25. 7, *ὅσοι δὲ Θέμιδος καὶ οὐ Δήμητρος τῆς Λουσίας τὸ ἄγαλμα εἶναι νομίζουσι, μάταια ἴστωσαν ὑπειληφότες*: and again 8. 41. 10, *ἔστι δὲ ὕδατος ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ*

Κωτιλίῳ πηγή, καὶ ὅπου συνέγραψεν ἤδη τις ἀπὸ ταύτης τῷ ποταμῷ τὸ ῥεῦμα τῷ Λύμακι ἄρχεσθαι, συνέγραψεν οὔτε αὐτὸς θεασάμενος οὔτε ἀνδρὸς ἀκοὴν ἰδόντος· ἃ καὶ ἀμφότερα παρῆσαν ἐμοί. Heberdey's general conclusion is, that in the Peloponnese Pausanias made three tours—one in the east and south of that country, one in the north, and a third in the centre; while in Northern Greece he made four journeys, but here the question of the routes which he took is more complicated. His First Book, which treats of Attica, was originally published as an independent work, and for this, outside Athens, the author drew his information from another compilation, and only in a slight degree from personal observation. To enable the reader more easily to follow Pausanias in his travels, two maps are given at the end of the volume, on which his routes in the Peloponnese and in Northern Greece respectively are traced. In conclusion, it should be added that the usefulness of this excellent treatise is not confined to the subject with which it immediately deals, for it contains also numerous valuable discussions of the topography of special places in Greece.

H. F. Tozer.

SCHMIDT ON THE LETTERS OF CICERO.

Der Briefwechsel des M. Tullius Cicero von seinem Prokonsulat in Cilicien bis zu Caesar's Ermorderung, nebst einem Neudrucke des XII. und XIII. Buches der Briefe an Atticus, von Otto Eduard Schmidt. Leipzig: Teubner. 1893.

This work is indispensable for all students of the correspondence of Cicero. It is the result of untiring industry and patience, and is full of acute inferences, founded not only on the closest observation of minute points in the correspondence itself, but also on a deep and wide basis of learning and knowledge of the life and institutions of Ancient Rome. It is in the arrangement of the order of the letters that these qualities have proved most fruitful; in explanation of the text not so much, and in emendation hardly at all.

His accurate arrangement of the date of each letter sometimes starts difficulties before unfelt, while it oftener resolves problems which have presented themselves to the minds of the successive editors. Examples of the latter result are countless. As an instance of the former, we would point to *Att.* vii. 11, 5, which he shows to have been written on Jan. 18th from somewhere near Rome. Accordingly *haec Campana* in that letter cannot refer to Campania proper, and Schmidt is driven to infer that in Cicero's time *Campania* in ordinary language included the Campagna of Rome. However, as there is no example of such an application in Republican times, it is perhaps safer to understand *haec Campana* to mean 'the Campania on which my thoughts are now dwelling' as being the district of Italy now placed by Pompey under Cicero's charge.

Schmidt brings out clearly a fact not thoroughly recognized in the histories of this period, that at the beginning of the Civil War the loyal *optimates* seem to have felt some apprehension lest an understanding should arise between Caesar and Pompey, the result of which would be the crushing of the senate; see *Att.* x. 8, 5. But his work teems with acute historical remarks, and the ingenuity with which he has arranged the order of the letters is amazing. For instance, he thus settles the date of *Att.* ix. 8. In § 2 Cicero says that the 'fever-day' of Atticus was 'yesterday'; now Atticus had fever every fourth day (the numbering being inclusive according to the Roman usage), and we know from *Att.* ix. 2 that he had had an attack on the 7th. But the letter must have been written after the 10th, therefore 'yesterday' was the 13th and the date of the letter is the 14th. The application of such principles to a body of literature so large as the letters demands a power of keeping the text of the correspondence exactly before the mind's eye with an accuracy which is little short of miraculous. This power is illustrated on almost every page of his book. His arguments hardly ever fail to carry conviction, and if they do not always establish an exact date, they nearly always bring it within a few days. It is clear that the task which he has set himself and has so ably discharged is one of very great importance and interest.

The questions concerning the diplomatic evidence on which the *Letters to Atticus* rest are not so numerous or so difficult as

those which beset the *codices* of the *Epp. ad Fam.*, though Lehmann has certainly shown that there are MSS. other than Zl and W which are independent of M. The problem would indeed be difficult if editors could be persuaded by Mendelssohn to re-open the question of the genuineness of the Bosian *codices*. Schmidt must be added to the list of those who have turned a deaf ear to the theory that Bosius really had access to two MSS., X and Y, which no one but himself ever saw, and from which he was in the habit of quoting readings which varied according as his own views about the emendation of certain passages underwent modification.

Whether one essays oneself the art of conjectural emendation or is merely an onlooker at the attempts of others in this branch of inquiry, one can hardly help noticing how every year increases one's conviction that the art of emendation has no recognized principles, and that the criterion of certainty is merely subjective and varies with each observer. The emendations which one regards as certain are condemned or neglected, while some wild suggestion which one hesitated to print, and finally cast forth merely in default of any reasonable conjecture, is hailed as a discovery and almost an inspiration. One friend urges one not to publish a conjecture which another finds to be the only contribution to knowledge in the volume. I am quite prepared therefore to find that many readers will see the hand of Cicero in Schmidt's *in qua erat* (Caesar) *erus sceleris* in *Att.* ix. 18, 2, though to me *erus sceleris* seems the worst attempt which has yet been made to emend the *erosceleri* of the MSS. Yet Schmidt writes of his reading, 'Das Nachtsliegendes und sicher Richtige aber hat man übersehen.'

R. Y. Tyrrell.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO PETER.

The Gospel according to Peter. A Study. By the author of *Supernatural Religion.* London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1894. 6*s.*

Few literary discoveries, or recoveries, have excited more interest in modern times than that of the Fragment of the Petrine Gospel at Akhmim. And, to judge from the works of real importance dealing with it which have been published up to the present time, the interest which it first aroused is by no means slackened. From the lecture given by Prof. Robinson in Cambridge upon it in November 1892, which was published shortly afterwards, to the scholarly and laborious work of von Schubert published towards the end of 1893, probably the most important contribution to the literature of the subject hitherto published, there has been a continuous output of important editions, articles, and reviews. So much good work has thus been forthcoming, and such careful attention has been paid to this Gospel, that although many questions which are raised by it have received no certain answer, and many problems still remain unsolved, the net gain of what may now be regarded as settled beyond reasonable doubt is not inconsiderable.

The appearance of von Schubert's *Die Composition des pseudo-petrinischen Evangelien-Fragments*, and the accompanying Tables (which have been translated into English, and published by Messrs. T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1893), and the important review of von Schubert's work by Harnack in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* for Jan. 6, 1894, mark a definite stage in the discussion of the Petrine Gospel. This review contains Harnack's most recent judgment on the most important question connected with the Petrine Gospel, its relation to the Four Canonical Gospels, and is of great interest. He prefaces his review of von Schubert with a personal explanation of his own (partial) changes of opinion, showing how such changes were the natural consequence of the conditions under which he was obliged to work. When his second edition was published he saw reasons for doubting his earlier impression that the author of the Fragment was dependent upon the Four Canonical Gospels, though still feeling the weight of the reasons which rendered probable the view that he had used Mark, if not also Matthew, Luke and John. The work of von Schubert has convinced him of the 'probability that our Canonical Gospels, including St. John, underlie the Petrine Gospel.' 'Er hat es wahrscheinlich gemacht, dass unsere Kanonischen Evv. hinter dem

PE liegen, auch das Joh. Ev.' are his exact words.

We may conclude then that, though much remains obscure, some points may now be regarded as practically settled, and it is unlikely that questions connected with them will be again reopened. Thus the anti-Jewish tendency of the Gospel is now beyond dispute, and its Docetic tendency is generally acknowledged, though the precise effect of these considerations on the determination of the sources used by the author is and will be still disputed. The probability also that the author used and mainly depended upon our Canonical Gospels is placed beyond question. This does not of course preclude the possibility of his having made use of other sources of information, oral or written, independent of them. But that he mainly relies (especially in the latter part of the Fragment) on our Four Gospels is the view which holds the field.

The book before us contains a short account of the Akhmim discovery, and a translation of the Petrine Gospel. This is followed by some account of the earliest traces of the Petrine Gospel which can be found in Christian literature of the second century. The main part of the book consists of a careful and elaborate comparison of the new fragment with the Canonical Gospels. A long chapter is devoted to the criticism of Mr. Rendel Harris's article in the *Contemporary Review* (Aug. 1893), and the 'highly evolved prophetical gnosis' which he claims to have discovered in Pseudo-Peter.

The writer finds in almost every case where the Petrine narrative touches parts recorded in the Four Gospels that Pseudo-Peter is independent of the Canonical Gospels and embodies the tradition at an early stage of legendary development, or produces scenes at least as grand and credible as those found in the Canonical Gospels. As a rule he prefers the Petrine account. As he avowedly approaches the questions raised by this Gospel from the stand-point of his book on 'Supernatural Religion' (see p. 20 f.) he can hardly come to his subject without prejudice. It is impossible to give any detailed criticism of his methods and results. The following instances of the results at which he arrives must suffice. The conduct of the Roman Procurator, as described by Pseudo-Peter, is pronounced to be historically far more probable than the 'extraordinary spectacle of a Roman Governor and Judge feebly expostulating with a noisy Jewish mob' (p. 49) as recorded in the Canonical Gospels. 'There is every reason to consider' (on the ground of historical probability) 'that the betrayal by Judas is a later product of the evolved gnosis' (p. 104). 'The expressions of distinct antagonism to the Jews in the fourth Gospel far exceed any in the Gospel according to Peter' (p. 108). 'It is not difficult to see that the cleansing takes place because it is written, My house shall be called a house of prayer, but ye make it a den of robbers.' 'Peter has evidently got an earlier form of the story' (of the Penitent Thief) 'without those much later touches with which the third Synoptist has embellished it' (p. 64). It is unnecessary to make further extracts.

It is unfortunate that the author of the study before us was not in a position to make use of von Schubert's careful work and Harnack's review of it. As a popular summary of the subject, the book would have had more value if the writer had been able to take into consideration Harnack's latest judgment on the most important question which the author discusses. If it is to be regarded as a popular treatise it appears just too early or just too late to have much value. But as the general style and method of the book seem to claim recognition for it as a contribution to the scientific study of the questions with which it deals, it is necessary to point out the serious defects which it exhibits when regarded as a work laying claim to scholarship.

With at least four trustworthy English translations accessible the following novelties should have been avoided:—

(1) *ὅτε ὤρθωσαν τὸν σταυρόν, ἐπέγραψαν κ.τ.λ.* 'As they set up the cross, they wrote thereon.'

(2) *πρὸ μιᾶς τῶν ἀζύμων, τῆς ἑορτῆς αὐτῶν.* 'Before the first day of the unleavened bread of their feast.'

(3) *συμφέρει γάρ, φασίν, ἡμῖν ὀφλῆσαι μεγίστην ἁμαρτίαν κ.τ.λ.* 'For it is better, they said, to lay upon us the greatest sins.'

In conclusion it may be interesting to quote the author's present position with regard to the existence and contents of Tatian's *Diatessaron*. 'This is not the place to discuss again the identity of the *supposed* "Diatessaron," but it will be sufficient to point out that we have it only in an Arabic version, published and translated by Ciasca, and a translation of the *supposed Armenian version* of the Commentary upon it, *ascribed to* Ephraem, which again Moesinger, who

edited the Latin version published in 1876, declares to be *itself translated from the Syriac.* In these varied transformations of the text, anything like verbal accuracy must be regarded as totally lost.' (The italics are my own.) It would be rash to venture to interpret this passage!

As a popular treatise the book before us was written at an unfortunate moment, before a *consensus* of scholarly opinion had been reached. As a scholarly contribution to the literature of the subject it has really no claim to consideration at all,

A. E. Brooke.

GROSVENOR HOPKINS ON THE *AGRICOLA* AND *GERMANIA* OF TACITUS.

Tacitus, the Agricola and Germania, edited on the basis of Draeger's 'Agricola' and Schweizer-Sidler's 'Germania' by A. Grosvenor Hopkins. Boston: Leach, Shewell and Sanborn, 1891.

Following the general plan of the series to which this edition belongs Prof. Hopkins has adapted two well-known German school-books to the use of American students. The text is mainly that of Halm, whose critical apparatus appears in a modified form at the bottom of the page. A rather full introduction gives a sufficient account of Tacitus and his works, also of the MSS. of *Agricola* and *Germania.* On p. viii. there is a slight confusion between the arguments for the date of publication of the *Annals* and those for the death of Tacitus. Hadrian's resignation of Trajan's Parthian conquests has nothing to do with the time of Tacitus's death. To speak (*ibid.*) of 'that reign of bloodshed and horror which extended, with but slight interruptions, from the rise of Nero to the death of Domitian' is to give the student a very wrong idea of the twelve years of Vespasian and Titus. On p. vii. there is a similar carelessness of statement, which would throw doubt upon one of the few certain dates in Tacitus's life,—that of his praetorship; we are told that 'it is impossible to associate the bestowal of definite official honours with any of these emperors' (*i.e.* the Flavians). More serious is (p. xv.) 'the two most important MSS. of the *Agricola*' for 'the *only* two.'

The text is accurately printed, and provided with rubrics, which are not always quite reliable clues to the contents of the chapters. Thus cp. 1 'eulogies upon virtue ...are hardly *safe* even in the age of Trajan'; cp. 6, *dona templorum* is paraphrased 'public funds'; 'probably from Gaul' (cp. 11) is certainly misleading.

In regard to the date of the *Agricola* Prof. Hopkins is still satisfied with the old arguments to prove that it was written shortly before the death of Nerva, rather than after Trajan's accession [Mommsen, Nipperdey, Andresen]. Matters relating to the government of the provinces are clearly explained. Facts as to the legions in Britain (p. 90), the Rhine-Danube *limes* (p. 115), the walls of Hadrian and Antonine (pp. 104–5) are welcome additions to a commentary on the *Agricola.* But the note on the walls is so misplaced as to give a very confused idea of the location of Hadrian's wall. It begins 'Agricola built a line of forts here'; and 'here' can only refer to the Tanaus, the uncertain location of which is remarked upon just above. The statement that Hadrian utilized forts of *Agricola* is without authority.

The note on l. 3 *plerique* is misleading, but corrected by that on *Germ.* 13. 5. On 25. 5 '*et ipse*: only twice so found in Cicero' aims at greater precision than so controverted a question allows. The translation of 10. 5 *quia...iussum* 'for only so far had *we* orders' adds a new voyage to the conjectural travels of Tacitus.

We add a few misprints:—p. iii. Hirschfeld for Hirschfelder, Deutsche for Deutschen; p. viii. l. 2, A.D. 95 for 96: l. 22, 118 for 117; p. 16 fin. *lacunum;* p. 84 l. 1, εἰρήμενον; p. 87 l. 23, A.D. 60 for 61: Caerlaon; p. 101 l. 19, *strategmata;* p. 103 fin. *in bella* for *bello* of text; p. iii. l. 13, A.D. 42 for 43.

In the 'Germany' the elaborate notes of Schweizer-Sidler have been of course much abridged. On the other hand additions have been made from Hehn, Waitz, Grimm, &c., and matters of language and style are much more fully treated of than in the German original. Space forbids a more detailed criticism.

The maps (2) are reproduced (without acknowledgement) from Mommsen's *Provinces* and Church and Brodribb's *Germania.* On the former the form 'Themse' survives unaltered. There is an index to the notes.

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ROBERT'S *PHAEDRUS.*

Les Fables de Phèdre. Edition paléographique, publiée d'après le manuscrit Rosanbo par ULYSSE ROBERT, Inspecteur général des manuscrits et archives etc. pp. xlvi. 188. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale. 1894. 10 Frs.

THIS book, which is printed at the expense of the French Government, consists in the main of two copies of the *codex Pithoeanus*, which is almost the sole extant authority for the text of Phaedrus. The first copy is a most beautiful print of the MS. as it stands, page for page and line for line: red letters, capitals, points, abbreviations and corrections being faithfully reproduced. It would be impossible to praise too highly the typography of this portion. The second copy gives precisely the same text but printed as verse, with modern punctuation, without abbreviations and with many notes on the corrections and other minutiae of the MS. The editor has added a photographic facsimile of one page of the original, an introduction dealing with the *provenance*, character and affinities of the MS. and an appendix containing a mediaeval treatise 'De Monstris,' which (though of later date) is partly written on the same parchment, and is now bound in the same volume, with the text of Phaedrus.

The *codex Pithoeanus* is a small octavo of thirty-nine leaves, written in Caroline minuscules of the first half of the ninth century. The writing is large and clear, and the abbreviations are not numerous or obscure, though one or two of them are unusual. The style is believed by M. Robert to have been peculiar to Rheims in the time of Archbishop Hincmar. The MS. is complete though copied from a mutilated archetype, and has been revised both by the original scribe and by another, who sprinkled some stops at random. It came into the possession of Pierre Pithou, the famous French scholar, in 1595, and was used by him for the *editio princeps* which he published in August 1596. It was used again by N. Rigault for his edition of 1599, but, though more than one scholar collated it, no other editor actually handled it till G. Brotier, who published a Phaedrus in 1783. In 1830, Berger de Xivrey published what purported to be an accurate copy, *verbatim et literatim*, of the MS., with this difference only, that the text was printed as verse, though the MS. gives it as prose. Lucian Müller, who had some doubts of de Xivrey's accuracy, was unable to induce the owner, the Marquis de Rosanbo, to let him collate the MS. for his edition of 1877, and M. Robert himself has evidently had some difficulty in gaining access to it. However, when at length he was allowed to copy it, he made the fullest use of the permission and has produced a transcript which is likely to relieve the Marquis from any further importunities of scholars.

After all, M. Robert would probably admit that not much, except a beautiful book, is gained by his labours. He convicts Berger de Xivrey of some gross blunders, but editors had already repaired them. He cites altogether 107 passages in which de Xivrey's copy of the MS. is inexact. Of these, fifty are mere mistakes in spelling, such as *senareis* for *senariis*, *inquit* for *imquit*, *inmiscuit* for *inmiscuit*, *nunquam* for *numquam*, *pretio* for *precio*, *commendasse* for *cummendasse*, *impune* for *inpune*, etc., which are of little or no importance for critical purposes. In other passages the mistake of a letter or two is more serious: *e.g.* in i. 3, 9 de Xivrey prints *multatus* for MS. *mulcatus*: in ii. 7, 11 *contentum* for *contemtum*: in iii. Prol. 6 *causae* for *causa est*: in iii. 1, 3 *spargent* for *spargeret*; in v. 1, 8 (or iv. 29, 8) *nil* for *ni*, but previous editors had either read the MS. correctly or made the necessary emendation. The worst blunders in de Xivrey's copy are these: in ii. Epil. 12 he gives *pervenit ad aures* for *ad aures pervenit*: in iii. Prol. 18 he inserts *ne* and in 52 *si* without warrant: in iv. 22 (or 23), 7 he omits *uoluit*: in v. 1, 1 (or iv. 29, 1) he inserts *est*: and he omits altogether the line v. 5, 25 (or iv. 33, 25). In some other cases M. Robert seems to me to do less than justice to his predecessor. Thus in i. 29, 7 de Xivrey reads *pene* where M. Robert reads *pede*. But de Xivrey adds this note 'recentius correctum *pede*...sed prior scriptura facile dignoscitur': and M. Robert himself adds this note 'le reviseur a corrigé *pene* en *pede*.' In iv. 5, 12 de Xivrey prints *conferant* with the note 'correctione mala librarius *conferunt*': M. Robert prints *conferunt* with the note 'le scribe a corrigé *conferant* en *conferunt*, correction dont M. Berger de Xivrey n'a pas tenu compte.' In cases of this kind, and there are several

of them, it seems unnecessary to impute error to the earlier editor. In one conspicuous instance, de Xivrey was wrong, though he provided the necessary correction. In iv. 7, 12 he reads *aetate*, adding the note 'recte Pithoeus *Aete*.' M. Robert reads *Aete* and adds the note 'le scribe avait dabord écrit *etate*, mais il a exponctué *ta*.' M. Robert actually goes so far as to insinuate that de Xivrey sometimes misread the MS. on purpose that he might correct the mistake in a footnote. I can find no ground for this suggestion except the passage ii. 7, 11 where de Xivrey reads *contentum* with the note 'sic pro *contemtum*.' The shade of M. de Xivrey will be pleased to learn that, in the list of errors attributed to him, M. Robert has made at least two errors himself: he cites iii. Prol. 53 when he means 52, and iv. 5, 25 when he means 5, 12. Also in iii. Prol. 38 M. Robert twice prints *viam*, though he gives the note 'le scribe avait écrit *viā*; il a ajouté un *t*, pour faire *vitam*.'

J. Gow.

BURTON'S *SYNTAX OF THE NEW TESTAMENT*.

Syntax of the Moods and Tenses in New Testament Greek. By Ernest de Witt Burton, Professor in the University of Chicago. Second edition, revised and enlarged. Chicago, U.S.A. 1893. Pp. xxii. 215. 21 cm. by 14.

It is a good omen for the study of the Greek Testament that the characteristics of its language are beginning to engage afresh the attention of scholars. Since Germany gave us the preeminent grammars of Winer and Alexander Buttmann, comparatively little first-hand work in this department has been given to the public. The labours, indeed, of T. S. Green, Moulton and W. H. Simcox, together with such essays as those of Hatch and T. K. Abbott, have received grateful and merited recognition and it is a pleasure to welcome the simultaneous appearance of two elaborate works devoted to the syntax of the verb.[1]

The author of a work on New Testament Greek is confronted at the outset by a grave practical difficulty. Shall he assume a general knowledge of the Greek language on the part of his reader, and restrict himself to the peculiarities of the Biblical writers? or shall he exhibit these peculiarities in perpetual comparison with ordinary secular usage? The former method is apt to produce a jejune and fragmentary result. And even when such a restricted treatment is furnished with a running equipment of references to the more noteworthy grammars of the classic tongue, it seems to find little favour, if we may judge by the comparative neglect which the translation of Buttmann's excellent work has received from the public.

Professor Burton has probably been wise, therefore, in adopting the plan of giving a somewhat detailed account of the functions of the several verbal forms, with accompanying references to current grammatical works, and then subjoining in each case select examples from the New Testament. But his avowed aim throughout is merely to furnish an aid in interpretation. This aim has shaped and limited his treatment. His exposition of principles is in the main admirable. He evidently possesses a keen interest in grammatical analysis, and an undeniable gift at clear and succinct statement. His definitions are lucid and guarded, his discussions orderly, and their conclusions neatly summed up.

But while the decisive test of a text-book is actual use, the first impression, we must confess, made by Professor Burton's work is that the grammatical machinery is excessive. The simple syntax of the Greek Testament appears in a form a little suggestive of the rustic youth in the royal armour. Certainly the treatment is unequal. At one time, rudimentary principles are formally stated and illustrated as though for beginners; at another, extended quotations from erudite works are given in the original German (see, for example, p. 62). This disproportion in treatment, which results apparently from more regard for completeness of grammatical exposition than for the actual phenomena of the New Testament (see *e.g.* §§ 351—356), can be in some measure removed in future editions by giving greater prominence to the discussion of examples, after the fashions well exemplified in §§ 55,

[1] See, besides Professor Burton's book, the *Étude sur le Grec du Nouveau Testament. Le Verbe: Syntaxe des Propositions.* Par M. l'abbé Joseph Viteau. Paris, 1893. Pp. lxi. 240.

88. Nevertheless, the general tenor and tone of the book make the impression that the author has written in forgetfulness of the maxim—which holds almost as true of language as of history—that 'nothing tortures it more than logic.' Thought and expression are more varied and versatile than the theorist's rules. Forgetfulness of this truth is also in large part responsible for the author's restiveness under many of the renderings of the recent 'Revision' (see, for instance, p. viii. and § 17). Historical considerations and the genius of a language have their rights. Considered from this point of view his strictures will hardly command general assent. Moreover, excessive emphasis laid upon particular formulas of translation tends to foster in the pupil a mechanical habit of mind.

It would be easy to specify details the treatment of which is especially judicious and satisfactory (for example, the use of εἰς with the infin., of ἵνα, etc.); and possible, on the other hand, to cull out particulars respecting which Prof. Burton's decision is more than questionable: as, Rom. ii. 27, p. 167. But, passing over details, the treatment of the participle is perhaps the least satisfactory portion of the book. Considerable space, to be sure, is given to the subject, first and last, under the several tenses, especially the aorist. But after all, we doubt whether a student will get an adequate idea of the peculiarities of New Testament usage: for instance, the use of the participle in the nom. out of construction (as Mark xii. 40; Phil. iii. 19), and in mixed constructions (as Rev. vii. 9); of the present participle virtually denoting purpose (as Mark xiii. 11; Acts xxi. 2; 1 Cor. iv. 14); of the anomalous gen. absol. (as Matt. viii. 1, 5, 28; Luke xxii. 10; John iv. 51); of the anarthrous participle used substantively (as Mark i. 3; vi. 54; Rom. iii. 11 *sq.*; Rev. ii. 14), especially with πᾶς (as Matt. xiii. 19; Luke vi. 40)—none of which passages are cited in the book. Indeed, the distinction between a participle with the article after a definite antecedent and a participle without the article is nowhere drawn with sufficient sharpness:—witness the silence respecting such stock examples as Mark v. 30, 36; 1 Pet. ii. 19. Moreover, positive surprise will be stirred in the reader by the heading, in black-faced type, 'The Aorist Participle of *Subsequent* Action,' a surprise which will not abate when he finds the vouchers to consist of the dubious ἀσπασάμενοι in Acts xxv. 13, and ἡ ἀλείψασα in John xi. 2, adduced on the ground that the fact of anointing is only first narrated in ch. xii. 3.

After all, however, the book as it stands is a scholarly and painstaking piece of work, and deserves to be welcomed as a valuable addition to the apparatus for the study of the New Testament. It is carefully indexed, and the typography is almost immaculate. The only slips which a pretty careful perusal has discovered are here set down: p. 12, l. 8, dele the comma after ἴδε; p. 21, l. 29, read ὃν; p. 23, l. 7, read Ἡρῴδης: p. 110, l. 24, dele the comma after δοθήσεται; p. 112, l. 6, insert *and winter*; *ibid.* l. 24, read ὃ; p. 158, l. 20, insert τινὰ after ὑμᾶς; l. 172, l. 3, read ἐξουσίαν; *ibid.* l. 8, read οὖν; p. 173, l. 30, read ἄγε; p. 180, l. 1, read οὗτος; p. 186, l. 6, read οὐδὲ; and on pp. 125, 165 a Greek word is divided wrongly at the end of a line.

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JUSATZ ON IRRATIONALITY OF RHYTHM.

De irrationalitate studia rhythmica. Scripsit Hugo Jusatz. Leipziger Studien zur Classischen Philologie, vierzehnter Band, zweites Heft, pp. 175-351. Leipzig: S. Hirzel. 1893. 5 Mk.

This is an elaborate essay on a somewhat obscure and difficult subject. In the introductory portion, which deals with the sources of Greek rhythmical theory, it is argued that, while it is generally admitted that our knowledge of the principles of Greek rhythm must be based on Aristoxenus, the views of modern writers, *e.g.* on the so-called 'cyclic' dactyl and on the equalization of dactyls and trochees etc. in 'mixed' metres, are incompatible with his doctrine. An attempt is made to prove that the lengthening and shortening of syllables, whereby their normal value is altered, is circumscribed within very narrow limits, so that the dactyl never occupies precisely the same space of time as the trochee. There are also some remarks about the relation between the fragments

of the rhythmical elements of Aristoxenus and the excerpts of Psellus, and it is affirmed that Martianus Capella is not directly dependent upon Aristides, as has been supposed, but that they are derived from a common source, and that the former sometimes represents the original better than the latter.

The second part of the treatise discusses the nature of 'irrationality' both in musical intervals and in rhythm. The general conclusion, so far as rhythm is concerned, is that a space of time is 'irrational' when its exact duration as compared with other definite spaces of time is not clearly perceptible. Thus, to take the commonest instance, the spondee found in the even feet of a trochaic rhythm is 'irrational,' *i.e.* the second syllable in the foot is slightly longer than the normal short syllable would be, though it cannot be determined how much longer it is. Jusatz supposes that in this and similar instances the additional length of the irrational syllable is compensated by a corresponding diminution in the length of the following syllable, so that the scansion of the trochaic dimeter catalectic might be represented thus:—

$$\overset{2}{—}\ \overset{1}{\smile}\ |\ \overset{2}{—}\ \overset{1+x}{—}\ |\ \overset{2-x}{—}\ \overset{1}{\smile}\ |\ \overset{2}{—}\ \wedge\ \|$$

where the numbers denote units of time, and x is the indeterminate quantity by which a syllable exceeds or falls short of the 'rational' duration.

In the third part, which is the longest and most important division of the essay, the position of irrational syllables in various metres is investigated, and certain laws regulating their use are laid down. The criteria of an irrational space of time are that it may be represented by either a long or a short syllable, that it can never be resolved into two syllables, and that in some cases the irrational arsis (in the ancient sense of the word) may not be separated from the succeeding thesis by a caesura. This last point serves to explain Porson's law as to the final cretic, which, it is shown, may be applied also, *mutatis mutandis*, to metres other than the iambic senarius and the trochaic tetrameter. The subject of the various permissible feet and caesuras in these two metres is discussed with much subtlety and ingenuity. Another form of metre which is examined in detail is what Jusatz calls 'pseudo-logaoedic,' of which the glyconic may be taken as the most familiar type. It follows from the writer's general theory that he will have nothing to do with the 'cyclic' dactyl. To him, apparently, *e.g.* the second glyconic consists of two trochees followed by two iambics, the effect of the change from trochee to iambic being analogous to that of what is called 'anaclasis' in ionic metres, a subject which is also discussed at some length. The last chapters are concerned with irrational syllables which stand alone, not in combination with others, where therefore the irrational lengthening of one syllable is not compensated by the irrational shortening of another. This is chiefly the case in 'scazons,' in which the penultimate syllable is irrationally lengthened, the view that in such metres the ante-penultimate syllable is equal to a three-time foot being criticized and rejected.

Whatever may be thought of the rhythmical principles of the writer, which are certainly at variance with prevailing opinions, he has collected and sifted a considerable amount of material in reference to irrational syllables, and this will be useful to all students of metre, however different their exact interpretation of the forms in question may be. The reviewer must confess that he has found the argument hard to follow in some places, and that he has not been always able to make out the meaning.

C. B. Heberden.

ANOTHER IMPORTANT MS OF LUCAN.

De Lucani codice Erlangensi. Arnold Genthe. [Dissertation, Jena 1894.]

The author of this little treatise is a son of the late Hermann Genthe, whose name is well known to students of Lucan. *Cogit pietas inponere finem officio.* The MS described and collated is specially interesting from its connection with B, the *Bernensis* to which prominence was first given by Hosius in his recent edition.

The Erlangen MS is of the tenth century. So is B. Both MSS belong to the class known as the Pauline recension, but

neither has the *subscriptio* found in M and certain other MSS. Dr. Genthe points out that another MS at Erlangen has the *subscriptio*, but does not enter into this matter further. The *Erlangensis* described [No 304] is by two hands using the same original. The second of these wrote only the part viii 134–ix 146. The normal number of lines to a page is twenty-eight, but a few pages have twenty-nine. Dr. Genthe (pp. 13–4) ingeniously infers that twenty-eight was the number in the archetype also. Besides the corrections of the first hands [m^1], who are shown to have revised their work, three other sets of correctors [m^2, m^3, m^4,] are clearly distinguished. Of these the earlier ones used either the same or a closely connected MS as their basis, while m^4 draws from a different source, and probably employs conjecture as well. The clearness with which these various correctors are distinguished adds not a little to the value of the dissertation.

The derivation of E from the Pauline recension is clearly shown, and seems to admit no doubt. So also its peculiarly close relationship to B. Its relation to the mixed MSS, such as U and G, is also well discussed with much advantage. It appears that G is more nearly connected with BE than with the other Paulines, and that G is nearer than U to BE. B and E themselves agree in a remarkable manner. Not only do they very often unite to differ from the other MSS, but in misplacement of lines and peculiar order of words they show a striking concurrence. It may be added that the first readings of B, altered in the MS, often stand unaltered in E. Dr. Genthe holds that B and E are copied from the same original, and that E is the better copy of the two. He adduces weighty reasons for believing that they are not copied from the original of M or from M itself. And he rejects,—rightly, I venture to think,—the view [Hosius, *praef.* p. xiv] that MB[C] may perhaps be directly derived from the original MS of Paulus. He allows that M may be a direct copy of Paulus: but the rest are derived from him in an indirect manner. In this he agrees with Wotke, and I believe this will become the received view.

To enter into details here would require far too much room. But I think I have said enough to show that an interesting and important addition to Lucan literature has been made by Dr. Arnold Genthe.

W. E. Heitland.

PRESTON AND DODGE'S *PRIVATE LIFE OF THE ROMANS.*

The Private Life of the Romans. By Harriet Waters Preston and Louise Dodge. Boston [1893]. Pp. 167. 12mo. Price $1.00.

Teachers of Latin have long desired a small manual to illustrate Roman private life for their students, and this spirited and inspiring little book will be warmly received. Heretofore there has been practically nothing but the antiquated translation of Gallus, the translation of Guhl and Koner, which for various reasons was an inconvenient book, and the dictionaries which had the defects of their qualities. In this book we have a readable and interesting sketch of the subject. The six chapters describe first the family, then the house and everyday life, the children, slaves, guests, clients, freedmen, their food and clothing, agriculture, and finally travel, transportation, and amusements. Tables of weights and measures and an index conclude the book. The treatment is sympathetic, and in a clear running style, enlivened also by comparison with modern Italian customs gathered from the personal observation of the authors. Some may think this is carried too far when *confarreatio* is compared with a 'Catholic wedding with pontifical high mass.' The materials of the book are drawn from Marquardt, Friedländer, and Becker-Göll; and many of the numerous woodcuts are credited to Rich, and a few to Baumeister and Seyffert-Nettleship. Some of the illustrations are not altogether good. In the 'process' view of the Roman House after Schill (p. 24) the names of the parts of the house are altogether illegible. The picture of the Roman Bath (p. 49), said to be from an ancient painting, dates back some three hundred years only, and has no more authenticity than any picture invented in modern times.

As a second edition of the book will undoubtedly be called for, it may be well to

call attention to a few matters *passim* which demand correction or at least reconsideration. Some statement of the principle followed in marking the long vowels of the Latin words should be made; and if, as it appears, the short vowels are left always unmarked, the reader should be put on his guard. In sūcinum on p. 149 the quantity of the penult is more important and harder to remember than that of the antepenult; iūgum, p. 111, is certainly wrong. *In manum suam* 'into his hand' for the *manus* of the husband is hardly good Latin: Gaius, I. 136, has 'in viri sui manu,' but it is safer to omit the pronoun altogether as may be seen by comparing the passages cited by Heumann, röm. Rechtsquellen[6] 330. On p. 3 the derivation of Cicerones from 'chick-pea growers' is over-confident, as is also the statement on p. 5 that daughters had a praenōmen of their own, which remark should be qualified by what is said in Seyffert-Nettleship, p. 412. Nothing is said by our authors about the custom of numbering daughters. The association of quiritatio (p. 19) with the mortuary cry may be correct; yet as the word occurs but once (Livy 33. 28) we must interpret the noun by the verb *quirito* which was originally the cry for aid by the distressed citizen. The 'mortuary proclamation' could hardly have given the primary signification to the word. *Carmen necessarium* (Cic. *De Leg.* 2. 59) is hardly a 'species of hymn'; carmen might with more propriety be called a chant or rhythm. A modern analogue is the sing-song recitation of the multiplication table by school children. In Tac. *Ann.* 4. 9, which describes the funeral procession of Drusus, the verb is *spectarentur;* to translate this 'walked' is scarcely justified (p. 20). English 'aes' for Latin *as* occurs twice on page 140; but the book is in general very free from misprints.

Those who have followed the *Atlantic Monthly* articles by H. W. P. and L. D. on various Roman worthies will find the same warm treatment, and freshness of style in this little book, which is doubtless more readable than it would have been if written by professed philologians or archaeologists. It is a work which may profitably be put into the hands of young students, and should find a place in all public libraries. It will be particularly valuable as a companion to courses of lectures in Roman private life, such as are given in several American universities.

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GSELL'S REIGN OF DOMITIAN.

Essai sur le règne de l'Empereur Domitien par Stéphane Gsell. (Paris: Thorin.) 8vo. pp. 392. 1894. 12 Frs.

The account of Domitian's reign contained in this volume was originally written as a 'thèse de doctorat' for the Faculty of Letters of Paris. The author does not say whether it has been since revised or expanded, but for its original purpose I may say at once that it seems to me to possess just the merits which such a work should possess. The writers of such theses (we have them or something like them in England) seem to me to be liable to one of two errors. They are apt either to aim at the fabrication of epochs and the sonorous disclosure of sweeping novelties, or they painfully concentrate laborious attention on some possibly correcter view of an insignificant trifle. In either case, in the desire to be original, they reveal their inability to grasp the proportions of things and to master the matter which forms their subject. M. Gsell seems to me to have avoided these errors. He has given us a well-digested account of Domitian, with a careful collection of facts and authorities both ancient and modern, and an estimate of the man which, whether right or wrong, is sober and suitable. He shows that he is the master, not the servant, of his matter and that, when he tries original work, he will at least be able to start well equipped. For scholars his book will have the value that many good digests have at the present day: it is a convenient summary to which one may turn for a judicial account of what has been well said about Domitian. Its fault, of course, is its length—rather a common fault in some French books, but that is partly the result of its careful quotation of references and treatment of detail. Were it shorter, it would doubtless be more interesting to read, but it would be less useful as a summary.

F. H.

KRUMBACHER'S BYZANTINE PROVERBS.

Mittelgriechische Sprichwörter. Von KARL KRUMBACHER. München, 1893. Verlag der K. B. Akademie der Wissenschaften. Pp. 272. 1893. 3 Mk.

KRUMBACHER belongs to the new and more enthusiastic school of students of Byzantine history. In his *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Litteratur* he has put himself on record as a believer in the intrinsic value of Byzantinism as a form of civilization. He refuses to compare it either with ancient Greek and Roman or with modern civilization, and finds in it merits and charms peculiarly its own, for which it is worth the study. His standpoint thus appears to be the same as that of Bury and Oman, who have reacted from Gibbon's too disparaging representations of Byzantinism. In the present work he gives practical evidence of his belief in the value of Byzantine life as a subject of study by undertaking a most thorough investigation of the extant collections of Byzantine proverbs. The object of the treatise is to compare and codify these collections and elucidate their obscurities. It contains an enumeration and description of the collections, a critical and descriptive classification of the MSS. in which they are found, the text of the proverbs with textual, dialectic, local and redactorial variants and explanatory notes. The aim of the author seems to be so to investigate the subject as to render the further investigation of it unnecessary, until perhaps some more light should break on it through the discovery of materials now unknown. This feature of the work constitutes its strength and weakness. It is its strength because the investigation is ideally thorough. One can hardly think of any particular in which greater exhaustiveness would have been desirable. In the notes and explanations, for instance, Krumbacher introduces all the light obtainable from parallels to these proverbs in the proverbs of other peoples—Albanian, Arabic, Turkish, Italian, Spanish, etc. The object of these parallels is twofold; *i.e.* either to elucidate the meaning of obscurer proverbs by comparing them with some similar but clearer ones, or to show up some historic connection between them and those found in the Byzantine collections. It is hardly necessary to say that in this latter particular the instances where such connection is established are very rare and limited to parallels from Classic Greek. The other object of the citation of parallels is clearly secured in a large number of cases. The author's diligence and painstaking in bringing these into comparison with the Byzantine proverbs cannot be too highly commended. This division of the work may furnish an illustration of what is meant by saying that the attempt to be absolutely exhaustive is the chief source of weakness in it. This effort leads the author into redundancy, and in many cases to the accumulation of explanations that do not explain. Such are the notes on proverbs numbered 9, 13, 21, and 28. Here much simpler and briefer notes, without interfering with the thoroughness of the work, would have served all purposes much better. So also in the presentation of the text the method of the author leads him into numerous digressions, confusion of order, and the traversing of the same ground over and over again unnecessarily. A little more attention to the proper condensation of the valuable materials gathered by Krumbacher would have added much to the usefulness of the work.

Krumbacher has made a correct diagnosis of the motive that led to the formation of these collections of proverbs in finding that motive in the desire of preachers to use these proverbs as illustrations and confirmations of religious truth. It can scarcely be doubted that the theological interest was more of a controlling factor in every department of thought and life at Byzantium than literary and historical knowledge as such. In this theological use therefore rather than in the philological value of the proverbs we are to find the secret of the making of these collections.

The general care and diligence spoken of as characteristic of the work is noticeable also in such details as the spelling and accentuation of words. It is only very rarely that even typographical errors such as κητουρέ (p. 144) for κηπουρέ, or αυγή for αὐγή have been allowed to creep into the work.

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THE ORIGIN OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

Professor Gardner in his reply to Mr. Mayor's article in the *Classical Review* criticizes also some remarks of mine which appeared elsewhere. He had maintained in his treatise that St. Luke's phrase 'breaking bread' or '*the* breaking of *the* bread' indicates no more than the *agapé* or common meal of which the primitive Christians partook. To this I objected amongst other things that the words are hardly suitable for the description of an ordinary repast. In the Old Testament men invited their fellows to 'eat bread,' never to 'break bread.' Nor is it otherwise in Greek or Latin authors. The expression appeared to me to be newly invented by the Christians to describe their new ceremony.

Dr. Gardner replies that I am mistaken on this point, for in Isaiah lviii. 7 it is written '*Break* thy bread to the hungry.' In answer to this I might plead for the rendering of the English version, which has been retained by the Revisers, '*Deal* thy bread to the hungry,' but even if the literal meaning of the Hebrew root be pressed, my position, I think, is not seriously affected. It may be inhospitable to give broken meat to a guest, and yet praiseworthy to share your loaf with a starving brother. I shall be wrong in asserting that the phrase 'break bread' is never found in the Old Testament, but right in denying it to an ordinary meal.

Dr. Gardner next reminds me of the practice of breaking bread in sacrifices. That I consider is hardly relevant to the present controversy. A primitive altar had no fire. The worshipper, who came to eat and rejoice before the Lord, daubed its sides with blood or placed fruits and offerings upon it. And as bread was hard and dry, needing to be broken for young children, so by a naive instinct Jehovah's cake was crushed to prepare it for His use. The existence of such ceremonies, if they have any bearing on this question, only makes it the more improbable that the Founder of the Lord's Supper should have gone for inspiration to Eleusis.

Are we to suppose that St. Paul was initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries? To my mind it is almost inconceivable that the Apostle, notwithstanding his large-hearted liberality, should have consented to such a thing. But granting for the moment that he was ready, would there be no difficulties from the other side? Originally, I understand, initiation was confined to members of the tribe. Then it was thrown open to all Greeks. In St. Paul's time cosmopolitan ideas had so far prevailed, that a Roman emperor or governor and any person of rank and wealth, who desired to be initiated, would experience no great opposition. But would a poor man, and especially a Jew, have any chance?

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ARCHAEOLOGY.

CALYMNA AND LEROS.

It seems, when one looks at the map, a remarkable if not inexplicable thing, that the sea frontier of the Dorians and Ionians passes between Calymna and Leros. The two islands are so near: they are even linked by a series of small island stepping-stones, so that there is a legend of a Calymnian who used to swim across to visit his Lerian mistress,—a thing physically quite possible.

It is true that our few epigraphical documents from Leros are of late date. We see it as a deme of Miletus, and it is perfectly possible that it was originally Dorian. We do not know at what time it was annexed by its great continental neighbour. It is also true that the existence at Calymna of a tribe of Κυδρηλεῖοι (see *Inscrr. of Cos*, p. 354) is good enough evidence of the existence there of an Ionian element.

The Homeric Catalogue does not help us. If Leros were one of the νῆσοι Καλύδναι, then it was Dorian, but these νῆσοι may very well have been Calymna, Pserimos, and Telendos, and the plural

does not oblige us to include Leros among them. There are however certain physical conditions (and this is the object of this note) which separate Leros from Calymna. The northern tongue of Calymna is very barren and rugged. The only habitable part of Calymna is its southern part; so that Calymna is naturally averted from Leros and faces Cos, to which it was finally annexed. The only ancient ruin on the northern tongue of Calymna is at Emporió, somewhat north of Telendos. It is a very small fortress under a high cliff, in which is a cave, and contains an oil-press. The position and size of this fortress convince me that it was a place of refuge for the people of this little township. Their oil-press was within its walls because they kept pigs, who eat the refuse of the olives, and of course when they retired to their fastness, they took their pigs with them. I hope to publish a plan of this fortress and its oil-presses together with other ancient oil-presses which Mr. Myres and I found in Asia Minor last year.

But north of Emporió there is a long barren tongue with no trace of any settlement. The geological structure of the two islands is also very different, Calymnos being almost entirely lime-stone, and Leros chiefly schist; and, what is most important, there is almost no intercourse between the two islands at the present day. The Calymnians are sponge-divers, the Lerians are ship-owners, doing a big carrying business, and having a sort of colony in Alexandria. In costume, customs, and sentiment the difference between the two islands is very wide.

It may be that, as I am now living here, I lay too much stress on the importance of this matter of determining the exact frontier of the Dorians and Ionians, and determining what were the conditions which fixed it here, but I certainly gather from Meyer's History that the matter is of great importance. I find no answer in this history to the problem of the omission from the Homeric Catalogue of the Ionians, I find no attempt to explain why the Dorians colonized the particular islands they did colonize; and in a book which states as a fact and not as a hypothesis that Odysseus was an Arcadian god, one might wish for some hypothesis about these things. Of course the book is a delightful one, since it contains nothing of which the author has not convinced himself after much labour, and one feels that his judgment is often creative and always sound; but my own interest and knowledge are confined to a little corner of the ancient world, and I cannot help feeling that he has somewhat neglected this corner. However, I daresay that countless other people will feel that he has neglected their corners, and will be none the less grateful to him for his great book, which is the most life-giving History of Early Greece that I have read.

Calymna has not yet had a book written about it; Leros has (Λεριακὰ, ὑπὸ Διον. Ι. Οἰκονομοπούλου 1888). I may take this opportunity of stating that the plan of a so-called φρυκτώριον or beacon at Parthéni in the late Mr. Oeconomopoulos' book is quite fanciful. There is no temple in antis, as his plan gives. There is a tower and there are some remains of an outer wall—at some distance from the tower. His book is a very interesting book, and I was sorry not to be able to verify his plan. I made a copy of an inscription which he first published, and as it is of some interest and perhaps not generally known I give it here in cursive. The stone was found on an eminence near the sea at Parthéni. The exact site was pointed out to me. There are certain medieval ruins there, but nothing such as a church to indicate that this was the site of the temple of the Lerian Artemis Parthenos. This site still has to be found. The stone is now in the town-house of Leros.

Ἐπὶ Στεφανηφόρου Σωσιστράτου | μηνὸς Μεταγειτνιῶνος εἰκάδι· | ἔδοξε Λερίων τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν | ἐν Λέρῳ· Μενεκράτης Ἐπιγόνου, | Ἡράκλειτος Τιμέου, Φιλιστείδη[ς] | Ἀριστοβούλου εἶπαν· ἐπειδὴ | Ἀριστόμαχος Δρόμωνος κατο[ι|κ]ῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἐκ πλείονος χρό|[νο]υ τήν τε ἀναστροφὴν πεποίη|ται μετὰ πάσης εὐταξίας, ἐργα|ζόμενός τε τὴν κατὰ θάλασσαν | ἐργασίαν εὔχρηστον, ἑαυτὸν πα|ρέχεται πρὸς πάντων ὧν ἄν τι[ς] | χρήαν ἔχων τυνχάνῃ· ὅπως οὖν κα[ὶ] | ὁ δῆμος φαίνηται χάριν καὶ τιμὴ[ν] | ἀπονέμων τοῖς τοιούτοις, δεδό|χθαι Λερίοις τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ἐν | Λέρω Ἀριστόμαχον μὲν ἐπηνῆσ|θαι καὶ εἶναι ἐν ἐπιμελείᾳ παρὰ τῷ | πλήθ[ει]· δεδόσθαι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἱ[ε]ρῶν μετουσίαν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν | πάντων ὧν καὶ Λερίοις μέτεστιν· | ἵνα δὲ φανερὰ διαμένῃ ἥ τε Ἀρισ|τομάχου προαίρεσις καὶ ἡ τ[οῦ] | δήμου εὐχαριστία, τὸ ψήφισμ[α] | τόδε ἀναγράψαι εἰς στήλην [λι]- | θίνην καὶ ἀναθεῖναι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ | τῆς Παρθένου, τὸ δε ἐσόμενον | εἰς ταῦτα ἀνάλωμα ὑπηρετῆσ[αι] | τοὺς χρυσονόμους καὶ ἐνγράφ[εσ]θαι | εἰς τὸν λόγον, τὸν δὲ γραμματέ|α παραλαβόντα τόδε <τὸ> ψήφισμα ἀ|ναγράψαι εἰς τὰ δημόσια καὶ δια|φυλάσ<σ>ειν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων γραμμάτων.

The *κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐργασία* suggests some

connexion with the present 'thalattocracy' of Leros, which is the only one of these islands that possesses big ships. Its beautiful harbour of Parthéni must always have made it an important naval station. Calymna has only one secure port at Vathi, and this is very small indeed, so it does not possess ships which are too big to be pulled up on the beach—or rather did not, for now it has a pier and quay and is getting on in the world. When the sponge-fishing industry, which now absorbs all the energy and capital of Calymna and Symi, began, I do not know. At present it has tended to bring these islands into close and direct intercourse with Europe, while Leros is somewhat turned away from Europe and looks to Alexandria. However, since Alexandria is very European and comparatively near Leros, Leros has become, externally at least, more European than Calymna. It would not be wise to say more, as I should trespass into politics. Our farewell to Leros *in ancient history* is, I fancy, the inscription I have quoted; our farewell to Calymna is Dio's oration to the Rhodians, in which he speaks of the Calymnians and Caunians in like terms and with extreme contempt. The Caunians are now reduced to a few fever-stricken peasants, while the Calymnians are far more full of life than the Rhodians, to whom Dio cited them as outsiders.

There is such a tendency on our part to trace fancied survivals (as in the case of this inscription and the present sea-power of Leros) that it is, I think, wise to call attention to such revolutions of history.

W. R. PATON.

CALYMNOS,
July 2, 1894.

Numismatic Chronicle. Part i. 1894.

Warwick Wroth. 'Greek coins acquired by the British Museum in 1893' (with Plate). A table is given showing the number of coins acquired during the years 1887—1893, the total amounting to 2,384 specimens. The number acquired during 1893 was 403 among which the following may be noticed. *Hebrytelmis* or *Hebryzelmis*, King of the Odrysae, B.C. 386-5. A unique coin (in bronze) of this ruler who was only previously known from an inscription found on the Acropolis of Athens and published by Lolling in 1889 (cp. A. Hoeck, *Hermes*, xxvi. 1891, p. 453 ff.). The coin reads ΕΒΡΥΣΕΛΜΙΟΣ. *Messalina.* An unpublished double-denarius, struck at Corinth (?), with a portrait of Messalina (rare on coins) and figures of Octavia, Britannicus, Antonia, *Pheneus in Arcadia.* A fine didrachm showing on the reverse Hermes carrying the young Arcas. *Adramyteum in Mysia.* An unpublished silver coin in value $\frac{1}{8}$ of a cistophorus of the Province of Asia. *Lampsacus.* A fine gold stater with a youthful head winged and wreathed with myrtle. Probably Eros. *Pergamum.* Remarks on the occurrence of θεολόγος on coins and in inscriptions. *Myrina.* Two very rare drachms corresponding in type to the well-known tetradrachms with the type of the Apollo of Grynium. *Phocaea.* An archaic electrum stater struck B.C. 602—560, the period when the Phocaeans were supreme at sea. This stater has hitherto been only known from a specimen in the Munich Collection. *Titiopolis* (Isauria). A bronze coin of Commodus dated 'year 3.' Rare coins, of Titiopolis, of Hadrian, and of Caracalla and Geta have been previously published (cp. Waddington, *Rev. Num.* 1883, p. 37 f.; Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* p. 366). Review by B. V. Head of C. F. Lehmann's 'Das altbabylonische Maas- und Gewichts-system.'

Numismatische Zeitschrift. (Vienna, 1894.) Vol. xxv. Part 2. July—Dec. 1893.

O. Voetter. 'Die römischen Münzen des Kaisers Gordianus III. und deren antiken Fälschungen.' Th. Rohde. 'Silber-Antoniniane der römischen Kaiserin Sulpicia Dryantilla.'

Revue Numismatique. Part 4, 1893.

Blanchet. 'Monnaies grecques inédites ou peu connues.' Coins in the collection of Prince P. de Saxe-Cobourg.

Part 1, 1894.

Th. Reinach. 'La date de Pheidon.' Reinach calls in question two statements of Aristotle: (i) that Pheidon struck coins in the island of Aegina, (ii) that the iron ὀβελίσκοι dedicated by Pheidon in the temple of the Argive Hera were deposited by him, at the time when he introduced a coinage into Argolis, as primitive and disused media of exchange. Reinach accepts the dedication of the ὀβελίσκοι as a fact, but supposes them to have been *standard weights* and not primitive substitutes for coinage. Pheidon was inaugurating a system of weights and not a system of coinage. He had thus nothing directly to do with the invention of coinage and cannot have lived later than *circ.* B.C. 650 when the coinage of Aegina first appeared. The Aeginetan coins are struck on the Pheidonian system, and if we suppose that it took about a century for that weight-system to be applied to coinage, the date of Pheidon will be fixed *circ.* B.C. 748, which is the date recorded by Pausanias (vi. 22, 2). J. A. Blanchet. 'Tétradrachme archaïque de Syracuse.' A tetradrachm in the collection of Mme. A. Hartmann, remarkable for having an incuse square, without type, on the reverse. Is the genuineness of this specimen beyond all question? The absence of any similar coins in Sicily and the peculiarly *Macedonian* character of the reverse raise in my mind the suspicion that the piece may be a product of a modern school of forgers who especially affect the ancient money of Macedonia and Thrace. M. Blanchet has however the advantage of having seen the original coin. H. De la Tour. 'Monnaies gauloises recueillies dans la forêt de Compiègne.' Memoir of W. H. Waddington, by E. Babelon.

Part 2, 1894.

E. Babelon. 'Études sur les monnaies primitives d'Asie mineure.' I. Trouvaille de Samos. On a find recently made in the island of Samos of archaic electrum coins of Euboic weight. This find is important as suggesting the attribution of the coins. Babelon believes them all to be of Samos itself, though some similar pieces have been previously classed to Chalcis in Euboea. Babelon comments on the historical relations between Samos and Chalcis in early times and suggests that Euboea received the

'Euboic' standard from Samos, a standard that would be more properly called the 'Samian.' W. M. Ramsay. 'Colonia Niniva ou Ninica?' Prof. Ramsay arrives at the important conclusion—as M. Waddington had done independently—that all the coins hitherto assigned to Nineveh in Assyria are wrongly ascribed. The evidence for the existence of a Roman colony (the supposed 'Niviva Claudiopolis') at Nineveh thus falls to the ground. The coins belong to 'Colonia Julia Augusta Felix Ninica Claudiopolis,' a Cilician town which, Ramsay supposes, may be identical with Juliosebaste. Other coins reading ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ are assigned to Claudiopolis (*Mut*) on the road from Laranda to Celenderis.

WARWICK WROTH.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Jahresberichte des Philologischen Vereins zu Berlin. Sept.—Dec. 1893.

CAESAR AND HIS CONTINUATORS, by R. Schneider.

I. Editions. *C. Julii Caesaris comment. de bello Gallico*, by J. Prammer. 4th ed., Leipzig 1891. Has a new appendix on the Roman military system. *C. Julii Caesaris bell. Gall. lib. VII. und A. Hirtii lib. VIII.*, by A. Doberenz. 9th ed. by B. Dinter, Leipzig 1892. Quite brought up to date. *C. Julii Caesaris comment. de bello civili*, ed. R. Novák. Pragae 1893. On the whole founded on Paul's edition. Jules César, *Commentaires sur la guerre des Gaules*, by M. E. Benoist and M. S. Dossen. Paris 1893. Benoist's name is merely a bait for buyers as he had nothing to do with it. Has no scientific worth.

II. Manuscripts and text-criticism. A Polaschek, *Vielhaberi in libros Pseudocaesarianos adnotationes criticae.* Zeitschr. f. d. öst. Gymn. 1891. Contains V.'s remarks on the Bell. Alexandrinum. A. Polaschek, *Der Caesarcodex Vindobonensis* 95. Zeitschr. f. d. öst. Gymn. 1892. Contains the variants of V. for the Bell. Hispaniense. E. Gruppe, N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1892. A list of passages in B. G. alleged to be interpolations. G. Karo, Rh. Mus. 1893. Gives three readings in B. C. i. from Cod. Laur. Ashburnhamensis 33. Various conjectures, emendations and interpretations are given by the following: On Bell. Gall. H. Schiller (Bl. f. d. bayer. GSW. xxvii. 294, 618), J. Lange (N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1891 pp. 199, 508: 1892 p. 595), J. Schmidt (Wien. Stud. xiii. 326), A. Polaschek (Zeitschr. f. d. öst. Gymn. 1890 p. 396), E. Dittrich (N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1892 p. 132), F. Weck (N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1891 p. 205), and Deiter (N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1891 p. 736): On Bell. Civ. H. Schiller (Bl. f. d. bayer. GSW. xxvii. 284 and xxviii. 292), A. Polaschek (Zeitschr. f. d. öst. Gymn. 1891 p. 989), K. P. Schulze (Progr. Berlin 1893), and D. May (N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1891 p. 508): On Bell. Afr. Funk (Philol. 1890 p. 673).

III. The authors of the continuations. T. Widmann, *Über den Verfasser des bell. Afr. und die Polliohypothese Landgrafs.* Philol. 1891. Concludes (1) the composer is a member of the 5th legion, (2) Pollio stands in no connexion with the 5th legion, (3) there is no probability that P. was present as an eye-witness to all the campaign, which was the case with the composer. H. Mölken, *In commentarium de bello Africano quaestiones criticae.* Diss. Strassburg 1892. Against Landgraf. Wölfflin's overvalued Leidensis is untrustworthy. About 90 places are discussed where W. has found interpolations. J. Zingerle, *Zur Frage nach der Autorschaft des bell. Alexandr. und dessen Stellung im Corpus Caesarianum.* Wien. Stud. xiv. Seeks to show that Caesar's genuine work reaches to bell. Alex. c. 21. H. Schiller, *Die Cäsarausgabe des Hirtius.* Philol. 1892. Considers that the question of authorship must be determined by the supplements themselves rather than by the literary evidence of Hirtius and Suetonius.

IV. The Rhine-bridge. Fr. Hermes, *Zu Cäsars Rheinbrücke.* Gymnasium x. On iv. 17, 6 *quantum eorum tignorum junctura distabat*, which has given occasion to Hubo, *noch einmal Cäsars Rheinbrücke*, Gymn. x. on *sublicae*, and Hubo, *Zu Cäsars Rheinbrücke*, N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1892.

V. Geography and topography. E. Desjardins, *Géographie de la Gaule Romaine.* Vol. iv. Paris 1893. On the network of roads and the sources of the topography. Concluded after D.'s death by Longnon. A standard work on the subject. Stoffel, *Guerre de César et d'Arioviste et premières opérations de César en l'an* 702. Paris 1890. Shows more clearly than any one has yet done the site of the battle at the foot of the Vosges. It needs no further investigation.

VI. On the military system. Stoffel, *Remarques sur l'ouvrage intitulé: das Kriegswesen Cäsars par M. Franz Fröhlich.* Rev. de Phil. 1891. While recognizing the diligence and care of Fröhlich, Stoffel misses the military knowledge, which is indispensable. F. Giesing, *Beiträge zur römischen Taktik.* N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1892. Divides the cohort-legion into three classes, viz. *primi, priores, posteriores.* R. Schneider, *Legion und Phalanx.* Berlin 1893. A historical account of ancient and modern tactics.

VII. Smaller articles of various contents. H. d'Artois de Jubainville, *Les noms gaulois chez César et Hirtius de bello Gallico.* Paris 1891. O. E. Schmidt, *Der Ausbruch des Bürgerkrieges im Jahre* 49 *v. Chr.* Rh. Mus. 1892. Tries to show that even in the stormy time of transition to Caesarism the old constitutional forms played a larger part than is generally suspected. O. Sumpff, *Cäsars Beurteilung seiner Offiziere in den Kommentarien vom gallischen Kriege.* Progr. Quedlinburg 1892. C. deliberately disparages the merit of his officers. F. Cramer, *Cäsar und seine Zeit bis zum Beginn des Gallischen Krieges.* Progr. Mülheim a. Rh. 1890. A good sketch of C.'s life to B.C. 58. F. Cramer, *Kriegswesen und Geographie zur Zeit Cäsars.* Progr. Mülheim a. Rh. 1892. The military part is inadequate, the geographical well done. Plochmann, *Cäsars Sprachgebrauch in Bezug auf die Syntax der Casus.* Progr. Schweinfurt 1891. Without special value. S. Elias, *Vor- und Gleichzeitigkeit bei Cäsar I. Bedingungs- und Folgesätze.* Progr. Berlin 1893.

VIII. Lexicons. H. Meusel, *Lexicon Caesarianum.* Vol. ii. Berlin 1893. A masterpiece of lexicography, and at the same time a complete critical edition of the text. O. Eichert, *Schulwörterbuch zu den Komment. vom Gallischen Kriege.* 7th edition. Breslau 1891. H. Ebeling, *Schulwörterbuch*

zu Cäsar. 4th ed. by R. Schneider. Leipzig 1892.

Finally comes appendix *Das Marschgepäck der Legionare* in which the works of Rüstow, Fröhlich and Stoffel are noticed. The writer agrees with S. in saying that the legionary carried food for one or two days as a rule. Comparisons are also drawn with modern armies.

HERODOTUS, by H. Kallenberg.

I. Editions. *Herodotos*, by J. Sitzler. Book vii. 2nd ed. Gotha 1892. The text thoroughly revised and mostly improved. *Herodotos*, by K. Abicht, vol. v. books viii., ix. with two maps. 4th ed. Leipzig 1892. *Herodotus*, books v., vi. by E. Abbott. Oxford 1893. Stein's text followed. The chief value lies in the historical excursuses. *Herodotos* by H. Stein, vol. ii., part i., book iii., 4th ed. and vol. v. books viii. ix., 4th ed. Berlin 1893. The whole has been gone over again. Stein's opinion is that H. has not put the finishing touches to his work.

II. Dissertations and smaller contributions. Sagaue, δέ *im Nachsatz bei Herodot.* Breslau 1893. A completion and correction of Gomperz's paper (Sitzungsber. der phil. hist Kl. der Akad. der Wissensch. zu Wien. 1883, pp. 543-553). A. W. Förstemann, *De vocabulis quae videntur esse apud Herodotum poeticis.* Diss. Magdeburg 1892. Words common to Herodotus and Homer are not necessarily poetical but merely Ionic. F. Krapp, *Der substantivierte Infinitiv abhängig von Präpositionen und Präpositionsadverbien in der historischen Gräcität* (*Herodot bis Zosimus*). Diss. Heidelberg 1892. A careful statistical account. This form of the articular infin. begins with H. (9 cases), reaches its highest point in Polyb., then declines but revives again in Herodian and Zosimus. Lell, *Der absolute Akkusativ im Griechischen bis zu Aristoteles.* Progr. Würzburg 1892. Devotes two pages to Herodotus. A. von Domaszewski, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Perserkriege* Heidelberg 1891. I. The panhellenic confederation on the Delphian serpent-column. II. The return of the Persian fleet after Salamis. H. Welzhofer, *Der Kriegszug des Datis und die Schlacht bei Marathon.* Hist. Taschenbuch 1892, and *Zur Geschichte der Perserkriege III.—VII.* Neue Jahrb. Vol. 145. Maintains that Darius and Xerxes had a respect for Greece and that a feeling of opposition between these two branches of the Aryan stock was not in existence at that time, but, says rev., there is nothing to show that the Persians looked on the Greeks as nearer to them than the Semites or Egyptians. N. Wecklein, *Themistokles und die Seeschlacht bei Salamis.* München 1892. Warns us against Duncker's method of combining the account of H. with that of later historians who either expand or even pervert him. R. Neumann, *Nordafrika* (*mit Ausschluss des Nilgebietes*) *nach Herodot.* Leipzig 1892. A book of the same kind as Hugues' L'Africa secondo Erodoto [*Cl. Rev.* vii. 233], but N. deals with plants, animals and men as well as with topography. J. Krall, *Zu Herodot.* Eranos Vindob. pp. 283, 284. On ii. iii. J. E. B. Mayor, *Journ. Phil.* xxi. Compares *Her.* ii. 121 with the Passion of Theodotus c. 31—34. A. Weiske, *Zu Herodot.* N. Jahrb. vol. 145. Justifies the delay of the Spartans before Marathon (*Her.* vi. 106). H. Kostlin, *Isagoras und Kleisthenes.* Philol. N. F. v. On *Her.* v. 66, vi. 131. See also for Herodotus the important third vol. of K. Müllenhoff's *Deutscher Altertumskunde.* Berlin 1892.

Appendix. K. Abicht, *Uebersicht über den Dialekt des Herodotos.* 4th ed. Leipzig 1893. Practically the same as that contained in the introduction to vol. i. of his edition. *Herodotos*, by K. Abicht. Vol. iv. Book vii. with two maps. 4th ed. Leipzig 1893. Very little altered. H. Welzhofer, *Die Schlacht bei Salamis.* Hist. Taschenbuch 1892. Tries to depreciate the glory of the Greeks and to raise that of their enemies.

This year's Jahresbericht concludes with an essay by W. Nitsche on 'Old Interpolations in Plato's Apology.' He finds these in c. 10, the beginning of c. 22; and the end of c. 27, and the foundation of his view is found in c. 30. The interpolations are attributed to one who was a well-wisher neither to Plato nor Socrates, a man of their time who had access to the archetype of our MSS., in short to Aristoxenos the Musician.

R. C. S.

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

FOREIGN BOOKS.

Abhandlungen des archaeologisch-epigrafischen Seminares der Universität Wien, herausgegeben von O. Benndorf und E. Bormann. XI. Heft. 8vo. 151 pp. 55 engravings. Wien, Holder. 5 Mk.

[Contains: Ueber homerische Waffen, archaeologische Untersuchungen von W. Reichel.]

Aeschylus. Scholia in Aeschyli Persas, rec., apparatu critico instruxit, cum praefatione de archetypo codicum Aeschyli scripta ed. O. Dähnhardt. 8vo. lxvi, 275 pp. Leipzig, Teubner. 3 Mk. 60.

Aesop. Hausrath (Dr. Aug.) Untersuchungen zur Ueberlieferung der Aesopischen Fabeln. 8vo. 68 pp. Leipzig, Teubner. 2 Mk.

[Aus Jahrbücher für classische Philologie. 21 Suppl. Bd.]

Anthologia graeca. Sakolowski (P.) De anthologia palatina quaestiones. 8vo. vi, 81 pp. Leipzig, Gräfe. 1 Mk. 60.

Berger (Dr. C. P. jr.) Neue Forschungen zur älteren Geschichte Roms. I. Die Bildung des grossen römisch-latinischen Bundesstaates (358 | 396—342 | 412). 8vo. 48 pp. 1 coloured map. Amsterdam, J. Müller. 2 Mk. 25.

Carminum Saliarium reliquiae, ed. B. Maurenbrecher. 8vo. 42 pp. Leipzig, Teubner. 1 Mk.

[Aus Jahrbücher für classische Philologie. 21 Suppl. Bd.]

Cassius Dio. Maisel (Dr. H.) Beiträge zur Würdigung der Handschriften des Cassius Dio. 8vo. 35 pp. Leipzig, Fock. 1 Mk. 50.

Coelius. Lettres à Cicéron (VIIIe libre des Lettres familières). Texte latin, publié avec un commentaire critique et explicatif et une traduction par F. Antoine. 8vo. 189 pp. Paris.

Compte-rendu de la commission impériale archéologique pour les années 1882—1888. Imperial 4to. iv, cccxxxv, 97 pp. Engravings. 2 plates. With

Atlas in Imperial Folio. 6 plates. St. Petersburgh. 16 Mk.

Curtius (Ernst.) Gesammelte Abhandlungen. Bd. II. 8vo. xii, 562 pp. 15 engravings, and 9 plates. Berlin, Besser. 12 Mk.

Démosthène. Sept philippiques, publiées avec une introduction, des notices, un commentaire, des notes critiques et un index archéologique par Ch. Baron. 12mo. 399 pp. Paris, Colin.

Dörpfeld (W.) Troja 1893. Bericht über die im Jahre 1893 in Troja veranstalteten Ausgrabungen. Unter Mitwirkung von A. Brueckner, Max Weigel und Wilh. Wilberg. 8vo. v, 140 pp. 83 engravings. 2 coloured maps. Leipzig, Brockhaus. 5 Mk.

Eck (T.) Saint-Quentin dans l'antiquité et au moyen âge, récit relatant les intéressantes découvertes faites dans cette ville en 1892 et 1893, suivi d'une notice sur une trouvaille de monnaies romaines faite a Fontaine Uterte. 8vo. 51 pp. Paris.

Ferrette (Jul.) Ulysses Panhellen, poema heroicum, graecas radices universas, ut 3150 censas, jucundissime discendas in versibus 617 continens. Omnium gratia graecae linguae studiosorum Myrandum Gyrodi perfecit J. F. Ed. II. 8vo. xii, 94 pp. Genf, Stapelmohr. 1 Mk. 60.

Förstemann (Albr.) Zur Geschichte des Aeneasmythus. Litterargeschichtliche Studien. 8vo. 104 pp. Magdeburg, Creutz. 2 Mk. 80.

Frericks (Dr. Herm.) Der Apoll von Belvedere. Eine archaeologische Studie. 8vo. 79 pp. Paderborn, Schöningh. 1 Mk. 60.

Galeni (Claudii) protreptici quae supersunt. Ed. G. Kaibel. 8vo. ix, 62 pp. Berlin, Weidmann. 2 Mk.

Geist (Dr. Herm.) Was bieten die antiken Schriftsteller der modernen Jugend? Pt. I. Die Historiker. 8vo. 153 pp. Posen, Ebbecke. 2 Mk. 50.

Gellius. Hertz (M.) Supplementum apparatus Gelliani. 8vo. 48 pp. Leipzig, Teubner. 1 Mk. 40.

[Aus Jahrbücher für classische Philologie. 21. Suppl. Bd.]

Glene (Dr. Herm.) De homicidarum in areopago Atheniensi iudicio. 8vo. 52 pp. Göttingen, Dieterich's Verlag. 1 Mk.

Grabreliefs, Die attischen, herausgegeben im Auftrage der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien. 6 Lfg. Royal Folio. pp. 131—170, engravings and 25 plates. Berlin, Spemann. 60 Mk.

Haas (Dr. G. E.) Der Geist der Antike. Eine Studie. 8vo. xvi, 575 pp. Graz, Moser. 6 Mk.

Handbuch der klassischen Alterthumswissenschaft, herausgegeben von Dr. Iwan von Müller. 6. Bd. 2. Thl. (19. Halbband.) 8vo. München, Beck. 5 Mk. 50.

[Contains: Klassische Kunstarchaeologie von Dr. K. Sittl. (2 Thl. 305—624 pp.)]

Héron d'Alexandrie. Longraire (L. de.) Notice bibliographique sur la traduction des Mécaniques de Héron d'Alexandrie de M. le Baron Carra de Vaux. 8vo. 28 pp., engravings. Paris.

Horatius. Friedrich (Gust.) Q. Horatius Flaccus. Philologische Untersuchungen. 8vo. vi, 232 pp. Leipzig, Teubner. 6 Mk.

Jamblichi in Nicomachi arithmeticam introductionem liber, ad fidem codicis Florentimi ed. H. Pistelli. 8vo. ix, 195 pp. Leipzig, Teubner. 2 Mk. 40.

Kiepert (Heinr.) Formae orbis antiqui. 36 maps. Mit kritischem Text und Quellenangaben zu jeder Karte. Lfg. I. (6 maps and 26 pp. of letterpress.) Berlin, D. Reimer. 4 Mk. 80.

Lanciani (Rud.) Forma urbis Romae. Consilio et auctoritate regiae academiae Lynceorum formam dimensus est et ad modulum 1 : 1000 delineavit R. L. Part II. (6 maps à 57×87 ctm.) Milan, Hoepli. 20 Mk.

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DESCRIPTIVE ANIMAL NAMES IN GREECE.

COMMENTATORS on Hesiod have noted certain quaint, picturesque phrases, occurring chiefly in the *Works and Days*, as evidence of a so-called 'oracular or religious style.'[1] Göttling, for example, remarks:[2] 'magnam Hesiodi carmina familiaritatem produnt cum Pythiorum sacerdotum oraculis eorumque toto loquendi modo,' and as instances of this Delphian dialect cites the following words: φερέοικος (*W. and D.* 571), ἀνόστεος (524), πέντοζος (742), αὖον and χλωρόν (743), ἴδρις (778), ἡμερόκοιτος ἀνήρ (605), χειροδίκης (189), μῦθοι σκολιοί (194) and δίκαι σκολιαί (221), εὐφρόνη (560), νηὸς πτερά (628), γλαυκή (*Th.* 440). The list is not exhaustive — Van Lennep *e.g.* adds κεραοὶ καὶ νήκεροι ὑληκοῖται (*W. and D.* 529)—but it will serve to indicate the phraseology in question.

That these and similar forms of speech really emanated from Delphi seems to me to be a proposition that has been accepted too readily. The Pythian priestess was indeed wont to use a jargon of obscure and unobvious words, which gave her responses a grandiloquent air not without a seasoning of ambiguity. Plutarch says[3] that Apollo ultimately forbade her to call her fellow-citizens Πυρίκαοι, the Spartans Ὀφιοβόροι, mankind in general Ὀρέανες, rivers Ὀρέμποται, and so forth—ἀφελὼν τῶν χρησμῶν ἔπη καὶ γλώσσας καὶ περιφράσεις καὶ ἀσάφειαν. But the recondite wording of Delphian oracles was only a particular example of that enigmatic and symbolic language which was the common possession of all Greek mystics,[4] and does not on examination bear more than a superficial resemblance to the descriptive style of Hesiod. Nor is there, so far as I am aware, any ancient authority for connecting the two. To take Göttling's list: in no single case do the scholia allude to Delphi, while more than once they definitely assign other localities as the provenance of the phrases in dispute. But if, in view of their testimony, we are unable to regard Hesiod's peculiar terminology as due to Delphian influence, if we cannot go so far as to call it the 'dialectus deorum,' it remains to ask from what source *were* derived those striking expressions which give pause to all who are familiar with the even flow of epic verse. In the present inquiry I propose to limit myself to the animal names, perhaps the most salient of the said expressions; and I shall attempt to show that Hesiod has availed himself of a few graphic provincialisms, which with a poet's instinct he has incorporated in his otherwise conventional vocabulary.

It will probably be admitted that in Greece, as in our own country, descriptive animal names were either (*a*) universally recognized, (*b*) restricted to local usage, or (*c*) poetic neologisms. Just as *wag-tail* or *glow-worm* with us are κύρια ὀνόματα, while *hod-man-dod* (a snail) would be barely intelligible to a Londoner though expressive

[1] Mahaffy, *Greek Classical Literature*, i. 124, n. 2.
[2] Ed. 1843, p. xxix.
[3] *De Pyth. or.* 24.
[4] Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* V. viii. 45–50) affords ample proof of it in the case of Orphic and Pythagorean writers.

enough in Suffolk; so with the Greeks κίλλουρός or πυγόλαμπις would pass current anywhere, while φερέοικος, which Dionysius Thrax understood of the snail and others of the tortoise,[5] meant an insect of some sort to the Arcadians.[6] Again, just as Browning[7] alone is responsible for *sea-fruit* in the sense of anemones or *long-ears* as a synonym for ass, so an Aeschylus or a Sophocles[8] may *jure suo* term the eagle Διὸς πτηνὸς κύων.

But it is with provincial variants that we are more immediately concerned. Further examples are collected by Lobeck;[9] some few of them may be names of distinct species, but the majority are alternative appellations of a local sort. With the help of Hesychius we may enumerate the following. Ἀργίπους[10] was a Macedonian word for an *eagle*. The Athamanes called *fishes* ἀσπάλους,[11] a word possibly connected with ἀσπαίρω. *Grasshoppers* in Elis were βάβακοι, that is 'chatterers'; though in Pontus the same term denoted *frogs*.[12] The Laconians called the *sow* the 'clod-digger,' βωλόρυχα.[13] At Syracuse the *worm* was known as γαφάγας.[14] *Swans* at Elis were δειρῆται.[15] *Kids* fed on straw were called διακαλαμάσαρκες[16] in a Rhodian law. The *ass*, from wagging its ears, was κίλλος[17] among the Dorians; from its stubbornness was μέμνων[18] at Athens—the stallion-ass being μυχλὸς[19] among the Phocians. The Thebans said κωτιλάδας for *swallows*, and ὀρτάλιχον for a *cock*.[20] Λιγάνταρ was a Laconian name for the *grasshopper*,[21] λακέτας[22] and ἀχέτας[23] being Doric equivalents for the same creature. ὀπιτθοτίλα was the Boeotian word for a *cuttle-fish*.[24] ταχίνας meant a *hare*[25] to the Lacedemonians, a *stag*[26] elsewhere. ὕραξ, connected by L. and S. with a Sanskrit root meaning to 'cry,' was Aetolian for a *mouse*.[27] In Macedonia the *lion* was known as 'bright-eyes,' χάρων,[28] a word also used to denote an eagle.[29]

It will be seen that many of these provincial terms are strictly analogous to the animal names of Hesiod. Consequently, I should prefer to regard ἀνόστεος, φερέοικος, ἴδρις, as local names for *cuttle-fish*, *snail*, and *ant*, rather than as terms adopted from the vocabulary of the Delphian oracle. Of course the Delphians, like other Greek communities, had idioms of their own. For instance, when Pindar[30] uses καρταίποδα to denote a *bull*, the scholiast *ad loc.* observes that it was a word peculiar to the inhabitants of Delphi—οὕτως Δελφοὶ ἰδίως τὸν ταῦρον. And it is likely enough that the priestess of Apollo would employ such words for Loxian purposes: thus ἡδύπνουν, an epithet of similar formation, was according to Polemon used by the Pythian to mean *a young lamb*.[31] But to infer that Hesiod's phraseology is necessarily 'oracular or religious' seems to me quite an erroneous limitation.

It would, however, be rash to argue that, because a descriptive animal name was not universally recognized, therefore it must be a provincialism. This would be to leave out of account our third division—poetic innovations—of which examples are not far to seek. Archilochus[32] calls an *eagle* μελάμπυγος, a word with a double reference, but apparently modelled on πύγαργος, which is used by Sophocles[33] and others to denote a further variety of the same bird.[34] Aeschylus writes ἀνθεμουργός for *bee*,[35] λάμπουρις for *fox*,[36] and perhaps μελάγκερως for *bull*.[37] Later poets furnish numerous instances; *e.g.* Theocritus uses μηκάδες[38] for *goats*; Lycophron ἔλλοψ[39] for a *fish*; Nicander βρωμητής[40] or βρωμήτωρ,[41] the *Anthology* ὀγκητής,[42] for an *ass*. Hence it is evident that, in default of express witness to their origin, it is unsafe to conclude that such words were not mere freaks of the poet's fancy. As regards Hesiod, we have it on

[5] *Etym. Mag.* 790, 35 *s.v.* φερέοικος.
[6] Proclus on Hesiod, *W. & D.* 571.
[7] *The Englishman in Italy: A Pillar at Sebzevar.*
[8] Aesch. *P. V.* 1022, *Ag.* 136: Soph. *fr.* 766.
[9] *Aglaophamus*, p. 847 ff.
[10] Hesych. *s.v.*
[11] Idem, *s.v.*
[12] Idem, *s.v.*
[13] Idem, *s.v.*
[14] *Etym. Mag.* 221, 49: *Anecd. Bekk.* i. 230.
[15] Nicander *ap.* Athen. 392A.
[16] Hesych. *s.v.*
[17] Pollux, vii. 56.
[18] Idem, ix. 48.
[19] Hesych. *s.v.*
[20] Strattis *ap.* Athen. 622A.
[21] Hesych. *s.v.*
[22] Ael. *N.A.* 10, 44.
[23] Arist. *Av.* 1095, *Pax* 1159.
[24] Photius, p. 249: Strattis *ap.* Athen. 622A.
[25] Ael. *N.A.* 7, 47.
[26] Hesych. *s.v.* ταχίνης.
[27] Schol. on Nic. *Alex.* 37.
[28] Schol. on Lyc. 455.
[29] Lyc. 260.
[30] *Ol.* xiii. 81.
[31] Hesych. *s.v.*
[32] *Frag.* 110, Bgk.
[33] *Frag.* 931.
[34] *Etym. Mag.* 695, 50.
[35] *Pers.* 604.
[36] *Frag.* 397: cp. Theoc. viii. 65, ὦ Λάμπουρε κύων, and v. 112, τὰς δασυκέρκος ἀλώπεκας.
[37] Schol. on *Ag.* 1118.
[38] Theocr. i. 87, v. 100.
[39] Lyc. 598, 796.
[40] *Ap.* Athen. 683E.
[41] *Ther.* 357.
[42] *Anth. P.* ix. 301, 1.

the authority of Kleitarchos that ἀνόστεος was a Lacedemonian word for *cuttle-fish*,[43] and Dionysius Thrax is cited for the fact that φερέοικος was the name of an Arcadian insect:[44] ἴδρις is unvouched for, but, if analogy goes for anything, should be set down as a third example of provincialism.

It is tempting to pursue the topic further, and to raise the question, Are these descriptive names of animals to be attributed merely to the inborn poetry of rustic wits, or do they possess any deeper significance? In the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xiv. 157, I ventured to suggest that nomenclature of this type is comparable with that of some totem clans, which 'are careful not to speak of their totem by its proper name, but use descriptive epithets instead.'[45] Mr. Frazer apprises me that indirect modes of address are found also where there is no question of totemism, and he has most kindly furnished me with the following cases in point. Natives in Bechuanaland count it unlucky to speak of 'a lion by his name, Tao: he is called *the boy with the beard*.'[46] Monteiro states that the blacks of Angola 'always use the word Ngana or "Sir" when speaking of the lion, as they believe that he is fetish, and would not fail to punish them for their want of respect if they omitted to do so.'[47] Certeux and Carnoy relate that the Arabs call the lion 'Monseigneur Johan-ben-el-Johan,' that is, John son of John.[48] Sumatrans call the tiger by coaxing and euphemistic terms,[49] such as 'ancestor' or 'the free wild beast' or 'the old man.'[50] The same islanders call crocodiles by the honourable title of 'grandfather.'[51] Sayyids and high-class Musalmans affirm that when you see a snake you should call it not by its proper name, but either *sher* (tiger) or *rassí* (string).[52] According to Mateer natives of Travancore 'are careful not to speak disrespectfully of such powerful creatures (as serpents): as the Malayalies of the Shervaray Hills, while hunting the tiger, only speak of it as a dog, so the cobra is called *nalla tambiran*, "the good lord," or *nalla pambu*, "the good snake."'[53] Bourke states that among the Apaches 'only ill-bred Americans or Euro-

[43] Proclus on Hesiod *W. & D.* 524.

[44] Idem *ibid.* 571.

[45] Frazer, *Totemism*, pp. 15–16.

[46] *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xvi. 84.

[47] *Angola and the River Congo*, ii. 116.

[48] *L'Algérie Traditionelle*, i. 172. Prof. A. A. Bevan supplies me with the following note on Arabian appellations.

The *kunya* is the name which Arabian parents derive from one of their children (usually the eldest son), as when a man is called *Abū Mālik* (father of Mālik), a woman *Ummu Mālik* (mother of Mālik), etc.

Among the Arabs it is considered more polite to address a man by his *kunya* than by his real name ('ism') or his nickname ('laḳab'). In the early days of Islam there were people who maintained that only persons of Arabian descent had a right to be called by a *kunya*, that the *Mawālī* ('Clients,' *i.e.* foreigners converted to Islam) did not deserve such an honour. It is worth noticing that the same man migh bear several *kunyas*, and, in particular, warriors sometimes bore one *kunya* in battle and another in time of peace (see Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, Halle 1889—1890, Erster Theil, p. 267). Sometimes a man's *kunya* was derived not from a real but from a fictitious son; thus for example the poet Abū Nuwās (who died early in the ninth century after Christ) says in describing a conversation with a Jewish tavern-keeper—

'We said to him, What is your name? and he answered, Samuel—but I bear the *kunya* Abū 'Amr (father of 'Amr), although no 'Amr exists.'

A *kunya* may also be given to inanimate objects, *e.g.* a battle-field is called *Ummu ḳasṭal*, 'mother of dust,' the Red Sea is called *Abū Khālid*, 'father of Khālid' (Khālid being a common name), etc.

The following *kunyas* are applied to animals—

1. Abū Ayyūb (father of Job) = the camel.
2. Abu-l-ḥusain (father of the little fortress) = the fox.
3. Abu-l-Ḥārith = the lion.
4. Abū Ja'da = the wolf.
5. Abū Jukhādib = a kind of locust.
6. Abū barākish (father of spots) = a kind of wild bird.
7. Ummu 'Āmir (mother of 'Āmir) = the hyaena.

In some of these cases the selection of the name has an obvious reason, but in others it is altogether obscure. Names like Al-Ḥārith and 'Āmir were extremely common among the Arabs, and it is therefore by no means *certain* that in calling the lion 'father of Al-Ḥārith' and the hyaena 'mother of 'Āmir' the Arabs were guided by the etymological meaning of the name, for in proportion to the commonness of a name its original sense ceases to be thought of.

The poet Ash-Shanfarā, of the sixth century of our era, predicting that he will be slain in battle, says to his unfriendly fellow-tribesmen:—

'Do not bury me, for that is a thing forbidden to you, but receive the glad tidings, O mother of 'Āmir!'—*i.e.* he prefers to be devoured by the hyaena rather than to be buried by his tribe. The scholiast on this verse tells us that 'it is the custom in hunting the hyaena to dig out her hole, she meanwhile retreating little by little, and the hunter saying, 'Mother of 'Āmir, she is not here, receive the glad tidings, Mother of 'Āmir, concerning lean sheep and locusts clinging together!' So the hunter continues to dig, repeating these words, and the hyaena retreats until she reaches the bottom of her hole, when she rushes out with fury' (see the *Ḥamāsa of Abū Tammām*, ed. Freytag, p. 242 of the Arabic text, p. 431 of the 1st vol. of the Latin translation).

[49] Marsden, *Hist. of Sumatra*, p. 292.

[50] Bastian, *Die Völker des östlichen Asien*, v. p. 51.

[51] Nieuwenhuisen en Rosenberg, *Het eiland Nias*, p. 115.

[52] Panjab *Notes and Queries*, i. no. 122.

[53] *Native Life in Travancore*, p 320 f.

peans, who have never had any "raising," would think of speaking of the bear, the snake, the lightning, or the mule, without employing the reverential prefix "Ostin," meaning "old man," and equivalent to the Roman title Senator.'[54] Leemius[55] says of the Lapps of Finmark: 'ursum proprio et genuino suo nomine *Gnouzhja* compellare non facile audebant, metuentes, ne, si fecerint, immanis belua solito crudelius armenta dilaniaret; vero itaque suppresso nomine, *Moedda-Aigja*, senem cum mastruca, appellare solebant.' Similarly Miss Stokes[56] says: 'The Laplander speaks of the bear as "the old man with the fur coat": in Annam the tiger is called "grandfather" or "lord." The Finnish hunters called the bear "the apple of the forest," "the beautiful honey-claw," "the pride of the thicket."' Among the Wotjaks the bear is termed the 'uncle of the wood.'[57] The Esthonians call the bear 'broad-foot,' the wolf 'grey-coat,' thinking that if thus addressed they will be inclined to clemency.[58] Gubernatis states that a girl in an Esthonian tale accosts a crow, whose help she needs, as 'bird of light.'[59] Swedish traditions enumerate certain creatures that are not to be mentioned by their own but by euphemistic names for fear of incurring their wrath.[60] Even in the Shetlands, fishermen, when at sea, will not mention the salmon directly, nor yet certain other objects such as the pig, the cat, the minister, but use some circumlocution to escape the ill-omened words.[61]

In the foregoing examples of this widespread practice the country folk avoid the risk of offending the animal by using some periphrasis of a deferential sort in lieu of the actual name. This periphrasis may take the form of a descriptive title—'the boy with the beard,' 'broad-foot,' or 'grey-coat.' And it is, I think, possible that similar animal names in vogue among the Greeks are to be accounted for by some such underlying superstition. At any rate the parallelism is sufficiently striking; and the euphemistic evasion of the direct name is quite in the Greek spirit. To the stock instances should be added Μακρόβιοι, which, Hesychius informs us, was the Rhodian name for the nymphs. Rennell Rodd in his volume on *The Customs and Lore of Modern Greece* remarks (p. 188) that the vampire in Crete and Rhodes is known as Καταχανὰς the Destroyer, in Tenos as Ἀνακαθούμενος the Snatcher, in Cyprus as Σαρκομένος the Flesh-eater: similarly (p. 202) the devil is 'not to be named save indirectly, or under some euphemistic title such as ὁ πλανήτης the Wanderer, ὁ ἀμελέητος the Unmentionable, ὁ μαῦρος the Black one, ὁ καλὸς ἄνθρωπος the Good man, or even—as in Rhodes and elsewhere—ὁ ἐξ ἀπὸ 'δῶ, which may be interpreted, the Get-thee-behind-me.' An extreme case is the modern Greek for the small-pox (*ibid.* p. 135), viz. Εὐλογία, 'she that must be named with respect.'

But if we cannot affirm that the animal names used by the Greek peasantry are to be considered the outcome of primitive superstition, there is at least one case (hitherto, I believe, overlooked) in which a descriptive title seems to be associated with an animal cult—I refer to the name Μελάμπους, *Black-foot.* The similarity of this word to many of the formations already noticed will be at once perceived. Μέλας is an obvious element in the compound, occurring also in μελαγκόρυφος, *the black-cap;* μελάμπυγος, *the eagle;* μελανάετος, *the black eagle;* μελάνδειρος, *the redstart;* μελάνουρος, *the black-tail* (fish or snake), &c. And as examples of animals named from some peculiarity attaching to their feet we have δασύπους, εἰλίποδες, ἑλλόποδες, ἐρυθρόπους, πολύπους, for generic terms; Πόδαργος, the horse, Ποδάργη, the equine harpy, and the Ἵππος Βροτόπους of the Nikaians,[62] for particular specimens.[63] On Greek moneys, too, the foot sometimes stands for the entire creature. The device of Kranion in Kephallenia was a ram; for this some coins substitute a ram's head, the foreparts of a ram, or a ram's foot.[64] Again, the currency of Psophis, which usually bears a stag or the foreparts of a stag, in one case shows on the reverse a stag's hoof.[65] But, granted that the word μελάμπους, so far as its mere formation goes, may be ranked with the Esthonian 'broad-foot' or the Greek ἀργίπους, ἐρυθρόπους, as an animal name, is there any proof that the mythical Μελάμπους, the seer

[54] *On the Border with Crook*, p. 132.
[55] *De Lapponibus Commentatio*, p. 502.
[56] *Indian Fairy Tales*, p. 260.
[57] Max Buch, *Die Wotjäken*, p. 139.
[58] Böcler-Kreutzwald, *Der Ehsten abergläubische Gebräuche.*
[59] *Zoological Mythology*, i. 151.
[60] Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, ii. 83.
[61] A. Edmonston, *Zetland Islands*, ii. 74.
[62] Mionnet, *Médailles Antiques*, Suppl. vol. v. Pl. I. p. 148.
[63] Cp. Jean Ingelow's, 'Come up *White-foot*, Come up *Light-foot.*'
[64] Brit. Mus. *Cat. of Gr. Coins; Peloponnesus*, Pl. XVI. 16, 24, 25: pp. 78, 80.
[65] *Ibid.* Pl. XXXVI. 20; p. 198, where the design is described with a ?

of the *Odyssey*, stood in close relation to an animal that might be so described?

In the first place we recall the legend that Melampus was acquainted with the language of animals.[66] Then, he cured the daughters of King Proetus of their animal mania. And he possessed the power of transforming himself into various shapes.[67] These fables suffice to connect him with the animal world in general, but more exact references are not wanting. The fact that he was worshipped as patron deity at Αἰγόσθενα suggests that the animal with which he was especially associated was the *goat*. The suggestion is supported by an imperial coin of Aegosthena, which represents an infant suckled by a goat.[68] On this Prof. Percy Gardner comments:[69] 'I am not aware that there is any record of the existence of a tradition that Melampus was suckled by a she-goat; but nothing is more likely. Such stories were told of highly-gifted men, and it is fairly certain that the type of the coin must refer to a noted native of Aegosthena, and so to Melampus, who was its only remarkable man.' Further support is given by Pliny, xxv. 47 (ed. Sillig), who writes: 'Melampodis fama divinationis artibus nota est; ab hoc appellatur unum hellebori genus Melampodion. Aliqui pastorem eodem nomine invenisse tradunt *capras* purgari pasto illo animadvertentem datoque lacte sanasse Proetidas furentis, quam ob rem de omnibus eius generibus dici simul convenit.' Mr. R. Carr Bosanquet, who first showed me the passage, observes that this 'shepherd of the same name' must be identical with the mythical Melampus, inasmuch as Pliny attributes to the former the cure of the Proetides which is commonly credited to the latter. Here, then, we have evidence on the one hand that Melampus was suckled by a goat, on the other that he was a goat-herd. When we reflect that he bears a name closely resembling those given by the Greek peasantry to animals, and peculiarly appropriate to a goat, may we not infer that in primitive times he was himself conceived as a sacred goat? Other facts tally with this inference. Melampus was said to have introduced to the Greeks the cult of Dionysus. Now the attendants of that deity—Pans, Satyrs, and Sileni—are regularly represented as partially caprine in form, and are sometimes called αἴγες, Pan especially being αἰγιπόδης or τραγόπους.[70] Moreover, Melampus' fame rested largely on his talent for curing madness, and Dionysus was invoked ἐπὶ παύσει τῆς μανίας under the title of Μελάναιγις.[71]

If this explanation of Μελάμπους be admitted, it lends some colour to the view that the descriptive animal names of the Greek provincials owe their origin to some such primitive superstition as has been shown to obtain elsewhere.

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[66] Apollod. I. ix. 11—12.
[67] *Mythogr. Gr.* ed. Westermann, p. 384, 9.
[68] Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 329.
[69] *J.H.S.* vi. 58, with Quarto Plate L, A.

[70] Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, i. 326-8; ii. 34-7.
[71] Suidas *s.v.*

CRITICAL NOTES ON CLEM. AL. *STROM.* III.

Book III.

§ 2, p. 510. (A quotation from Isidorus). ὅταν δὲ ἡ εὐχαριστία σου εἰς αἴτησιν ὑποπέσῃ καὶ στῇς τὸ λοιπὸν οὐ κατορθῶσαι ἀλλὰ μὴ σφαλῆναι, γάμησον. For στῇς read ὑποστῇς, the ὑπὸ having been lost owing to the preceding ὑποπέσῃ. The corruption is as early as Epiphanius, by whom the passage is cited. Just below it is said of one who wishes to strengthen himself in his resolution not to marry οὗτος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μὴ χωριζέσθω, λεγέτω ὅτι Εἰσελήλυθα ἐγὼ εἰς τὰ ἅγια, οὐδὲν δύναμαι παθεῖν. The plural τῶν ἀδελφῶν seems more appropriate.

§ 4, p. 511. οὐ διδάσκει δ' αὐτὴ σωφρονεῖν. Read αὕτη. 'This principle (ἐγκράτεια) not only inculcates, but creates, temperance.'

Ib. ἡμεῖς εὐνουχίαν μὲν—μακαρίζομεν, μονογαμίαν δὲ...θαυμάζομεν, συμπάσχειν δὲ δεῖν λέγοντες καὶ ἀλλήλων τὰ βάρη βαστάζειν. Omit δὲ before δεῖν.

§ 6, p. 512. ἐπεὶ μὴ διακρίνει πλούσιον ἢ πένητα ἢ δήμου ἄρχοντα, ἄφρονάς τε καὶ τοὺς φρονοῦντας, θηλείας ἄρσενας. For ἢ δήμου ἄρχοντα read δῆμον ἢ ἄρχοντα 'common people or ruler.'

Ib. ἥλιος κοινὰς τροφὰς ζῴοις ἅπασιν ἀνατέλλει δικαιοσύνης τε τῆς κοινῆς ἅπασιν ἐπ' ἴσης δοθείσης. Omit τε before τῆς. [I. B. suggests γε.] In the last line of the § Potter's reading δικαιοσύνῃ is confirmed by the phrase κοινωνίαν ὑπὸ δικαιοσύνης which follows in the next §.

§ 7, p. 513. τό τ' ἐμὸν καὶ τὸ σόν φησι διὰ

τῶν νόμων παρεισελθεῖν μηκέτι εἰς κοινότητα, κοινά τε γὰρ καρπουμένων μήτε γῆν μήτε κτήματα. Omit *κοινά τε γὰρ* as a dittography of *εἰς κοινότητα*, which should be taken with *καρπουμένων*.

§ 8, p. 513. (A quotation from Epiphanes). 'Men abandoned the community of women established by the Creator, *καί φησιν, Εἰ μίαν ἀγόμενος ἐχέτω δυναμένων κοινωνεῖν ἁπάντων.*' Sylburg's emendation of ὁ for εἰ is generally accepted: read also εἴχετο for ἐχέτω. It is a statement of fact, not of law. Perhaps εἰ may have originated in a marginal correction of the first syllable of ἐχέτω.

Ib. *πῶς ἔτι οὗτος ἐν τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐξετασθείη λόγῳ;* Insert ἂν after πῶς, 'how could such an one be reckoned as belonging to our doctrine?'

§ 9, p. 514. (Another quotation from Epiphanes). *ἔνθεν ὡς γελοῖον εἰρηκότος τοῦ νομοθέτου ῥῆμα τοῦτο ἀκουστέον 'οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις' πρὸς τὸ γελοιότερον εἰπεῖν 'τῶν τοῦ πλησίον.'* Transfer *ἀκουστέον*, placing it before *εἰπεῖν*, 'after the Lawgiver had uttered the ridiculous word "Thou shalt not desire," we must hear him say still more absurdly "what belongs to thy neighbour."' Perhaps we should read in the preceding line *ἐν αὐτοῦ* (for *αὐτῷ*) *τῷ πολυθρυλήτῳ βιβλίῳ.*

Ib. *τὸ δὲ 'τῆς τοῦ πλησίον γυναικὸς' ἰδιότητα τὴν κοινωνίαν ἀναγκάζων ἔτι γελοιότερον εἶπεν.* Insert *εἰς* after *γυναικός* with Potter.

§ 12, p. 515. The followers of Marcion object to marriage, fighting against the Creator *καὶ σπεύδοντες πρὸς τὸν κεκληκότα ἀγαθὸν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸν ὥς φασι θεὸν ἐν ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ, ὅθεν οὐδὲν ἴδιον καταλιπεῖν ἐνταῦθα βουλόμενοι κ.τ.λ.* Read *οὗτος, ὥς φασι, θεὸς ἐν ἄλλῳ τόπῳ* The Good—thus Marcion distinguished the Supreme God from the Demiurge whom he characterized as Just—who has called his own elect out of the world, does not reign as God here, but in another world, for which reason they do not care to leave anything of their own behind them in this world.

§ 13, p. 516. The philosophers from whom Marcion got his idea *τὴν γένεσιν κακὴν εἶναι* do not hold this to be naturally evil, *ἀλλὰ τῇ ψυχῇ τῇ τὸ ἀληθὲς διαδούσῃ· κατάγουσι γὰρ ἐνταῦθα τὴν ψυχὴν θείαν οὖσαν καθάπερ εἰς κολάστηριον τὸν κόσμον.* Read *τῇ <μὴ> τὸ ἀληθὲς διδούσῃ*, this life is not in itself evil, but only evil to the soul which failed to see the truth. Or perhaps we might read *τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν τὸ ἀληθὲς <μὴ> διδοῦσαν*: it is not *γένεσις* but the erring soul which is evil. Compare for the phrase *ἀλήθειαν διιδεῖν Strom.* p. 335 *fin.* The allusion is to Plato *Phaedr.* 248 'After the divinities, which contemplate absolute truth, come the other souls for whom the law is laid down that *ἥτις ἂν ψυχὴ θεῷ ξυνοπαδὸς γενομένη κατίδῃ τι τῶν ἀληθῶν... ἀβλαβῆ εἶναι· ὅταν δὲ ἀδυνατήσασα ἐπισπέσθαι μὴ ἴδῃ, λήθης τε καὶ κακίας πλησθεῖσα βαρυνθῇ*, it loses its wings and falls to the earth and receives a body of man or some animal': also p. 249 *οὐ γὰρ ἥ γε μή ποτε ἰδοῦσα τὴν ἀλήθειαν εἰς τόδε ἥξει τὸ σχῆμα* (*i.e.* human form).

[§ 16, p. 518. *διότι τοῦτο σημαίνει ἃ ἂν σημαίνῃ ἡ ψυχὴ, καὶ ταύτῃ σῆμα ὀρθῶς καλεῖσθαι.* For *τοῦτο* read *τούτῳ*. I. B.]

§ 21, p. 520. *οὐχὶ καὶ Ἡράκλειτος θάνατον τὴν γένεσιν καλεῖ; Πυθαγόρας δὲ καὶ τῷ ἐν Γοργίᾳ Σωκράτει ἐμφερῶς ἐν οἷς φησὶ 'θάνατός ἐστιν ὁκόσα ἐγερθέντες ὁρέομεν.'* Read with Stephanus and Bywater (*Heracl.* p. 25*n.*) *Πυθαγόρᾳ τε.*

§ 25, p. 522. *τῶν δὲ ἀφ' αἱρέσεως ἀγομένων Μαρκίωνος μὲν τοῦ Ποντικοῦ ἐπεμνήσθημεν.* Read *ἀναγομένων*, as in § 5 *οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Καρποκράτους...ἀναγόμενοι.*

Ib. *κἂν συγχρήσωνται τῇ τοῦ Κυρίου φωνῇ λέγοντος τῷ Φιλίππῳ 'ἄφες—μοι.' ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο σκοπείτωσαν ὡς τὴν ὁμοίαν τῆς σαρκὸς πλάσιν καὶ Φίλιππος φέρει...πῶς οὖν σάρκιον ἔχων νεκρὸν οὐκ εἶχεν; ὅτι ἐξανέστη τοῦ μνήματος τοῦ Κυρίου τὰ πάθη νεκρώσαντος, ζήσαντος δὲ Χριστῷ.* The first sentence is wrongly joined to the preceding sentence by Dindorf: it is the protasis of which the apodosis begins in *ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο.* Put a comma therefore after *μοι.* For *ζήσαντος*, written mechanically after *νεκρώσαντος*, read *ἔζησε.* Potter's emendation *ζωοποιήσαντος* is negatived by the fact that we must understand *τοῦ Κυρίου* of Christ.

§ 26, p. 523. *ἀποβολὴ πάθους ἦν εἰς μέσον τῶν ἀποστόλων ἡ τῆς ζηλοτυπουμένης ἐκκλησις γυναικός.* Transfer *ἡ* before *εἰς μέσον*, as in Eusebius.

§ 27, p. 523. (On the use of the word *κοινωνία*). *ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἡ κοινωνία, ἀγαθὸν δὲ καὶ ἐν μεταδόσει ἀργυρίου καὶ τροφῆς καὶ στολῆς, οἱ δὲ καὶ τὴν ὁποίαν δήποτ' οὖν ἀφροδισίων συμπλοκὴν κοινωνίαν ἀσεβῶς κεκλήκασιν.* The phrase *δὲ καὶ* occurs three times in these lines. I cannot but think that on the second occasion it has slipped in from the line above in place of *μὲν*, which would be easily lost before *ἐν*.

Ib. *φασὶ γοῦν τινὰ αὐτῶν ἡμετέρᾳ παρθένῳ ὡραίᾳ τὴν ὄψιν προσελθόντα φάναι.* Read *τῶν ἡμετέρων* for *ἡμετέρᾳ* and insert *τινὶ* before *τὴν.* Both *τῶν* and *τινὶ* would be easily lost after *αὐτῶν* and before *τὴν*, and

ἡμετέρων would be naturally changed to agree with παρθένῳ.

Ib. p. 524. (διαψεύδονται) οἱ παραχαράσσοντες τὴν ἀλήθειαν, μᾶλλον δὲ κατασκάπτοντες ὡς οἷόν τε αὐτοῖς, οἵ γε τρισάθλιοι τήν τε σαρκικὴν καὶ τὴν συνουσιαστικὴν κοινωνίαν ἱεροφαντοῦσι. For οἵ γε τρισάθλιοι read οἱ τρισάθλιοι, οἵ γε, 'unhappy ones who make a sacred rite of mere fleshly union,' and omit τε and τήν.

§ 29, p. 525. εἰ γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι...πνευματικὰς ἐτίθεντο κοινωνίας, ἴσως τις αὐτῶν τὴν ὑπόληψιν ἐπεδέξατο. Read ἐπεδέξατ' ἄν.

§ 30, p. 525. The followers of Prodicus claim to be free because they follow their pleasures, κρατηθῆναι ὑπ' οὐδενὸς...βασιλεῖ δέ φασι νόμος ἄγραφος. πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι οὐ ποιοῦσιν ἃ βούλονται πάντα. It is evident, as Potter has observed, that the latter sentence is inconsistent with the former, and that some such words as ταῦτα δὲ ψευδῆ λέγουσιν must have been lost. [I. B. suggests οὖν for ὅτι.] At the end of the § 'πᾶς γὰρ' φησὶν 'ὁ ἁμαρτάνων δοῦλός ἐστιν' [ὁ ἀπόστολος λέγει], omit the words in brackets. [H. J. reminds me that Sylburg in his Index *s.v.* φησί gives other examples of the pleonastic use of φησί. In the few relevant cases I think the explanatory clause should be regarded as a gloss.]

§ 31, p. 525. ὑβρίζει δέ τις ξένος πολίτας καὶ τούτους ἀδικεῖ, οὐχὶ δὲ ὡς παρεπίδημος τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις χρώμενος ἀπρόσκοπος τοῖς πολίταις διαβιοῖ; For ἀπρόσκοπος read ἀπροσκόπως.

§ 32, p. 525. ὁ γοῦν ἐκκεντήσας τὸν πόρνον εὐλαβούμενος πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ δείκνυται. Read with Lowth εὐλογούμενος.

§ 35, p. 527. ἢ γὰρ οὐδέν ἐστι κακὸν καὶ οὐκέτι μέμψεως ἄξιος ὢν αἰτιᾶσθε ὡς ἀντιτεταγμένον τῷ θεῷ, οὐδὲ κακοῦ τινος γέγονε ποιητικός —συναναιρεῖται γὰρ τῷ κακῷ καὶ τὸ δένδρον —ἢ εἴ ἐστι τὸ ποιηρὸν ἐν ὑπάρξει κ.τ.λ. The reference is to the Demiurge, the author of the Mosaic law, spoken of in the previous §§. We learn from Tertullian that Marcion used the figure of the tree and its fruit to prove that he was of an evil nature, cf. *adv. Marc.* ii. 23 Marcion defendit arborem bonam malos quoque fructus non licere producere, and i. 2. Insert τῷ καρπῷ before τῷ κακῷ, comparing § 44 ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν καρπῶν τὸ δένδρον, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθῶν καὶ πετάλων γνωρίζεται. Clement's argument is that either there is no evil fruit, and then (since there is no other sign of an evil tree, but its evil fruit) we have no ground to believe in an author of evil; or if there is evil, it is that which is forbidden by the law which you ascribe to the Demiurge, who is therefore opposed to evil.

§ 36, p. 527. οὐδὲ γῆν πλωτὴν, βατὴν δὲ θάλασσαν ἐργάζεσθε; καθάπερ οἱ τὰς ἱστορίας συντεξάμενοι τὸν βάρβαρον ἐθελῆσαι Ξέρξην. Add φασίν or ἱστοροῦσιν.

§ 38, p. 528. γεγράφθαι γάρ φησιν 'ἀντέστησαν θεῷ καὶ ἐσώθησαν.' οἱ δὲ καὶ τῷ ἀναιδεῖ θεῷ προστιθέασι. Can ἀναιδής mean 'ruthless,' or should we read ἀνελεεῖ here and below? We are told that Marcion regarded the God of the O.T. as *severus et saevus* (Tert. *ib.* ii. 11), but he is nowhere characterized as *impudens*. It was easy for ΑΝΑΙΛΕΗϹ to pass into ΑΝΑΙΔΗϹ, and the confusion once made was likely to be repeated. Perhaps we should read τὸ for τῷ both here and below in τῷ μὲν οὖν ἀναιδεῖ θεῷ οὐ γέγραπται.

§ 42, p. 530. ἐπιμελητέον τε τῆς ψυχῆς, ᾗ πρὸς μόνῳ τῷ θείῳ διατελεστέον. The following sentence καθαρὸς γὰρ ὢν καὶ πάσης κακίας ἀπηλλαγμένος ὁ νοῦς δεκτικός πως ὑπάρχει τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεως inclines me to read ᾗ μόνῃ πρὸς τῷ θεῷ.

§ 43, p. 530. θεοῦ δὲ γνῶσιν λαβεῖν τοῖς ἔτι ὑπὸ τῶν παθῶν ἀγομένοις ἀδύνατον· οὔκουν οὐδὲ τῆς ἐλπίδος τυχεῖν μηδεμίαν τοῦ θεοῦ γνῶσιν πεποιημένοις· καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἀποτυγχάνοντος τοῦδε τοῦ τέλους ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄγνοια κατηγορεῖν ἔοικε, τὸ δὲ ἀγνοεῖν τὸν θεὸν ἡ τοῦ βίου πολιτεία παρίστησιν. παντάπασι γὰρ ἀδύνατον ἅμα τε καὶ ἐπιστήμονα εἶναι καὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος κολάκειαν οὐκ ἐπαισχύνεσθαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ συνᾴδειν ποτὲ δύναται τὸ ἀγαθὸν τῇ ἡδονῇ ἢ μόνον εἶναι τὸ καλὸν ἀγαθῷ ἢ καὶ μόνον καλὸν τὸν Κύριον καὶ μόνον ἀγαθὸν τὸν Θεόν. For κατηγορεῖν read κατηγορεῖσθαι 'ignorance of God seems to be predicated of him who fails to attain the Christian hope.' [I. B. suggests κατηγορίᾳ and περιπεποιημένοις.] In the last clause read τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἡ ἡδονὴ for τὸ ἀγαθὸν τῇ ἡδονῇ, and ἀγαθὸν for ἀγαθῷ. 'Pleasure cannot agree with truth either that the beautiful alone is good, or that the Lord alone is beautiful and God alone good.' It would be easy for ἀληθείᾳ ἡ to drop out between τῇ and ἡδονή, and τὸ ἀγαθόν would as easily slip in from the line below. The context shows that the opposing parties are truth (or knowledge) on the one hand and pleasure on the other.

§ 44, p. 531. καὶ φῶς ἐκεῖνο...τὸ πάντα κατάδηλα ποιοῦν τά τε ἐν γενέσει αὐτόν τε τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἑαυτόν τε γιγνώσκειν παρασκευάζον καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπήβολον καθίστασθαι δίδασκον. Omit the first τε, which would only be admissible if it were taken with the following τε to couple the τὰ ἐν γενέσει and τὸν ἄνθρωπον under the government of ποιοῦν, whereas τὸν ἄνθρωπον comes under the government of παρασκευάζον. [I. B. would read γε for τε.]

Ib. ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἐλευθερίαν μεμαθήκαμεν ἣν ὁ Κύριος ἡμᾶς ἐλευθεροῖ μόνος, ἀπολύων τῶν ἡδονῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων παθῶν ὁ λέγων ἔγνωκα τὸν Κύριον καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ μὴ τηρῶν ψεύστης ἐστὶν...Ἰωάννης λέγει. Put a full stop after παθῶν and insert δέ before λέγων.

§ 47, p. 533. ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν, φησὶν, οὔτε γαμοῦσιν οὔτε γαμίζονται. This text is adduced by the Encratites as an argument on their side. I think therefore Sylburg is right in suggesting φασίν for φησίν.

§ 48, p. 533. πῶς οὖν οὐ πεινῶσι καὶ διψῶσι καὶ τὴν σάρκα πάσχουσιν; Should we not read τὰ σαρκικά? The latter word would easily be changed to σάρκα, and the gender of the article would be made to suit. [Insert κατὰ after καὶ. I. B.]

§ 50 and § 51, p. 534. ὅ τε Κυρηναῖος Ἀριστοτέλης Λαΐδα ἐρῶσαν ὑπερεώρα μόνος. ὀμωμοκὼς οὖν τῇ ἑταίρᾳ ἢ μὴν ἀπάξειν αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα...γραψάμενος αὐτῆς ὡς ὅτι μάλιστα ὁμοιοτάτην εἰκόνα, ἀνέστησεν εἰς Κυρήνην. For οὖν I think we should read γοῦν.

§ 53, p. 536. τίς αὐτῶν μηλωτὴν καὶ ζώνην δερματίνην ἔχων περιέρχεται ὡς Ἠλίας; ἢ περίζωμα.. οἱ μακάριοι προφῆται. This sentence contains a comparison between the Encratites and the saints of old, who thankfully used God's creatures, and yet surpassed the Encratites in mortification of the flesh. It has no connexion with what immediately precedes, but fits in perfectly in § 52 after οἱ δὲ καὶ τούτους ὑπερφέρειν λέγοντες πολιτείᾳ καὶ βίῳ, οὐδὲ συγκριθῆναι ταῖς ἐκείνων πράξεσι δυνήσονται, to which place it should be transferred.

§ 55, p. 536. πενία δὲ ἄνδρα ταπεινοῖ, χεῖρες δὲ ἀνδρῶν πλουτίζουσιν. Read, as in the original (Prov. x. 4), ἀνδρειῶν.

§ 56, p. 537. ὁ μὲν γὰρ σπείρων καὶ πλείονα συνάγων οὗτός ἐστιν...ἕτερος δὲ ὁ μηδενὶ μεταδιδοὺς κενῶς καὶ θησαυρίζων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. Read κενῶς δὲ.

§ 57, p. 537. τὸ εἶναι φῶς (ἄμεινον) τοῦ περὶ φωτὸς λαλεῖν καὶ ἡ κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ἐγκράτεια τῆς ὑπὸ τῶν φιλοσόφων διδασκομένης. οὐ γὰρ ὅπου φῶς, ἐκεῖ σκότος, ἔνθα δέ ἐστιν ἐπιθυμία ἐγκαθεζομένη μόνη τυγχάνουσα, κἂν τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ ἡσυχάζῃ τῇ διὰ τοῦ σώματος, τῇ μνήμῃ συνουσιάζει πρὸς τὸ μὴ παρόν. Put a colon after σκότος, and for οὐ γὰρ read οὗ γὰρ τὸ πνεῦμα, ἐκεῖ οὐδεμία ἐπιθυμία ἔνεστιν· οὐ γὰρ κ.τ.λ. The line from οὗ γὰρ to οὐ γὰρ would be easily lost. Perhaps for μόνη we should read μνήμης.

§ 59, p. 538. πάντα, φησὶν, ὑπομείνας ἐγκρατὴς ἦν, θεότητα Ἰησοῦς εἰργάζετο. Put a comma after ὑπομείνας and read πάντα ἐγκρατὴς ὤν.

§ 60, p. 538. Βραχμᾶναι γοῦν οὔτε ἔμψυχον ἐσθίουσιν οὔτε οἶνον πίνουσιν, [ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ὡς ἡμεῖς] τὴν τροφὴν προσίενται, ἔνιοι δ' αὐτῶν διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν. Omit the words in brackets as a marginal note, and transfer τὴν τροφὴν προσίενται to the end.

§ 62, p. 539. φανερωθῆναι δεῖ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, [ἵνα κομίσηται ἕκαστος διὰ τοῦ σώματος πρὸς ἃ ἔπραξεν εἴτε ἀγαθὸν εἴτε κακόν·] ἵνα ἃ διὰ τοῦ σώματος ἔπραξέν τις ἀπολάβῃ. Omit the clause in brackets as a marginal note quoting 2 Cor. v. 10.

Ib. ἰδοὺ γέγονε καινὰ, ἁγνεία ἐκ πορνείας καὶ ἐγκράτεια ἐξ ἀκρασίας, δικαιοσύνη ἐξ ἀδικίας. Omit καὶ.

§ 65, p. 540. ἡ προκατάρξασα τῆς παραβάσεως 'ζωὴ' προσηγορεύθη διὰ τὴν τῆς διαδοχῆς αἰτίαν τῶν τε γεννωμένων τῶν τε ἁμαρτανόντων γίνεται, ὁμοίως δικαίων ὡς καὶ ἀδίκων μήτηρ. For ἁμαρτανόντων read ἀποθνῃσκόντων, insert θ' after γίνεται, and put the comma before, instead of after γίνεται. 'Eve was named "life" as she is the cause of succession both of those who are born and of those who die, and becomes the mother alike of the just and the unjust.' [Perhaps all that is wanted is a colon after αἰτίαν. The word ἁμαρτανόντων carries on the idea of προκατάρξασα τῆς παραβάσεως. I. B.]

§ 67, p. 541. Let no one think marriage sinful [εἰ μὴ πικρὰν ὑπολαμβάνει παιδοτροφίαν —πολλοῖς γὰρ ἔμπαλιν ἀτεκνία λυπηρότατον—] μηδ' ἂν πικρὰ ἡ παιδοποιία φαίνηταί τινι μεταπερισπῶσα τῶν θείων διὰ τὰς χρειώδεις ἀσχολίας· μὴ φέρων δ' οὗτος εὐκόλως τὸν μονήρη βίον ἐπιθυμεῖ τοῦ γάμου...συνορῶ δ' ὅπως τῇ προφάσει τοῦ γάμου οἱ μὲν ἀπεσχημένοι τούτου...εἰς μισανθρωπίαν ὑπερρύησαν. With the existing reading it is difficult to make out the relation of the two hypothetical clauses: there is no clear reference for οὗτος, and the last γάμου makes nonsense. Transfer the words in brackets after ἀσχολίας, read ὁ τοιοῦτος for οὗτος and ἁγιασμοῦ for the last γάμου, translating '(Let none think marriage sinful) not even if the begetting of children seem to some to be a root of bitterness, as distracting them from divine things owing to the troubles it entails; unless, that is, he thinks the rearing of children itself undesirable. Many on the contrary think childlessness a most miserable condition. And such an one, not being able to endure the solitary life, desires marriage—and I notice that those who have abstained from it under the pretext of holiness have become a prey to misanthropy.'

§ 68, p. 542. The last sentence in this section seems to me a gloss. It contains a cursory mention of two interpretations of Matt. xviii. 20, interposed between the interpretations which Clement himself thinks worthy of discussion. At the beginning of § 69 *τάχα δὲ καὶ τὴν κλῆσιν τήν τε ἐκλογὴν δευτέραν καὶ τρίτον τὸ εἰς τὴν πρώτην τιμὴν καταπασσόμενον γένος αἰνίσσεται ἡ προειρημένη τριάς*, I think *πρώτην* should be inserted before the first or second *τήν*.

§ 70, p. 543. *τρίτος δὲ ἦν ἐκ τῶν δυεῖν κτιζόμενος εἷς εἰς καινὸν ἄνθρωπον*. Both Dindorf and Klotz omit the necessary *εἷς*, which is given in Potter's text without any suggestion of its being conjecturally added.

§ 72, p. 543. *ὅθεν οὐ δείξειας ἐγκύμονι πλησιάσαντα τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τινά*. For *δείξειας*, which may have been accommodated to the following *εὕροις ἄν*, read *δείξεις*.

§ 74, p. 544. *ταύτας οὖν ἔχετε τὰς ἐπαγγελίας, φησὶν, ἀγαπητοὶ, καθαρίσωμεν ἑαυτῶν τὰς καρδίας*. Restore *ἔχοντες* from 2 Cor. vii. 1. Even Clement could not have used the second person with *καθαρίσωμεν* staring him in the face.

§ 77, p. 545. *ἐπιβοᾷ, 'τὸ μὲν σῶμα νεκρὸν δι' ἁμαρτίαν,' δηλῶν ὡς ὅτι μὴ νεὼς, τάφος δ' ἐστὶν ἔτι τῆς ψυχῆς*. Perhaps we should read *μὴ ὅτι* for *ὅτι μὴ*, interpreting 'not only is the body not a temple, it is still the tomb of the soul.' Another remedy might be to suppose *ὡς* to be a marginal correction, altering *δηλῶν* into *δηλ<ώσ>ων*. We find *μὴ* used with *ὅτι* in the quotation from Isidore p. 488 *ἐάν τινι πεῖσμα δῷς ὅτι μὴ ἔστιν ἡ ψυχὴ μονομερὴς*, and very frequently with *ἐπεί*. Schmidt (*Atticismus*) gives many instances from Dio Chrysostom, Lucian and others.

Ib. *ὁπηνίκα (τὸ σῶμα) ἁγιασθῇ τῷ θεῷ 'τὸ πνεῦμα' ἐποίσει 'τοῦ ἐγείραντος ἐκ νεκρῶν Ἰησοῦν οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν.'* There seems no reason for the future here. Perhaps *ἐπιφέρει* may have been corrupted through the *ζωοποιήσει* in the following line: or if a faint *φ* were mistaken for *ο*, it would be easy for *ἐπιοερει* to pass into *ἐποισει*, cf. p. 650, where Klotz reads *ἐποίσει* with the Paris MS. against *ἐπιλέγει* of the ordinary text.

§ 78, p. 546. *ἵνα γινώσκωμεν...τὸν τῷ ὄντι πατέρα, τὸν τῶν ὄντων μόνον πατέρα τὸν εἰς σωτηρίαν παιδεύοντα ὡς πατέρα καὶ τὸν φόβον ἀπειλεῖ*. The sentence is evidently incomplete: *ἀπειλεῖ* perhaps represents some such words as *ἀπειλῆς ἕνεκα μόνοις τοῖς μὴ πειθομένοις εἰσιόντα*.

§ 79, p. 546. *εἰ δὲ ὑπερβὰς ὧν εἵλετο κανόνα εἰς μείζονα δόξαν, ἔπειτα ἀποπέσῃ πρὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα*. Dindorf makes a lacuna at the end. Perhaps *ἐλπίδα* represents *ἐλάττονα, ὅμως μὴ ἀποβαλέτω τὴν ἐλπίδα*, 'If he transgresses the rule (of celibacy), which he chose for his greater glory, and falls away afterwards to the inferior rule (of marriage), still let him not cast away his hope.' The resemblance between *ἐλάττονα* and *ἐλπίδα* would explain the loss of the intervening words. Should we read *ἐὰν* for *εἰ* before the subjunctive?

§ 81, p. 548. *ὁρᾷς εἰς τίνα βλασφημοῦσιν οἱ μυσαττόμενοι τὴν σώφρονα σποράν καὶ τῷ διαβόλῳ προσάπτεσθαι γένεσιν;* Potter changes *προσάπτεσθαι* into *προσαπτόμενοι*. I should rather add *τολμῶντες* after *γένεσιν*.

§ 82, p. 548. Speaking of the Apostolic injunction in 1 Cor. vii. 5 '*μὴ ἀποστερεῖτε ἀλλήλους εἰ μή τι ἂν ἐκ συμφώνου πρὸς καιρόν*,' Clement says *οὐ γὰρ ἀποκρούεται τέλεον τὰς τῆς φύσεως ὀρέξεις δυσωποῦσα ἡ πρόσκαιρος συμφωνία, δι' ἣν εἰσάγει πάλιν τὴν συζυγίαν τοῦ γάμου*. Read *δι' ἧς*, the *συμφωνία* being simply the means by which he provides for the renewal of conjugal intercourse.

Ib. *οὐ πολυγαμίαν ἔτι συγχωρεῖ (ὁ Κύριος)· τότε γὰρ ἀπῄτει ὁ Θεὸς, ὅτε αὐξάνεσθαι καὶ πληθύνειν ἐχρῆν*. It cannot be said that God ever *required* polygamy. It would be nearer the truth to read *ἀπῃτεῖτο*, 'God yielded to the demand'; but *ἐφεῖτο* seems to me to suit the context best. [I. B. suggests *παρῄνει*.]

Ib. (If the Apostle allows second marriage in certain cases) *δόξαν δὲ αὐτῷ οὐρανίαν περιποιεῖ μείνας ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὴν διαλυθεῖσαν θανάτῳ συζυγίαν ἄχραντον φυλάσσων*. Read *αὐτῷ* and insert *ὁ* before *μείνας* 'still he who abides by himself lays up for himself glory in heaven.'

Ib. *οὐ γὰρ ἐπάναγκες παιδοποιίας ἀφίστησι τοὺς πιστεύοντας δι' ἑνὸς βαπτίσματος εἰς τὸ παντελὲς τῆς ὁμιλίας ἀπολούσας ὁ Κύριος, εἰ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ Μωυσέως δι' ἑνὸς περιλαβὼν βαπτίσματος*. Put commas after *πιστεύοντας* and *ἀπολούσας*, and read *ὁ* for *εἰ*, as above in § 8.

§ 84, p. 549. After quoting from Rom. vii. 4 '*εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι ὑμᾶς ἑτέρῳ τῷ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγερθέντι*,' Clement continues *ἐξακούεται γὰρ προσεχῶς 'ὑπηκόους γενομένους'*—at least this is Potter's reading without any hint that it is changed from the MS.; Dindorf however follows Klotz in giving *προσεχεῖς*, which I do not understand, and attributes *προσεχῶς* to Heinsius.

§ 86, p. 550. '*ἦν ἡ γῆ τοῦ Ἰακὼβ ἐπαινουμένη παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν*' *φησὶν ὁ προφήτης τὸ σκεῦος τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ δοξάζων. κατατρέχει δέ τις γενέσεως...καὶ βιάζεταί τις ἐπὶ*

τεκνοποιίας λέγων εἰρηκέναι τὸν σωτῆρα κ.τ.λ. The MS. here has αὐτός, but Dindorf reads αὐτοῦ with the original in Barnabas, where the editors explain it of the body of Christ. Here the reference is to the body of the Christian, regarded as the vessel of the Spirit, and I think αὐτό is the true reading. The body itself (which the Encratites scorn) is glorified. For the first τις read τῆς.

Ib. τάχα δ' ἂν καὶ οἷς διελέγετο ὡς ἁμαρτωλοῖς προφητεύει φθοράν. Should not τάχ' ἂν be followed by the optative?

§ 87, p. 551. ἐπεὶ μὴ ἄνευ γενέσεώς τις τόνδε τὸν βίον παρελεύσεται. Insert εἰς after τις.

Ib. εἷς μὲν οὖν ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. Probably we should read ὑμῶν, as in the original (Matt. xxiii. 9), since the second person is continued in the latter part of the quotation just below (μὴ καλέσητε οὖν ὑμῖν).

§ 89, p. 552. ὁ προφήτης φησὶ...κατεμιάνθης ἐν γῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ τήν τε κοινωνίαν μιαρὰν ἡγούμενος. Omit τε. [Or read γε. I. B.]

§ 90, p. 552. ὁ σωτὴρ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, γενεὰν εἰπὼν πονηρὰν καὶ μοιχαλίδα, διδάσκει μὴ ἐγνωκότας νόμον...παραδόσει δὲ τῇ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ ἐντάλμασιν ἀνθρώπων κατηκολουθηκότας. μοιχεύειν τὸν νόμον, οὐχ ὡς ἄνδρα καὶ κύριον τῆς παρθενίας αὐτῶν δεδομένον, τάχα δὲ καὶ ἐπιθυμίαις δεδουλωμένους ἀλλοκότοις, οἷδεν αὐτούς. Remove the full stop before μοιχεύειν and the comma after ἀλλοκότοις, and put a comma after μοιχεύειν and a full stop after δεδομένον. Also insert δεχομένους before δεδομένον, translating 'The Saviour, when he called the Jews a wicked and adulterous generation, shows that they committed adultery in not having known the law, but having followed the traditions of men, not receiving the law as given to be the husband and lord of their virginity. Perhaps too he perceives them to be enslaved to strange lusts.'

§ 93, p. 553. ὅταν οὖν...ψυχὴν ἑνώσει. Read ἑνώσῃ.

§ 95, p. 554. ὅταν οὖν ὁ ἀπόστολος εἴπῃ 'ἐνδύσασθε τὸν καινὸν ἄνθρωπον'...ἡμῖν λέγει ...παλαιὸν δὲ οὐ πρὸς γένεσιν καὶ ἀναγέννησίν φησιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν βίον τόν τε ἐν παρακοῇ τόν τε ἐν ὑπακοῇ. It seems necessary to insert καὶ καινόν after παλαιὸν δέ.

Ib. οἱ γαμοῦντες ὡς μὴ γαμοῦντες, οἱ κτώμενοι ὡς μὴ κτώμενοι, οἱ παιδοποιοῦντες ὡς θνητοὺς γεννῶντες [ὡς καταλείψοντες τὰ κτήματα, ὡς καὶ ἄνευ γυναικὸς βιωσόμενοι ἐὰν δέῃ,] οὐ προσπαθῶς τῇ κτήσει χρώμενοι, μετ' εὐχαριστίας δ' ἁπάσης καὶ μεγαλοφρονοῦντες. It is evident that the clauses here follow no natural order. I am disposed to think that the words in brackets were marginal notes on ὡς μὴ γαμοῦντες and ὡς μὴ κτώμενοι. For κτήσει read κτίσει with Potter, and insert μὴ before μεγαλοφρονοῦντες.

§ 96, p. 554. The words of the Apostle καλὸν ἀνθρώπῳ γυναικὸς μὴ ἅπτεσθαι, διὰ δὲ τὰς πορνείας ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἐχέτω ...ἵνα μὴ πειράζῃ ὑμᾶς ὁ Σατανᾶς, were uttered for the sake of those who were inclined to indulge themselves too freely ὡς μὴ πολὺ ἐπινεύσας ὁ δι' ἐναντίας ἐκκυμήνῃ τὴν ὄρεξιν εἰς ἀλλοτρίας ἡδονάς. τάχα δὲ, ἐπεὶ τοῖς δικαίως βιοῦσιν ἀνθίσταται διὰ ζῆλον...ὑπάγεσθαι τούτους τῷ ἑαυτοῦ τάγματι βουλόμενος, ἀφορμὰς δι' ἐγκρατείας ἐπιπόνου παρέχειν τούτοις βούλεται. In the last sentence the subject is evidently Satan. The preceding clause, as it stands, suits neither Satan nor the Apostle, nor can it be understood of the self-indulgent man spoken of before. In place of an emendation of my own, which I had proposed to Prof. Bywater, I gladly accept his correction of ἐπιπνεύσας for ἐπινεύσας, 'in order that the adversary may not blow strongly upon them and stimulate (lit. 'lash into waves') the appetite for forbidden pleasures.' Cf. *Paed.* ii. p. 179 οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐγκυμαίνονται ἔτι τῶν πρεσβυτέρων αἱ ὀρέξεις περὶ τὰ τῆς μέθης ναυάγια.

§ 98, p. 555. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἡ εὐνουχία δικαιοῖ οὐδὲ μὴν τὸ τοῦ εὐνούχου σάββατον, ἐὰν μὴ ποιήσῃ τὰς ἐντολάς. For μόνον read μόνῃ.

Ib. Referring to Isa. lxv. οὐ τεκνοποιήσουσιν εἰς κατάραν, C. says, ἄλλοι δὲ κατάραν τὴν παιδοποιίαν ἐκδέχονται καὶ οὐ συνιᾶσι κατ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων λέγουσαν τὴν γραφήν. For ἐκείνων read ἐκεῖνο.

§ 101, p. 557. εἰ δὲ καὶ πᾶς ὁ ἐπιστρέφων ἐξ ἁμαρτίας ἐπὶ τὴν πίστιν ἀπὸ τῆς συνηθείας τῆς ἁμαρτωλοῦ οἷον μητρὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ζωὴν ἐπιστρέφει, μαρτυρήσει μοι εἷς. For εἰ read ὅτι.

Ib. p. 558. ἢ δή τινες καὶ τῆς παρθένου τὴν χήραν εἰς ἐγκράτειαν προτείνουσι καταμεγαλοφρονήσασαν ἧς πεπείραται ἡδονῆς. For the unmeaning προτείνουσι read προτιμῶσι.

§ 102, p. 559. κἂν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλόγων ζῴων τὴν ἐπιτήδευσιν τῆς συμβουλίας ὁ ὄφις εἰληφὼς καὶ παραπείσας τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῆς Εὔας συγκαταθέσθαι τὸν Ἀδὰμ λέγῃ, ὡς ἂν μὴ φύσει ταύτῃ κεχρημένων τῶν πρωτοπλάστων...ἡ κτίσις πάλιν βλασφημεῖται. For συμβουλίας read συνουσίας, and λέγηται for λέγῃ.

§ 103, p. 559. πῶς δ' ἄνευ τοῦ σώματος ἡ κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκονομία τέλος ἐλάμβανεν; ὅπου γε καὶ αὐτὸς ἡ κεφαλὴ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐν σαρκὶ μὲν ἀειδὴς διελήλυθεν καὶ ἄμορφος, εἰς τὸ ἀειδὲς καὶ ἀσώματον τῆς θείας αἰτίας ἀποβλέπειν ἡμᾶς διδάσκων. Insert ἂν before ἄνευ. Dindorf has followed

Sylburg in reading ἀειδὴς for MS. ἀηδὴς, but the ordinary meaning of ἀειδὴς is 'invisible,' and the fact that it is used in this sense immediately below makes it impossible to understand it here of one 'who has no form or comeliness.' On the other hand such a one would be naturally regarded as ἀηδής, and if there is something offensive in the expression as used of Christ, this is explained by reading δὴ ἐλήλυθεν for the unmeaning διελήλυθεν, since δή has the effect of putting the preceding word in inverted commas. [Perhaps δὲ ἐλήλυθεν. C. plays on the word ἀειδής, which he first uses in the sense of 'ugly' (not uncommon in late Greek), and then in its philosophic sense of 'invisible.' I. B.]

§ 105, p. 560. οἱ δὲ ἀφηνιάσαντες ἐξύβρισαν ...αὐτοί τε ἀκατασχέτως ἐχόμενοι καὶ τοὺς πλησίον ἀναπείθοντες φιληδονεῖν. Should not we read ἔχοντες for ἐχόμενοι? [I. B. suggests ἑπόμενοι.]

§ 106, p. 560. After the quotation πολεμισταὶ, πλῆκται ταῖς οὐραῖς αὐτῶν C. continues εἶεν δ' ἂν οὓς αἰνίσσεται ἡ προφήτεια καταφερεῖς, ἀκρατεῖς, [οἱ ταῖς οὐραῖς αὐτῶν πολεμισταὶ,] σκότους καὶ ὀργῆς τέκνα. I think the words in brackets should be omitted as a gloss. [For καταφερεῖς read κατωφερεῖς, this being the form used elsewhere by C. I. B.]

Ib. ἐάν τις ἀδελφὸς ὀνομαζόμενος ἢ πόρνος ἢ πλεονέκτης...τῷ τοιούτῳ μηδὲ συνεσθίειν. For the first ἢ read ᾗ.

Ib. ζῶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγω, ὡς ἔζων κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας, ζῇ δὲ ἐν ἐμοὶ Χριστὸς διὰ τῆς τῶν ἐντολῶν ὑπακοῆς [ἁγνῶς καὶ μακαρίως], ὥστε τότε μὲν ἔζων ἐν σαρκὶ σαρκικῶς, ὃ δὲ νῦν ζῶ ἐν σαρκὶ ἐν πίστει ζῶ τῇ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ. Transfer the words in brackets to the end, put a colon before ὥστε and omit the second ἐν σαρκί. In this way we get the proper antitheses, κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας)(διὰ τῆς ὑπακοῆς and ἐν σαρκὶ σαρκικῶς)(ἐν πίστει ἁγνῶς.

§§ 107, 108, p. 561. ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἐδήλωσεν εἰπών, τῇ γυναικὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ τὴν ὀφειλὴν ἀποδιδότω, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ τῷ ἀνδρί. Μεθ' ἣν ἔκτισιν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουρίαν καὶ τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ πίστιν βοηθὸς, καὶ ἔτι σαφέστερον εἰπών κ.τ.λ. Put a comma after ἀνδρί and a colon after βοηθός.

J. B. Mayor.

NOTE ON INSPUTARIER, PLAUT. *CAPT.* 550, 553, 555.

Forcellini-Corradini define: 'insputo idem fere quod inspuere (omitting the examples to come later) ex quo intelligimus non solum evertendi eius morbi causa, sed etiam sanandi, in eum qui laboraret inspui morem fuisse. Nam saliva hominis in multis vim medicinae habere creditur.' The implicit interpretation here given for the Plautus passages I shall soon cite is based on a passage of Pliny, *H.N.* xxviii. §§ 35, 36: despuimus comitiales morbos, hoc est contagia regerimus: simili modo et fascinationes repercutimus dextraeque clauditatis occursum. Veniam quoque a deis spei alicuius audacioris petimus, in sinum spuendo. Eadem ratione terna despuere praedicatione, in omni medicina mos est, atque ita effectus adiuvare.

The only occurrences of forms of *insputare* cited by Forc.-Corr. or by Lewis and Short are in Plautus, *Captivi* 547 *sq.*

TY. Hegio, hic homo rabiosus habitus est invalide
Ne tu quod istic fabuletur auris inmittas tuas.
Nam istic hastis insectatus est domi matrem et patrem,
550 Et illic isti qui insputatur[1] morbus interdum venit.
Proin tu ab istoc procul recedas. HE. Ultro istum a me. AR. Ain, verbero?
Me rabiosum atque insectatum esse hastis meum memoras patrem?
Et eum morbum mi esse, ut qui med opus sit insputarier?
HE. Ne verere multos iste morbus homines macerat,
555 Quibus insputari saluti fuit atque is profuit.

I give the reading of Brix, *Captivi.*[1] Two of Brix's notes will show his understanding of the passage. '547. Tyndarus sucht das Zeugniss des Aristophontes dadurch zu entkräften, dass er ihn für tobsüchtig und epileptisch (550) ausgiebt, das erstere um die Furcht, das zweite um den Ekel des Hegio zu erregen.' '550.

[1] The MSS. sputatur, but the correction seems to me quite certain.

"Die Krankheit wird bespuckt" d.h. der mit der Krankheit Behaftete, wie dies Aristophontes selbst 553 versteht. Da die alten Aerzte von diesem Heilmittel nichts berichten, so ist wohl anzunehmen dass es von Plautus zur Erhöhung der komischen Situation erfunden ist. Unter *morbus qui insputatur* pflegt man die Epilepsie zu verstehen, nach Dombart ist es Melancholie, Schwermutswahnsinn, von dem es verschiedene Arten gab, bei einer derselben kamen nach Galen xix. p. 706 auch periodische Tobsuchtsanfälle vor.'

The interpretation I am about to suggest is perhaps implied in one form or other by the note of Harrington's edition of the *Captivi*. 'Some suppose that the disease was cured by spitting upon the person afflicted; others, that it was cured by the spitting of the sufferer. Pliny and Mercurialis think that a person in the presence of the disease avoided the contagion by spitting, an instinctive process when we are in the sight of anything offensive. Perhaps, from the fact that those overtaken by the fit recovered soon after the foam appeared, it was thought that this was the means of their cure, and the evil spirit escaped in the foam.'

We need not concern ourselves with the cure of this disease, for we may be sure Tyndarus did not. Brix is, I think, quite right in his insight into the motives of Tyndarus. The insanity (rabiosus) was to excite Hegio's fear; the foaming of epilepsy (*qui insputatur morbus*) was to excite his disgust. That his disgust was effectually excited is proved by his cry '*Ultro istum a me.*'

I find linguistic and exegetical reasons for taking the verb to be a deponent. (1) *insputarier* is a frequentative verb, and should mean, leaving the preposition unexplained for the present, to keep on spitting. (2) It is fair to interpret any deponent as a reflexive (middle). So interpreted we can translate *insputarier* 'to keep spitting upon one's self,' *i.e.* 'foam at the mouth,' cf. lavari 'to wash oneself,' 'to bathe.' (3) If *insputarier* is a real passive *qui insputatur morbus* implies *aliquis morbum insputat*, which is Brix's interpretation, but does not seem to me to be good grammar, for *inspuo* construes with the dative (Seneca and Plin.) or with *in* + acc. (Seneca), cf. L. and S. *s.v.* Now Pliny's testimony amounts to nothing more than *quicunque morbum vidit terna despuit ut contagia regerat.* (4) Pliny's *terna despuere* certainly does not make for the use of a frequentative as much as taking *insputarier* in the sense of 'foam at the mouth.' This sense also supplies a better motive for Hegio's '*Ultro istum a me.*' (5) Epileptics *do* foam at the mouth. (6) So far as I can discover, *insputarier* is to be found in this passage alone. No grammatical difficulty is experienced if we take the verb as deponent: vs. 550 = 'and the foaming disease (epilepsy) sometimes came upon the fellow in yonder land'; vs. 553 = 'and I had a disease that somehow (qui) I must (or it did me good to?) foam at the mouth';[1] vs. 555 'and for these foaming-at-the-mouth is healthful etc. (7) Plautus's readiness in coining words to suit the moment is well known, e.g. *Captivi* 766 *exauspicavi*, 767 *redauspicandum*, 291 *eminor*, 904 *absumedo*. A very trifling circumstance may have determined the form of one of these new words; *insputatur* in vs. 550 is preceded by *fabuletur* vs. 548, and *insectatus est* in vs. 549. The reiteration of forms of *iste* in the three verses suggests the possibility of turning vs. 550 'and in yon land a sickness sometimes comes upon the fellow *and he* foams-at-the-mouth.'

An objection to the explanation given may be held to lie in Plautus, *Merc.* 1, 2, 30: *Tua causa rupi ramices, iam dudum sputo*[2] *sanguinem*, where the active is used. This objection will not hold, for (1) Plautus uses the same verb, now as active, now as deponent, e.g. *Capt.* 548 *fabuletur*, *Miles Glor.* 444 *fabulem*, where *fabuler* might stand as well as far as the metre goes (cf. Brix *ad loc.* and in general cf. Brix on *Mil. Glor.* 172); (2) *sputo* is here construed with an object not a cognate accusative implicit in the middle form of *insputarier*, cf. *fabulor* : *fabulo* (Zumpt, *Lat. Gram.*[13] 207, Anm.).

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[1] It is perhaps worth noting that this construction reappears in Cicero's Letters. Tyrrell in introduction p. xxii. calls attention to the parellelism of the Letters and comic diction.

[2] Lewis and Short cite further only Ovid. *M.* 12, 256 *mixtos sputantem sanguine dentes*, possibly a reminiscence of this Plautus passage.

CRITICAL NOTES ON THE *REPUBLIC* OF PLATO.

(*Continued from p.* 294.)

598 B. ὁ ζῳγράφος ζῳγραφήσει ἡμῖν σκυτοτόμον, τέκτονα, τοὺς ἄλλους δημιουργούς, περὶ οὐδενὸς τούτων ἐπαΐων τῶν τεχνῶν.

We should certainly read (as Ast suggested) the regular phrase, οὐδὲν περὶ τούτων (or τούτων πέρι οὐδὲν) ἐπαΐων τῶν τεχνῶν. Cf. 601 B.

598 E. δεῖ δὴ ἐπισκέψασθαι πότερον μιμηταῖς τούτοις οὗτοι ἐντυχόντες ἐξηπάτηνται.

The article would be necessary with τούτοις. But μιμηταῖς τοιούτοις will give much better sense and is evidently what Plato wrote.

601 D. Πολλὴ ἄρα ἀνάγκη τὸν χρώμενον ἑκάστῳ ἐμπειρότατόν τε εἶναι καὶ ἄγγελον γίγνεσθαι τῷ ποιητῇ οἷα ἀγαθὰ ἢ κακὰ ποιεῖ ἐν τῇ χρείᾳ ᾧ χρῆται· οἷον αὐλητής που ἐξαγγελεῖ περὶ τῶν αὐλῶν οἳ ἂν ὑπηρετῶσιν ἐν τῷ αὐλεῖν καὶ ἐπιτάξει οἵους δεῖ ποιεῖν, ὁ δ' ὑπηρετήσει. Πῶς δ' οὔ; Οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν εἰδὼς ἐξαγγελεῖ περὶ χρηστῶν καὶ πονηρῶν αὐλῶν, ὁ δὲ πιστεύων ποιήσει; Ναί.

Though A and some other MSS. have οἳ ἂν, the majority have οἷα ἂν, and this was the common reading of editors before Bekker (Schneider). It is to be observed that οἳ ἂν ὑπηρετῶσιν ἐν τῷ αὐλεῖν for οἷς χρῆται is feebly verbose, and that we seem to want something here after ἐξαγγελεῖ closely corresponding to the οἷα κ.τ.λ. after ἄγγελον γίγνεσθαι in the preceding sentence. This would lead us to write οἷα (perhaps οἷα δὴ) ὑπηρετοῦσιν. I cannot however believe that Plato used ὑπηρετοῦσιν here, and then ὑπηρετήσει differently applied in the next line of the same sentence. The occurrence of ὁ δὲ πιστεύων ποιήσει immediately afterwards might suggest ποιήσει in the place of ὑπηρετήσει. On the other hand οἷα ποιοῦσιν would be closely parallel to οἷα ἀγαθὰ ἢ κακὰ ποιεῖ, and οἷα ὑπηρετοῦσιν would seem a less natural construction than πῶς ὑπηρετοῦσιν. Believing therefore that one use of ὑπηρετεῖν grew by a copyist's error out of the other, I should prefer to read οἷα ποιοῦσιν (or ἀποτελοῦσιν, or some such word) and to keep ὑπηρετήσει; but οἷα ὑπηρετοῦσιν and ποιήσει would be much better than the received text.

602 A. Οὔτε ἄρα εἴσεται οὔτε ὀρθὰ δοξάσει ὁ μιμητὴς περὶ ὧν ἂν μιμῆται πρὸς κάλλος ἢ πονηρίαν. Οὐκ ἔοικεν. Χαρίεις ἂν εἴη ὁ ἐν τῇ ποιήσει μιμητικὸς πρὸς σοφίαν περὶ ὧν ἂν ποιῇ. Οὐ πάνυ.

χαρίεις κ.τ.λ. needs a particle of connexion, and οὐ πάνυ is not quite in harmony with it. Both these faults may be removed by reading <Οὔκουν> χαρίεις. Οὔκουν fell out from its likeness to ἔοικεν, and its restoration will give us a pair of negative sentences just like the pair preceding.

602 C. καὶ ταὐτὰ καμπύλα τε καὶ εὐθέα ἐν ὕδατί τε θεωμένοις καὶ ἔξω, καὶ κοίλά τε δὴ καὶ ἐξέχοντα διὰ τὴν περὶ τὰ χρώματα αὖ πλάνην τῆς ὄψεως καὶ πᾶσά τις ταραχὴ δήλη ἡμῖν ἐνοῦσα αὕτη ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ. Perhaps we should read πᾶσι for πᾶσα, which hardly harmonizes with τις. In Aristotle's *Poetics* 6, 1449 *b* 36 πᾶσιν is a very probable correction for πᾶσαν.

602 E. τούτῳ δὲ (*i.e.* τῷ λογιστικῷ) πολλάκις μετρήσαντι καὶ σημαίνοντι μείζω ἄττα εἶναι ἢ ἐλάττω ἕτερα ἑτέρων ἢ ἴσα τἀναντία φαίνεται ἅμα περὶ ταὐτά. Ναί. Οὐκοῦν ἔφαμεν τῷ αὐτῷ ἅμα περὶ ταὐτὰ ἐναντία δοξάζειν ἀδύνατον εἶναι; Καὶ ὀρθῶς γ' ἔφαμεν.

I see no way out of the difficulty of this passage except by reading the genitive τούτου δὲ π. μετρήσαντος καὶ σημαίνοντος and supposing that the dative was due to a misapprehension. The words as they stand compel us to take the dative with φαίνεται, and give a sense which is not only false but flatly contradicted by the immediately following sentences. It is not to the rational part that the contrary impression is conveyed, but to another.

603 C. Ὧδε δὴ προθώμεθα· πράττοντας, φαμέν, ἀνθρώπους μιμεῖται ἡ μιμητική κ.τ.λ. μή τι ἄλλο παρὰ ταῦτα; Οὐδέν. Ἆρ' οὖν ἐν ἅπασι τούτοις κ.τ.λ.

For προθώμεθα, which can hardly be right, I suggest ὑποθώμεθα, or perhaps θεώμεθα.

604 A. πολλὰ μὲν τολμήσει φθέγξασθαι, ἃ εἴ τις αὐτοῦ ἀκούοι αἰσχύνοιτ' ἄν, πολλὰ δὲ ποιήσει, ἃ κ.τ.λ. Read ποιῆσαι.

604 B. οὐκοῦν τὸ μὲν ἕτερον τῷ νόμῳ ἕτοιμον πείθεσθαι, ᾗ ὁ νόμος ἐξηγεῖται.

Perhaps either τῷ νόμῳ or ὁ νόμος should be omitted. But in view of the words preceding (λόγος καὶ νόμος) I suggest τῷ λόγῳ for τῷ νόμῳ. Cf. the phrase in D οὐκοῦν, φαμέν, τὸ μὲν βέλτιστον τούτῳ τῷ λογισμῷ ἑθέλει ἕπεσθαι.

605 C. οἱ γάρ που βέλτιστοι ἡμῶν ἀκροώμενοι Ὁμήρου ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν τραγῳδοποιῶν μιμουμένου τινὰ τῶν ἡρώων ἐν πένθει ὄντα καὶ μακρὰν ῥῆσιν ἀποτείνοντα ἐν τοῖς ὀδυρμοῖς ἢ

κλαίοντάς (καὶ ᾄδοντάς MSS.) τε καὶ κοπτομένους, οἶσθ' ὅτι χαίρομεν κ.τ.λ.

A few inferior MSS. have τινας...ὄντας... ἀποτείνοντας, and the change to the plural in the later participles is certainly very awkward. Yet the singular number is the best: only one hero is shown lamenting at a time, Achilles or Ajax. I cannot help suspecting that what Plato really wrote was ἀκροώμενοι...μιμουμένου...καὶ...ἀποτείνοντος...ἢ κλαίοντός τε καὶ κοπτομένου. If we can be said to 'hear Homer imitating,' I think we might be said to hear him doing the rest, even κοπτομένου.

606 A. For τότ' ἐστὶ τοῦτο Madvig would read αὖτ' ἐστι τοῦτο. Τότε is clearly wrong after the previous τότε in the same sentence, and αὐτὸ seems clearly right. But I think the order should be inverted and we should read τοῦτ' ἐστὶν αὐτό, which has the advantage of putting both words in the right place.

606 D. καὶ περὶ ἀφροδισίων δὴ καὶ θυμοῦ καὶ περὶ πάντων τῶν ἐπιθυμητικῶν τε καὶ λυπηρῶν καὶ ἡδέων ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, ἃ δή φαμεν πάσῃ πράξει ἡμῖν ἕπεσθαι, ὅτι τοιαῦτα ἡμᾶς ἡ ποιητικὴ μίμησις ἐργάζεται· τρέφει γὰρ ταῦτα ἄρδουσα, δέον αὐχμεῖν, καὶ κ.τ.λ.

Ὅτι is bracketed by Baiter. Madvig reads ἔτι. Τοιαῦτα can hardly stand as it is, and I should suggest for ὅτι τοιαῦτα either ἕτερα τοιαῦτα, or οὐ τὰ αὐτά (a question). The latter is supported by Glaucon's οὐκ ἔχω ἄλλως φάναι, which seems to imply a question preceding. The confusion of τοιαῦτα, τὰ αὐτά, ταῦτα &c. is common. Cf. last note, and on 586 C: 598 E.

607 C. καὶ ὁ τῶν διασόφων ὄχλος κρατῶν.

The quotation from an author unknown is given in this form by Baiter after Schmidt. Most MSS. have διὰ σοφῶν: A apparently δία σοφῶν, from which many scholars have written Δία σοφῶν, some (Schleiermacher, Stallbaum) thinking Δία could depend on σοφῶν, others (Schneider, Bywater) governing it by κρατῶν. No one seems to have seen that the δία of A is nothing but an easy corruption of λίαν (ΔΙΑ for ΛΙᾹ). Cf. Eur. *El.* 296, γνώμην ἐνεῖναι τοῖς σοφοῖς λίαν σοφήν: *Med.* 295, παῖδας περισσῶς ἐκδιδάσκεσθαι σοφούς and 305 εἰμὶ δ' οὐκ ἄγαν σοφή. As we are dealing with a mere fragment, it would probably be unwise to alter κρατῶν, but κριτῶν is an obvious conjecture.

608 E. Ἆρ' οὖν ὥσπερ ἐγὼ περὶ αὐτῶν διανοεῖ; Τὸ ποῖον; Τὸ μὲν ἀπολλύον καὶ διαφθεῖρον πᾶν τὸ κακὸν εἶναι, τὸ δὲ σῷζον καὶ ὠφελοῦν τὸ ἀγαθόν; Ἔγωγ', ἔφη. Τί δέ; κακὸν κάστῳ τι καὶ ἀγαθὸν λέγεις, οἷον ὀφθαλμοῖς φθαλμίαν καὶ ξύμπαντι τῷ σώματι νόσον, σίτῳ ε ἐρυσίβην κ.τ.λ.

Does not the sense require that with κακὸν ἑκάστῳ τι καὶ ἀγαθὸν λέγεις we should read some such word as ἴδιον (610 B) or οἰκεῖον (609 C: 610 E)? Probably it preceded οἷον and fell out through likeness to it.

610 A. Ἦ τοίνυν ταῦτα ἐξελέγχωμεν ὅτι οὐ καλῶς λέγομεν ἤ, ἕως ἂν ᾖ ἀνεξέλεγκτα, μή ποτε φῶμεν κ.τ.λ.

Read ἐξελεγχθῶμεν. Cf. πρὶν ἄν τις ἀποδείξῃ four lines below.

611 E. περικρουσθεῖσα πέτρας τε καὶ ὄστρεα ἃ νῦν αὐτῇ...γεηρὰ καὶ πετρώδη πολλὰ καὶ ἄγρια περιπέφυκεν.

I think we should get rid of the tautology by omitting πέτρας τε καὶ ὄστρεα, as having got in from ὄστρεά τε καὶ φυκία καὶ πέτρας in 611 D, or we should at least read <καὶ> ἃ νῦν. If the substantives were right, would they not need an article?

612 A. Οὐκοῦν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, τά τε ἄλλα ἀπελυσάμεθα ἐν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ οὐ τοὺς μισθοὺς οὐδὲ τὰς δόξας δικαιοσύνης· ἐπηνέκαμεν, ὥσπερ Ἡσίοδόν τε καὶ Ὅμηρον ὑμεῖς ἔφατε.

Ἐπηνέκαμεν (Cobet) or ἐπηνέσαμεν is clearly right as against the old ἐπηνέγκαμεν; indeed ἐπηνέκαμεν seems really to be the final reading of A. But neither the ἀπελυσάμεθα of 'the best MSS.' and Stobaeus nor the ἀπεδυσάμεθα of other MSS. is at all satisfactory: ἀπεδυσάμεθα is not even an Attic prose form. I should say that Plato wrote τά τε ἄλλα ἀπεωσάμεθα, just as in 366 A he writes τὰ δ' ἐξ ἀδικίας κέρδη ἀπωσόμεθα. The corruption of ω to λυ occurs in a fragment of Archilochus (74 in Bergk), where the faulty λυγρόν should certainly be changed with Bentley to ὠχρόν.

614 B. ἀλκίμου μὲν ἀνδρός, Ἡρὸς τοῦ Ἀρμενίου, τὸ γένος Παμφύλου.

We hardly need Theodoret's quotation of these words to suggest that we must read τὸ <δὲ> γένος. The διακελεύεσθαι which he and Eusebius give in 614 D seems decidedly preferable to διακελεύοιντο.

615 D. οὐχ ἥκει, φάναι, οὐδ' ἂν ἥξει. Read οὐδὲ δὴ ἥξει (*Class. Rev.* vi. 339 *b*).

616 A. τοῖς ἀεὶ παριοῦσι σημαίνοντες ὧν ἕνεκά τε καὶ εἰς ὅ τι τὸν Τάρταρον ἐμπεσούμενοι ἄγοιντο. A has εἰς ὅ τι, all other MSS. apparently εἰς ὅτι, and the editors before Hermann ὅτι εἰς. Hermann however and Baiter keep εἰς ὅ τι and bracket τὸν Τάρταρον as a gloss. But is it certain that Plato could have written of a place εἰς ὅ τι, instead of οἷ or ὅποι? Cf. Thuc. 1, 69, 5 ἐπιστάμεθα οἵᾳ ὁδῷ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὅτι κατ' ὀλίγον χωροῦσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πέλας. There is some awkwardness there, as here; but does Cobet avoid all awkwardness by bracketing καὶ ὅτι? If we

want to do that, we must bracket καὶ ὅτι κατ' ὀλίγον.

618 D. ὥστε ἐξ ἁπάντων αὐτῶν δυνατὸν εἶναι συλλογισάμενον αἱρεῖσθαι πρὸς τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς φύσιν ἀποβλέποντα τόν τε χείρω καὶ τὸν ἀμείνω βίον.

For αἱρεῖσθαι, which gives a quite wrong sense here (it is rightly used ten lines below, τὸν μέσον ἀεὶ τῶν τοιούτων βίον αἱρεῖσθαι), read διαιρεῖσθαι. Cf. βίον καὶ χρηστὸν καὶ πονηρὸν διαγιγνώσκοντα and διαιρούμενα itself in 618 C.

619 D. διὸ δὴ καὶ μεταβολὴν τῶν κακῶν καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ταῖς πολλαῖς τῶν ψυχῶν γίγνεσθαι καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ κλήρου τύχην.

Διὸ δή...καὶ διά is awkward, and worse than awkward, for Plato clearly wrote καὶ <οὐ> διά. The words immediately following, εἰ...ὁ κλῆρος αὐτῷ τῆς αἱρέσεως μὴ ἐν τελευταίοις πίπτοι, may be quoted against this: but what of 619 B καὶ τελευταίῳ ἐπιόντι, ξὺν νῷ ἑλομένῳ, συντόνως ζῶντι κεῖται βίος ἀγαπητός, οὐ κακός· μήτε ὁ ἄρχων αἱρέσεως ἀμελείτω μήτε ὁ τελευτῶν ἀθυμείτω!—and this is the drift of the whole passage. The ἐπεί which follows here after the words cited (and which Davies and Vaughan boldly translate 'but') has no meaning, unless there was an οὐ preceding. The condition thrown in (εἰ... πίπτοι) only means that one of the very last choosers cannot expect εὐδαιμονεῖν in the highest degree.

621 B. ἐπειδὴ δὲ κοιμηθῆναι καὶ μέσας νύκτας γενέσθαι, βροντήν τε καὶ σεισμὸν γενέσθαι.

Is Plato really responsible for the clumsy and ill-sounding repetition of γενέσθαι? As καί and κατά are often confused, perhaps we should write ἐπειδὴ δὲ κοιμηθῆναι, κατὰ μέσας νύκτας βροντήν τε καὶ σεισμὸν γενέσθαι.

Ibid. ἐξαίφνης ἀναβλέψας ἰδεῖν ἕωθεν αὐτὸν κείμενον ἐπὶ τῇ πυρᾷ. A's marginal ἄνωθεν for ἕωθεν commends itself to me, though no editor seems to have favoured it. The marginal correction in 576 D seems certain and that in 607 D very plausible: cf. too 533 E.

621 C. καὶ ἡμᾶς ἂν σώσειεν. Read καὶ ἡμᾶς δὴ σώσει (*Class. Rev.* vi. 341 *a*).

Ibid. τῆς ἄνω ὁδοῦ ἀεὶ ἑξόμεθα καὶ δικαιοσύνην μετὰ φρονήσεως παντὶ τρόπῳ ἐπιτηδεύσομεν, ἵνα καὶ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς φίλοι ὦμεν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς, αὐτοῦ τε μένοντες ἐνθάδε καὶ ἐπειδὰν τὰ ἆθλα αὐτῆς κομιζώμεθα, ὥσπερ οἱ νικηφόροι περιαγειρόμενοι, καὶ ἐνθάδε καὶ ἐν τῇ χιλιέτει πορείᾳ, ἣν διεληλύθαμεν, εὖ πράττωμεν.

Schneider, who objects on grounds of logic to joining ἵνα...φίλοι ὦμεν...τοῖς θεοῖς... ἐπειδὰν τὰ ἆθλα αὐτῆς κομιζώμεθα, connects αὐτοῦ τε...περιαγειρόμενοι with εὖ πράττωμεν. But his logical objection, though not unfounded, seems to tell with equal strength against saying ἵνα...ἐπειδὰν τὰ ἆθλα αὐτῆς κομιζώμεθα...εὖ πράττωμεν, and in his construction the repetition in καὶ ἐνθάδε is very weak. I conclude therefore that αὐτοῦ τε... περιαγειρόμενοι goes with φίλοι ὦμεν, and indeed the τε and καὶ almost necessarily form a pair. But the meaning would be much more clearly and symmetrically expressed, if we might suppose a τε to have been lost, reading καὶ ἐνθάδε <τε> καὶ ἐν τῇ χιλιέτει πορείᾳ...εὖ πράττωμεν. Plato does not avoid such a combination of short syllables: cf. 602 C ἐν ὕδατί τε. For the omission of τε cf. note on 614 B, and here it is made easier by δε preceding.

I take this opportunity of cancelling three suggestions that have been made in this collection of notes. In 369 D I doubted whether the adverb αὐτόσε could stand after προστιθέναι in the sense of 'add,' and suggested αὐτοῖς: Dem. *Ol.* 2, 14 ὅποι τις ἂν προσθῇ οἶμαι κἂν μικρὰν δύναμιν, πάντ' ὠφελεῖ shows that it can. In 489 B I took exception to καὶ—τοίνυν, but wrongly: see for instance Dr. Holden's index to the *Oeconomicus* s.v. τοίνυν. Finally I called in question the use of ἀνδρειοτέρου ἰατροῦ in contrast with φαυλότερον in 459 C, but in reading Isocrates I have found three places where ἀνδρικός seems to be used of purely intellectual characteristics. In 13, 17 he declares various things in the art of composition πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας δεῖσθαι καὶ ψυχῆς ἀνδρικῆς καὶ δοξαστικῆς ἔργον εἶναι, and in 15, 200 he contrasts οἱ ἀφυεῖς (τῶν ῥητόρων) and οἱ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀνδρικὰς ἔχοντες: see also 15, 266. These passages seem to indicate that if in 459 C ἀνδρειοτέρου itself is not right, we might be content with ἀνδρικωτέρου. The two words are confused in Ar. *Peace* 498 and *Knights* 453, where the MSS. give ἀνδρικῶς and ἀνδρικώτατα, while ἀνδρείως and ἀνδρειότατα are required by the metre.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

THE PROVINCE OF GALATIA.

It has been generally supposed up to our own time that St. Paul's Galatia is the Keltic district in Asia Minor which is always known as Galatia. Lately however Professor Ramsay has found himself compelled 'to understand Galatians as inhabitants of Roman Galatia.' I do not propose to discuss this hypothesis generally, but only to offer a brief criticism of the Professor's view of the *name* Galatia.

In *The Church and the Roman Empire* (p. 6 note) Professor Ramsay says—'I did not expect to be obliged to argue that this great province [*i.e.* that which includes, besides Galatia proper, Lycaonia, Isauria, and portions of Phrygia and Pisidia] was called Galatia; but even this simple fact, which has been assumed by every writer since Tacitus, has recently been contested by Dr. Schürer: and I have appended a note on the subject at the end of this chapter.'

As Emil Schürer is a man who says nothing lightly, it was certainly worth while to attempt to refute him. I turn to the note (p. 13). There I find Schürer quoted as saying—'An official usage which embraced all three districts (Galatia, Pisidia, Lycaonia) under the single conception *Galatia* has never existed.' And again—'the name Galatia is only *a parte potiori*, being taken from the biggest of the various districts which were included in the province, and is not an official designation.' On the other side Professor Ramsay alleges (no doubt correctly, though without any quotation of authority) that 'the first governor appointed is called "Governor of Galatia."' What was the Latin or Greek title of this 'governor' does not appear; but at any rate it is not disputed that there was a Roman official who took his designation from Galatia, or that he had jurisdiction over a considerable district outside Galatia proper; but it by no means follows that 'Galatia' was the name, the proper official designation, of his whole jurisdiction. Indeed, Professor Ramsay very candidly supplies evidence that this was not the case. 'Honorary inscriptions,' he says, 'in which it is an object to accumulate titles, speak of the official as governor of Galatia, Pontus, Paphlagonia, Pisidia, Phrygia, Lycaonia, etc.' There could scarcely be clearer proof that at the date of these honorary inscriptions the name 'Galatia' did not designate a province which included Pisidia, Phrygia, and Lycaonia. We cannot imagine that any desire to 'accumulate titles' would induce the people (for instance) of a city in the Madras Presidency to address their governor as Lieutenant-governor of Madras, Trichinopoly, and Madura, these districts being included in the Presidency. But we can very well suppose that the people of Delhi would address the official in whose jurisdiction they are as 'Chief Commissioner of the Punjab and Delhi,' because, though Delhi is under his authority, it is never spoken of as being in the Punjab.

But 'inscriptions found in the extreme parts of Galatic Pisidia and Galatic Lycaonia mention the governor of the district as governor of Galatia.' If this were the case, it would afford (it seems to me) a slight presumption that Pisidia and Lycaonia were not included in a province called Galatia; for if they had been it would have been more natural to speak of the governor as governor 'of this province' or 'of our province.' But in the inscriptions as given by Professor Ramsay (I know them only in his quotation) we do not find 'Galatia,' but 'the Galatic province.' Is this a synonym for 'Galatia'? If this is really the case, it is difficult to imagine why the simple word 'Galatia' was not used. It is not—so far as my small observation goes—at all usual in the 'lapidary' style to use needless amplification. But if Schurer's supposition is correct, that there was no Roman province called Galatia, the 'Galatic' province is a natural designation for the region governed from Galatia, but not wholly included in Galatia.

On the whole, I come to the conclusion that Professor's Schürer's view has much in its favour, and that Professor Ramsay's arguments against it are very far from conclusive.

S. Cheetham.

ἁρμονία AND τόνος IN GREEK MUSIC.

In the interesting and instructive volume on the *Modes of Ancient Greek Music*, lately published by the Clarendon Press, the Provost of Oriel maintains that there was no such distinction as that which Westphal and others have drawn between ancient Greek 'modes' (ἁρμονίαι) and 'keys' (τόνοι or τρόποι). Among the reasons which Mr. Monro adduces in support of their identity is the fact that Plutarch was apparently not aware of any difference of meaning between τόνος and ἁρμονία (*l.c.*, p. 26). This is inferred from a comparison of three passages in his treatise *De Musica*, cc. 15-17, cc. 6 and 8, and c. 19. May I be permitted to point out that it appears to be (if possible) still more clearly proved by another passage in the same author? In the tract *De* E *apud Delphos*, c. 10, p. 389 e, Plutarch incidentally mentions πέντε τοὺς πρώτους, εἴτε τόνους ἢ τρόπους εἴθ' ἁρμονίας χρὴ καλεῖν, ὧν ἐπιτάσει καὶ ὑφέσει τρεπομένων κατὰ τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ ἧττον αἱ λοιπαὶ βαρύτητές εἰσι καὶ ὀξύτητες. Here Plutarch obviously regards the 'modes' as synonymous with the 'keys.'

J. E. Sandys.

THE MUSIC OF THE *ORESTES*.

In his article on the Orestes papyrus in the last number of this *Review*, pp. 313–317, Mr. Abdy Williams has been following Dr. Wessely with rather too much confidence. The transcript will not bear examination.

1. He says that the notes for the accompaniment are mingled with the text. That would be unprecedented. In the nine fragments from Delphi with notes for instruments the notes are written above the text; and so also in the Kircher and Marcello MSS. He says that the notes here are ϽΓ, and Z. Whenever the so-called Z occurs in the text, it comes between the last word of one verse and the first word of the next verse; so this must be a species of κορωνίς for marking off the verses. The ϽΓ occur, with other fragments of letters, in the interval between κατέκλυσεν and ὡς πόντου, where δεινῶν πόνων should be read; so they are blunders of the scribe. Obviously, the scribe was puzzled by the half-verse ἀνὰ δὲ λαῖφος ὥς, and completed it with the half-verse τις ἀκάτου θοᾶς, beginning the next verse at τινάξας and adding the Z above the line. And then he made this muddle of the text, beginning a fresh verse at ὡς πόντου with the Z again above the line.

2. Mr. Abdy Williams says that the ictus dot is placed above the musical sign, or alongside it, according to exigencies of space. It is always above the punctuating Z, and alongside the musical sign that follows the Z. Thus, Ż and P· in lines 1, 2; Ż and |· in 3, 4, and again in 5, 6, and 11; and Ż and Φ· in 7. Thus the plain dot marks the first note in a verse, while the combined dot and dash mark the first note in the fourth foot. The dot and dash occur in lines 5, 7, 9, as printed in the transcript; and a photograph shows traces of them above the first Π in line 1. They are required above the first Z in line 3, but here the photograph shows hardly any traces of the Z itself.

3. In determining the values of the notes, he treats the μα in ματέρος as a short syllable; the χευ in ἀναβακχεύει, the δαι in δαίμων, and the πον in πόντου, as two short syllables each; the word ὡς as two long syllables; and the νων in δεινῶν as a short and a long. No doubt the ὡς is split, for this is written as ὥως: but if the other syllables were split, they would be written accordingly. Moreover, a long syllable always splits into two shorts, as may be seen from the Delphic hymns.

4. As regards the notes for voices, he follows the usual system in giving *e* for Γ, *g* for Φ, *a* for C, *d* for I, and *e* for Z. But he gives *f* for E, whereas E was the lower of the two notes that came between *e* and *f*; and in line 11 he treats the punctuating Z as a note for voices. He also gives *b♭* for Π and makes P a quarter-tone between *b♭* and *a*. This involves the enharmonic scale with intervals of a quarter of a tone apiece; but the notation will also suit the chromatic scales with intervals of three-

eighths or a third of a tone apiece, besides other chromatic and enharmonic scales with more complicated intervals.

5. As regards the alleged notes for instruments, he follows the usual system in giving *g* for Z. But he gives *f* for ℸ, whereas ℸ was a note between *e* and *f*; and he also gives *bb* for ↄ, thereby involving the enharmonic scale with intervals of a quarter of a tone apiece.

6. He transcribes the music into the notation that is now in use; and this is associated with an octave of twelve equal intervals. But in Greek music the intervals were not the same; so the notes are not exactly in their places.

The comparisons with modern music appear to be illusory. They are not founded on the ancient music as it stands, but on a transcript which twists it into modern shape.

CECIL TORR.

NOTE ON THE HOMERIC *HYMN TO HERMES* V. 33.

IN the current *Hermathena*, in a review of Goodwin's *Homeric Hymns* among other conjectures I have put forward one (on *Hermes* v. 33) which has been fortunate enough to command the assent of many of my friends. I avail myself here of the courtesy of the Editor of the *Classical Review* to make a slight improvement on it. The note ran thus:—

> In v. 33 there is, as it seems to us, room for a certain conjecture, though, strange to say, the needfulness of a correction has not struck any of the editors. Hermes, addressing the tortoise out of whose shell he afterwards fashioned the lyre, exclaims:—
>
> πόθεν τόδε, καλὸν ἄθυρμα,
> αἰόλον ὄστρακον ἐσσί, χέλυς ὄρεσι ζώουσα;
>
> But 'how came it that thou art a shell?' is unmeaning. Read ἔσσο for ἐσσί. The tortoise was not the shell much more than a man is his great-coat. One is reminded of the joke ascribed to Mr. Gilbert when in reply to 'You wear a great-coat?' he said, 'No, I never was.' But 'thou art clothed with this shell' at once recalls the λάϊνον ἔσσο χιτῶνα of Γ 57.

The punctuation given above, which is that of most editions, compels us to give to πόθεν the sense of *qui fit ut?* not of *unde?* Now this sense of πόθεν is posthomeric. This is not a serious objection, for every reader of the hymns knows that they abound in posthomeric usages. But a slight change of punctuation improves the construction; read:—

πόθεν τόδε καλὸν ἄθυρμα;
αἰόλον ὄστρακον ἔσσο χέλυς ὄρεσι ζώουσα.

'Whence this pretty plaything? Curiously wrought (or, sheeny,) is the shell wherewith thou art clothed upon, thou tortoise of the field.' The punctuation which I now recommend is, I find, that of Gemoll's edition.

It would be quite impossible with the ordinary punctuation to take πόθεν ἐσσί together = *unde es?* To this τόδε is fatal; τοῦτο would be awkward, but τόδε would not be Greek, unless we could write πόθεν ὅδε σοφὸς Εὐριπίδης (or ὅδε σοφὲ Εὐριπίδη) εἶ; Besides, the coupling together in apposition of ἄθυρμα, ὄστρακον, χέλυς, would be ungraceful to the point of unintelligibility. The words αἰόλον ὄστρακον ἐσσί would of necessity supply the predicate.

R. Y. TYRRELL.

THE MODERN GREEK WORD νερό.

IN a note in the *Classical Review* of March (p. 100) Mr. A. N. Jannaris says that the modern Greek word νερό has no connexion with the ancient νηρό-, Νηρεύς, but is nothing but a phonetic modification of νεαρόν 'fresh,' *sc.* ὕδωρ. I should like to point out that Prof. Krumbacher at Munich, three years ago, proposed the same etymology. In the edition of the *Colloquium Pseudo-Dositheanum Monacense* inserted by Krumbacher in the *Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, W. von Christ dargebracht* (München, 1891), p. 362 *seqq.* (in a note to 'πίωμεν νερὸν ἐκ τοῦ βαυκιδίου bibamus recentem de gillone'), we find the explanation of νερόν from νεαρόν

supported by good arguments. Further Mr. Hatzidakis, discussing the etymology in a criticism of Krumbacher's paper (Ἀθηνᾶ iv. 466), completes the arguments of Krumbacher, showing that the contraction of *εα* to *η* (*νεαρόν—νηρόν—νερόν*) is attested by ancient authority. Moreover Hatzidakis refers to Korais' Ἄτακτα, iv. 349 and Sophocles' well-known *Lexicon*. Both these writers suggest (though without arguing the question) that *νερό* may possibly be identical with the ancient Greek word *νεαρόν*.

ALBERT THUMB.

Freiburg-i.-B.

EUR. *ION* 1276.

ὁ δ' οἶκτος ὁ σὸς ἐμοὶ κρείσσων πάρα
καὶ μητρὶ τῇ 'μῇ.

These words should naturally mean 'But pity for thee is stronger in my heart and that of my mother,' a sense absolutely irreconcilable with the context. Ion is threatening Creusa with instant and certain death:

ἀλλ' οὔτε βωμὸς οὔτ' Ἀπόλλωνος δόμος
σώσει σ'.

are the words immediately preceding; and there is no sign of relenting in what follows. In order to make the line fit into its context, editors are reduced to translating (as Paley) 'The feeling of pity for you is stronger for myself and my mother,' a rendering adopted also by Dr. Verrall in his poetical version. But it is hard to see how the words can possibly be so construed. I would suggest the Epic *οἶτος*, used by Sophocles (*El.* 167) and Euripides (*I.T.* 1091, where Dind. has *οἰκτρόν*) in lyric passages, with the sense 'But thy doom is present as a mightier desire (than reverence for Apollo) with me and my mother.'

FRANK CARTER.

DELBRÜCK'S COMPARATIVE SYNTAX.

Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen. Von KARL BRUGMANN und BERTHOLD DELBRÜCK. Dritter Band. *Vergleichende Syntax der indogermanischen Sprachen.* Von B. DELBRÜCK. Erster Theil. Strassburg. Karl J. Trübner. 1893. M. 20.

THIS is a book to which it is out of place here to apply the general language of eulogy. The time will come when it will be interesting and proper to call attention to the qualities which distinguish Delbrück among the great scholars who have built up the science of comparative grammar. At present our business is simply to give such an account of the work as will be of service to those who intend to study and use it.

The author begins with a sketch of the history of syntax. Three periods are distinguished. The first is that of the ancient Greek grammarians. The second begins with the twelfth century, when education in western Europe derived its substance from the doctrines of the Church, and its formulas from a Latinized version of Aristotle. Here we find the early history of such terms as 'subject,' 'predicate,' 'governing,' 'concord,' &c. After the Renaissance the growth of philosophy led to the conception of 'universal grammar,' and to such theories as that of the derivation of the grammatical cases from local relations ('where,' 'whence,' 'whither'). The third period is that of the modern science of language, founded by Bopp, whose treatment of the infinitive in his *Conjugationsystem* (1816) may be regarded as the beginning of comparative syntax. Since that time the most marked change in the method of comparative grammar has been the limitation of its first aims. To Bopp and even to G. Curtius it seemed possible not merely to reconstruct the original or 'Indo-germanic' language but to explain the formation of that language from its elements. The latter of these aims is now recognized as hopeless: indeed the comparative method is inapplic-

able to it. We compare the members of the family of languages in order to arrive at the original mother-tongue: but when we have reached that mother-tongue we find no term of further comparison.

After this introductory matter the author addresses himself first to the problems of gender. Does the gender of nouns depend on their meaning? In Latin, for example, why are the names of rivers masculine, and those of trees feminine? On this point it appears that there is nothing to be learned from comparative grammar, since the phenomena in question cannot be traced back to the period of Indo-germanic unity. On the other hand the rule that stems in *-o* are masculine or neuter, and stems in *-ā* feminine, was originally an absolute one, numerous as are the exceptions in Greek and Latin. How then do we account for the gender of such words as *ταμίας, πολίτης, scriba, scurra?* Or again of such words as *ὁδός, νῆσος*? The former question was touched upon in Delbrück's earlier *Grundlagen der griechischen Syntax*, but now receives a more complete discussion. The source of the change of gender, he points out, lies in a change of meaning. The commonest case is when a feminine abstract denoting an *action* comes to be used as a noun of the *agent*. Thus there was doubtless a noun *ταμία* which meant 'cutting up,' and so 'dispensing,' stewardship. In Homer we find a change of meaning, but not of gender, *γυνὴ ταμίη* being used in the sense of a housekeeper. Finally, when the steward was usually a man, the further step was taken of making the word masculine and adding the characteristic *-ς* to the nominative. Similarly *νεανίας* presupposes a collective or abstract *νεανία*. Most of the Latin masculines in *-a* are either words expressing some action or employment, as *scriba, popa, auriga, lixa*, &c., or contemptuous terms, as *scurra, gumia*, &c. Some are borrowed from Greek, *e.g. nauta, poeta*, and these may point, as Delbrück suggests, to Greek forms *ναύτᾱ, ποιητά* (without final *-ς*). This hypothesis may perhaps be supported by the Boeotian and Elean masculines in *-ᾱ* (as to which see Meister i. 160); but we must reckon with the probability that the borrowed words would follow the analogy of the native Latin *scriba*, &c. The change of meaning from abstract to concrete may be illustrated within Latin by such uses as *magistratus* 'magistracy,' then 'magistrate.' Probably it began with the use of the word as a title or epithet: cp. the Greek *ἱππότα Πηλεύς, ἠπύτα κῆρυξ*, &c., also *βίη Πριάμοιο* and the like. Thus it is ultimately the same change of meaning that we see in *bahuvrihi* compounds (*swift-foot* for *swift-footed*, &c.). Delbrück adds apposite parallels from the Balto-Slav languages. On p. 109, l. 24, 'das Lateinische' is surely a misprint for 'das Litauische.'

After *gender* comes *number*. In dealing with the dual the German language has the advantage of possessing in the words *beide* and *zwei* the same distinction as that which obtained between the dual and the plural as used of two objects. In Greek, however, even as early as Homer, the plural had begun to encroach on the province of the dual. Regarding the loss of the dual Delbrück makes the interesting suggestion that it was caused by the use of the words *ἄμφω* and *δύω*. These words expressed the dual idea in a clear and uniform manner, which was gradually adopted in preference to the complicated system of dual-endings.

In regard to the plural the chief interest is to be found in the words which show more or less difference of meaning between singular and plural. The reason usually lies in the nature of the object. It may be one which does not admit of a true plurality: as *aes* 'brass' (*aera* 'pieces of brass'), *κλέος* 'fame' (*κλέεα* 'deeds of fame'). Or it is composed of parts which may be treated as a plurality: hence *στῆθος* or *στήθεα* 'the breast,' *τόξον* or *τόξα* 'a bow.' The difficulty is further illustrated by a class of nouns treated by Delbrück under the head of gender, viz. those which are masculine in the singular and neuter in the plural. This class, which appears to go back to the Indo-germanic period, may be exemplified by Greek *μηρός μῆρα, κέλευθος κέλευθα, Τάρταρος Τάρταρα*, Latin *locus loca, jocus joca*, &c. In these cases it is evident that the plural is a kind of collective noun, denoting a whole set or mass of things, not a true plurality: *e.g. loca* does not mean places (*loci*), but 'a region.' This is a shade of meaning by no means unknown with masculine and feminine plurals (cp. the Latin *fines, sales, nugae, tenebrae, divitiae*), but it is especially noticeable in the neuter. It is needless to refer to the use which Joh. Schmidt has made of these facts.

Under the head of the 'elliptic plural' Delbrück notices the use of *çváçurās* = 'the father-in-law and those who belong to him.' The use, he observes, is a rare one. We may compare the Homeric *νυὸς ἀνδρῶν αἰχμητάων* (*Il.* iii. 49), also Virgil's *hospitibus quondam socerisque vocatis* (*Aen.* xi. 105),

applied to the Latin nation in their relation to Aeneas.

The chapters dealing with the cases are introduced by a short statement of the doctrine of the Indian grammarians, with a comparison of their views with modern theory. The rest of the chapter treats of the process of development or rather decay which is called 'syncretism'—the amalgamation of two or more cases by the use of a common form. This is the process by which in Greek the ablative has been absorbed into the genitive, and the locative and instrumental into the dative; while in Latin the locative, instrumental, and ablative have formed one case. The same thing happened at a still earlier period to the nominative and accusative of the neuter. As Delbrück points out, the nominative probably was the case of the agent, and a neuter, which denoted an object without life, could not be regarded as an agent. In a more developed grammar, when the nominative might be used for a mere grammatical subject, the accusative neuter came to be employed as a nominative. For somewhat similar reasons in the dual and plural the nominative was used for the vocative.

The further steps by which in modern Greek the dative has been absorbed in the genitive had begun to be taken in the ancient Iranian language. In the pronominal declension the two cases agreed in some of their forms from a very early period. Delbrück [p. 482] would recognize traces of this in the Homeric use of οἱ, as in *Il.* xvi. 531 ὅττι οἱ ὦκ' ἤκουσε μέγας θεὸς εὐξαμένοιο. But the *dativus commodi* in Homer is surely elastic enough to cover such uses. In general it may be remarked that syncretism is confined in Greek and Latin to the three cases which have a distinctly local meaning, the locative, ablative, and instrumental. The reason of this is happily explained by Delbrück. These are the cases whose meaning can be at once expressed by simple prepositions—*in, from, with:* and whenever these prepositions are employed, the case-ending becomes superfluous, and is soon neglected. In the Aryan languages, in which the locative survives in full vigour, there is no preposition with the meaning 'in.' In Greek, on the other hand, the process of supplanting the case has gone so far that even in Homer the use of it is no longer free, but is confined to certain groups of words.

The treatment of the dative offers a good example of the changes of view which may be observed in the recent history of comparative grammar. Delbrück reminds us (p. 185) that a quarter of a century ago (*K. Z.* xviii. 100 ff.) he explained the fundamental meaning of the dative to be the quasi-local one of a leaning in the direction of an object, and traced this meaning back to the original formation of the case. He now confesses to a decided distrust of all 'glottogonic' hypotheses, and also to a freedom from prejudice in favour of local explanations of the cases. Looking simply at the facts, he regards the dative as probably the case of that for which something is done (dem der Verbalbegriff *gilt*). In this way he explains the circumstance that the dative is mainly used of *persons*, which would hardly be if it were the case of the *end* of action. It follows that in such a construction as πεδίῳ πέσε 'fell on the ground' he does not find a true dative, but a locative, as in the Latin *adveniens domi*, or *procumbit humi*. He admits indeed that *caelo* in the phrase *it caelo clamor* is a dative of the end of motion, but regards it as modelled on uses like *mittere leto*. A nearer approach to the final dative is seen in some Attic inscriptions in which we find phrases such as ξύλα καὶ ἄνθρακες τῷ μολύβδῳ 'wood and charcoal for the lead,' *i.e.* for smelting it.

In dealing with the genitive it will be found that Delbrück is inclined to a view which is equally removed from the prevailing tendencies of the last few years and from the earlier local theory. The suggestion that the genitive ending did not originally express any such notion as that of the prepositions 'of' or 'from' appears to have been first made by Höfer (*Lautlehre*, p. 92), who proposed to connect the ending *-osyo* with that of adjectives like δημόσιος, and thus to prove the genitive to be a sort of undeclined adjective. A similar view was put forward in a more subtle and plausible form by Curtius in his *Chronologie* (p. 69). According to him, the genitive ending being a pronoun, the whole word was a kind of compound, so that (*e.g.*) ὀπ-ός was literally *voice-that*, or 'that of the voice.' And even now that this hypothesis would generally, and doubtless rightly, be regarded as too 'glottogonic,' the view of the genitive as an 'adnominal' case, *i.e.* as expressing the dependence of a noun upon another noun, not (as with the other cases) upon a verb, may be said to be the generally accepted one. Delbrück now rejects this view. In the chapter which treats of the fundamental notions of the cases he points out (p. 186) that there is also an adnominal dative, which is generally regarded as having been de-

veloped from the 'adverbal' use. How then, he asks, if the adnominal genitive arose from a similar, only much earlier, change?

What was the fundamental notion of the 'adverbal' genitive? Delbrück accepts the definition given by C. Gaedicke (*Der Akkusativ im Veda*), according to which the substantive is put in the genitive when the notion given in the verb does not extend to or affect the whole of it. This account of the matter was originally put forward by Grimm, and was adopted by Delbrück in his earlier volume on Greek syntax. What is new in his present treatment is the disposition to regard this partial affecting of the substantive by the verb as the oldest meaning of the genitive, from which the ordinary possessive and other adnominal uses are derived. The question is not one which can be discussed here, especially as Delbrück himself does not put his arguments into a controversial form. Apparently he is influenced chiefly by the general analogy of the case-system, which would make it unlikely that any one case was formed in a wholly different way from the rest. He insists also with much force on the probability that the original conception of a case was not a vague and general notion, such as 'belonging to,' but a comparatively definite one—in this instance the partitive use—from which others were obtained by continued imitation and slight changes of usage (p. 333). In his treatment of particular uses we may notice the account of the genitive with verbs of *emotion* (χώομαι, κοτέω, ἄχνυμαι, φθονέω, &c.), which he regards as probably ablatival. The reason is that Sanscrit verbs of *fearing* take an ablative. It seems difficult however to separate verbs expressing emotion from those of *thinking*, *caring*, &c., such as μέδομαι, ἀλέγω, κήδομαι (p. 313). Classical scholars will be interested by the Slavonic use of the genitive singular instead of the accusative when the object is a living being (p. 319). Delbrück's explanation of these as partitive genitives gives real support to his theory of the partitive sense as the original nucleus of the case.

In the numerous points which arise with regard to the other cases the reader will be chiefly struck by the care with which every possibility is duly considered and admitted. There is no trace of the feeling that some one solution of a difficulty must be chosen for the sake of a *finis litium*. Examples of this suspense of judgment will be found in the account of the Greek dative with verbs of *ruling*, which may be a true dative, an instrumental, or a locative (p. 286), and with verbs of *trusting*, which is probably an instrumental, but may be a locative or (when the object is a person) a true dative. In phrases like μάχῃ (ἀγορῇ, &c.) νικᾶν it is duly noted that the dative may be locative or instrumental. Regarding the idiom in phrases of the type αὐτοῖσιν ὄχεσφιν 'chariot and all' there is a characteristic passage. Delbrück had noticed the difficulty of seeing why in this idiom the combination with αὐτός should have preserved the original instrumental or 'comitative' use. Various scholars expressed the opinion that αὐτός originally went with the governing word, and was drawn to the subordinate word by a kind of attraction (αὐτὸς τοῖς ὄχεσφι = the man with his chariot). But this, as Delbrück drily observes, is only a confession, clothed in historical form, that we are surprised to find αὐτός going with the subordinate notion when it ought to go with the principal subject of the sentence. The considerations put forward by the present reviewer (*Homeric Grammar*, § 144 note) are also insufficient, as Delbrück says, to explain the supposed attraction. But is there any such attraction? The point of αὐτός in the phrase (ἵπποι) αὐτοῖσιν ὄχεσφιν is that the horses were not separated from their chariot—that the chariot was there *as before*. So when a man returns αὐτὰ κέλευθα he goes his way *as before*. If this is the force of αὐτός, it belongs properly to the accompanying object.

Regarding the cases in -φι(ν) Delbrück has now satisfied himself that this form belongs properly and originally to the plural. The use of πασσαλόφι, ἐσχαρόφιν, ζυγόφιν, κεφαλῆφιν, and a few others as instrumental singular is connected with the *archaic* character which the ending undoubtedly had in the time of Homer. We have also to reckon with the chance that some of these forms do not belong to the original text: it is probable (*e.g.*) that αὐτόφι has sometimes crept in in place of αὐτόθι.

In the chapters on the adjectives and pronouns it is peculiarly difficult to pick out topics for notice in a short review. On the interesting subject of the reflexive pronoun Delbrück is very reserved. He holds the balance impartially between the critical scholars who looked upon isolated forms as blunders to be corrected, and the comparative grammarians who treasure them as survivals. Perhaps some progress may be made by keeping apart the two questions: (1) what evidence is there in the Homeric

text of a wider use of the reflexive stem σϝο-? and (2) is the use for the first and second persons due to an original wide reflexive sense, or to extension of a narrower use? The possibility of such an extension is obvious enough: cp. the modern Greek ἐκτύπησα τὸν ἑαυτόν μου 'I struck myself.' And surely the use of a pronoun as a 'general reflexive' is less likely to be primitive than the narrower and more definite use for the third person.

The chapter on the adverbs is a kind of appendix to the discussion of the cases. Delbrück excludes words which have no recognizable suffix (*e.g.* χθές, *cras*), or have a suffix which belongs properly to the pronouns or numerals (*-θεν*, *-θι*, *-tus*, &c.). Consequently the essence of an adverb is that it is a case-form of a noun which has come to be used in a special isolated way—which is, so to speak, petrified (*erstarrt*). The process of *Erstarrung*—a word for which we have no good translation—is finely analysed, and the chief instances are enumerated. Much of this is now familiar, but a few points may be noted. Delbrück still explains the adverbs in -ως as ablatives, notwithstanding the phonetic difficulties pointed out by Brugmann. The exact correspondence in use between Sanscrit *yād*, *tād* and Greek ὡς, τώς appears to him decisive. Thus he takes οὕτως as an ablative, οὕτω as an instrumental. The meaning in both instances has been generalized so as practically to coincide (p. 559, 580). On the other hand the Doric forms such as ὦ 'whence' are ablatival, answering in form (not in meaning) to the Attic οὗ, the meaning 'where' being expressed in Doric by the forms εἶ, πεῖ, &c. The forms in -η or -ῃ present a peculiar difficulty. Originally (as in the Cretan dialect of Gortyn) there were adverbs in -η meaning 'where' or 'whither,' and adverbs in -ᾳ meaning 'how,' 'in what way.' With the Ionic change of ᾳ to ῃ, and the tendency to omit ι *subscriptum* in MSS., it is no longer possible to distinguish these groups. In favour of the forms λάθρη and πάντη Delbrück has taken from Joh. Schmidt an argument which unfortunately is not conclusive. It had been pointed out by Hartel (*Hom. Studien* ii. 5) that in the first four books of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* final -η is shortened before a vowel forty-one times, and -ῃ only nineteen times. Joh. Schmidt observed that the final vowel of λάθρη and πάντη is frequently shortened in this way, and inferred that in Homer it ought to be written without ι *subscriptum*. He omitted to notice another table given by Hartel on the same page to show the relative frequency of different final vowels and diphthongs. From this table it appears that -η is three times as frequent as -ῃ. Consequently the shortening of -ῃ is relatively commoner than the shortening of -η, and the argument for λάθρη, πάντη falls to the ground.

The last part of the volume (pp. 643–774) is devoted to the prepositions. The space will not seem excessive when we consider the peculiar value which they have for the purpose of comparative grammar. In no other class of words have we such opportunities of observing original agreement in contrast to later growth and consequent divergence of usage. Delbrück arranges his matter from the points of view given by the distinctions (1) between 'pro-ethnical' and 'ethnical' grammar, and (2) between the use with the verb and the use with a governed noun. These uses he distinguishes by the words *Praeverbium* and *Praeposition*. It may be objected perhaps that terms of this kind would be more properly applied to two distinct classes of words than to two different uses of the same class. In his *Altindische Syntax* he assumed that every preposition was originally an adverb, and as such had a meaning which was 'free,' *i.e.* did not depend upon the verb of the sentence. For instance, *áti* meant 'beyond measure,' *ádhi* meant 'besides,' &c. He has now retracted or at least modified this view, and holds that the free adverbial use is in all cases a later development from the use as a *Praeverbium*. Thus the use of πέρι in the adverbial sense of 'exceedingly' is not original, but is due to the fact that with certain verbs (εἰμί, γίγνομαι, &c.) πέρι formed combinations meaning 'to be in excess,' 'to be superior.' The observation is an acute and important one; but it is hard to see how we can define a *Praeverbium* (not yet attached to a verb) so as to distinguish it *logically* from an adverb. The main point is to understand the profound gulf which *historically* separates the Indo-germanic prepositions from the case-forms out of which the adverbs were developed.

D. B. Monro.

[The following review from unavoidable causes has been very long delayed, but the number of interesting and important points which it discusses makes it hardly necessary to apologize for its insertion now.—Ed.]

PROFESSOR JEBB'S EDITION OF THE *TRACHINIAE* OF SOPHOCLES.

Sophocles.—*Trachiniae.* Part V. of the *Plays* and *Fragments*, with Critical Notes, Commentary, and Translation in English Prose, by R. C. Jebb. Cambridge University Press. 1892. Demy 8vo. 12*s.* 6*d.*

This volume of Professor Jebb's magnificent edition of Sophocles has been in the hands of scholars too long to require any formal expression of praise from the present reviewer. Its merits are those of the entire series. One marks throughout the same delicacy of touch, the same erudition, the same insight into the poet's thought, the same elegance and purity of language, that have won for this edition of Sophocles the first place in the esteem of scholars of both continents. I would not by criticism of details disparage in the slightest degree the fine workmanship of the whole. Professor Jebb has encouraged critics by his generous treatment of their suggestions in his revision of the *Oedipus Tyrannus.* I trust therefore that I shall not be misunderstood if in the following review I give an undue prominence to certain omissions, or blemishes, as they seem to me, in a work that as a whole commands nothing but praise.

The report of the MSS. is not invariably correct. Most noticeable perhaps is the report of L's reading of v. 129 : '*πῆμα καὶ χαρὰ* made from *πήματι καὶ χαρᾶι.*' But there was never room for *τι* between *πῆμα* and *καὶ*, where there are traces of a slight erasure, and *τι* was added by the corrector above the *η*. The accent that now stands on *χαρᾶι* (^) shows that the original grave was changed to a circumflex, not *vice versa*, at the same time that the *ι* was added. The note then should read '*πήματι* (*τι* written small over *η*) *καὶ χαρᾶι*, made from *πῆμα καὶ χαρὰ.*' It will be seen that the corrected reading distinctly favours the dative, and is against Professor Jebb's *ἐπι-κυκλοῦσιν* in *tmesis.* The correction proposed by Gleditsch (not noticed by Professor Jebb) is simple and satisfactory—*ἐπὶ πήμασιν χαραὶ.* On 622 we read : '*τὸ μὴ οὐ* A : *τὸ μὴν* (*sic*) L, made from *τὸ μὴ οὐ.*' But, in spite of Subkoff's report to the same effect, I believe that L has *μὴ'ν.* The corrector tried to unite *μὴ οὐ* by crasis, but was no more successful than in *O. C.* 566, where the result is *μ' οὐ.* *ν* standing alone is almost invariably written *μ.* The letter here is exactly like that in *βίου* 942, where Wakefield's emendation to *βίον* was necessary. This point is of interest as showing how easily *οὐ* after *μή* falls out altogether, as in this passage in four of the MSS. When it has disappeared in L, Professor Jebb, contrary to the practice of most editors, refuses to restore it (*τὸ μὴ οὐ* in 90 is an oversight). Minor errors in reporting L are more frequent, *e.g.* : 720 *ταύτη* (J. *ταύτῃ*), 969 *χρὴ θανόντα νίν* (J. *χρὴ θανόντα νιν*), 1062 *κ' οὐκ ανδρὸς* (J. *κοὐκ ἀνδρὸς*), 1091 *δε κείνοι* (J. *δε* (*sic*) *κεῖνοι*). A is not credited with the accepted reading *ἀεὶ* in vv. 16 and 28, *ἀναμπλάκητον* in 118, *ὑπέροχον* 1096, *ἁ δέ* 650, nor is it recorded that L's reading *κοὐχὶ Λυδία* in 432 is supported by five other MSS., while the reading adopted, *κοὐχ ἡ Λυδία*, is supported by only A and R (Subkoff). One would infer quite the contrary from the report '*κοὐχ ἡ* A, etc. : *κοὐχὶ* L.' In view of the trouble that critics have had with v. 809 *τείσαιτ' Ἐρινύς τ'· εἰ θέμις δ' ἐπεύχομαι*, it would have been well to notice the omission of *δ'* in B and V (Blaydes). This favours Axt's excellent emendation of *δ'* to *γ'* with a comma after *Ἐρινύς τ'*, which gives the best sense, though it is not noticed by Jebb. K gives *ἐμμέμονεν* in 982 (Subkoff), which Erfurdt had restored, and which many editors read in preference to L's *ἐμμέμονε.* In 1161 *ἄιδου* was at first omitted and afterwards added above the line by first hand.

An editor has the right to decide for himself how minutely he shall report the minor mistakes in the MSS. Professor Jebb reports innumerable mistakes in writing accents and breathings, *ν* movable and *ι* subscript, and corrections of the diorthotes, often when no especial reason is apparent. The student is grateful for this, and for any information that will help him to understand the peculiarities of L. Not every student has access to Professor Jebb's summary of L's orthographical peculiarities contained in the introduction to the Auto-

type Facsimile. It seems to me that the following also deserve mention: 127 θνατοῖς made from θανάτοις, 302 τὰ νῦν, which Nauck, Wecklein, Subkoff and others prefer to ταυῦν, 757 οἰκαῖος corrected to οἰκεῖος, 844 ἐπ' (α supra ε) ἀλλοθρόου, the first being a kind of mistake that justifies Triclinius's ἐπέμολε for ἀπέμολε in 855 and Wakefield's ἀφορᾷ for the objectionable ἐφορᾷ in 1270 (which Jebb keeps without comment), 313 οἶδε and 730 ἐστιν, where the metre requires οἶδεν and ἐστ'. One would infer from the note on 1219, 'παρθένον] παρνον L, with θ over α,' that this is a correction, not a contraction. Nothing is said about the similar contraction in 148, nor of the contractions of πατήρ. Just as the practice of contracting the latter word justifies Lachmann's emendation of προσ to πατρός in *O. T.* 1100, so we may believe that in v. 56 the present πατρός is due to a supposed contraction παρος in an earlier copy, justifying Earle's conjecture πάρος | νέμει. Certainly Earle is right in making Hyllus the logical subject of δοκεῖν, and his conjecture is easier than Nauck's νέμειν νιν —δοκεῖς (not mentioned by Jebb), which also relieves the difficulty that many have felt with δοκεῖν. The *father's* 'reputation of being successful' (Jebb) has nothing to do with the case.

One of the most commendable characteristics of this series is its strong defence of the traditional text. The most conservative will rarely have to object to the reception of a conjecture where the MSS. reading can be retained. Yet I venture to defend the tradition in two passages. In 422, τίς πόθεν μολὼν | σοὶ μαρτυρήσει ταῦτ' ἐμοῦ κλύειν παρών;, Jebb accepts Bothe's πάρα for παρών. But there is much force in παρών here. It is a defiant challenge on the part of Lichas for a direct witness to his words. His defiance turns to scorn when the Messenger answers only the first question, ποίοις ἐν ἀνθρώποισι; He is quick to take advantage of the apparent evasion of the second question, sneers at the δόκησις on which he thinks that the Messenger depends, and in a distinct tone of triumph asks Deianeira who this fellow is. The Messenger's next words however, ὃς σοῦ παρὼν ἤκουσεν, completely shatter his self-confidence. The second παρών wins greatly in force by reason of the former, while πάρα would be distinctly weak. The change in 675 of ἔχριον ἀργῆτ' οἰὸς εὑέρου πόκῳ to ἔχριον, ἀργὴς.....πόκος is unnecessary. A presumption is raised in favour of the change by the groundless assertion that ἀργῆτ' in the MSS. = ἀργῆτι. But there is no punctuation in L to indicate this. The objections to ἀργῆτα are merely that it would be weak in this position, and that 'the connection of ἀργής with πόκος is confirmed by Aesch. *Eum.* 45 ἀργῆτα μαλλόν.' It is 'confirmed' for πέπλον just as clearly by *Il.* Γ 419 ἑανῷ ἀργῆτι φαεινῷ (Apitz). An epithet is needed for πέπλον rather than for πόκῳ, and the rhythm favours the connexion of ἀργῆτ' with what precedes. This view is wrongly attributed to Nauck, who has merely placed a comma after the adjective as Wunder did before it. Neue, Apitz, and Wunder-Wecklein hold to the same interpretation without the comma.

In 1160, πρὸς τῶν πνεόντων μηδενὸς θανεῖν ὕπο, Professor Jebb accepts Erfurdt's τῶν ἐμπνεόντων. But the objection to θανεῖν after ἦν πρόφαντον still remains, though not mentioned. Sophocles always uses the future, I believe (cf. *Trach.* 79, 825, 1171, etc.), and the aorist in other authors is exceptional. *O. T.* 713, quoted by Blaydes, is not a case in point. Wecklein's χρῆναι θανεῖν meets the difficulty, but is too violent. Would not τελεῖν βίον be the simplest remedy (cf. *Ant.* 1114 τὸν βίον τελεῖν)? ὕπο having effected an entrance as a gloss on πρός, τελεῖν was replaced by the self-evident θανεῖν. πνεόντων = ζώντων is not seriously objectionable, and could hardly have replaced ἐμπνεόντων.

In so conservative a text it is to be expected that many scholars will find the defence of the tradition occasionally inadequate. Indeed in many instances, though the critical notes are crowded with conjectures, one finds in the commentary no hint that the passage in question is in any way unusual. The reader feels that, in an edition so strong on the side of interpretation, he has a right to expect at least the editor's opinion on the difficulties that other great scholars have felt. The defence of χώροισιν αὐτοῦ 145, of ὥσπερ εἴδετε 692, and of ἠνύσω 995, is not convincing. The objections to ἠνύσω are (1) voice and (2) metre. Nothing is said of the latter. The comment on the former is this: 'The proper force of the middle "to obtain," "win" seems fitting here, since the sacrificial altars may be said to have *earned* the recompense given by Zeus.' But ἐπί μοι is quite overlooked (cf. translation 'won *for me*'), as well as the fact that the middle must mean 'win *for oneself*,' as it does in the passage cited, Ar. *Plut.* 196. Wakefield's ἤνυσας (cf. *Phil.* 710, 1145) seems necessary. So also Herwerden's ὥπερ

in 692. In 144 f. I cannot see how τοιοῖσδε can refer to νῦν δ' ἄπειρος εἶ. The reference to *Ai.* 148 is *against* it, because τοιούσδε λόγους there has a direct antecedent in θόρυβοι. Since the difficulty in this passage lies entirely in τοιοῖσδε and αὐτοῦ, the citation from Antiphon, which gives καὶ αὐτὸ, cannot be said to 'confirm' the MSS. καί νιν. In the commentary on 1048 f., the editor does not recognize the difficulty of κοὔπω following μοχθήσας ἐγώ, for which Wunder suggested οὔπω (also not mentioned). But, as the translation, 'Ah, fierce..... have been the labours of these hands! But no toil' etc., shows, we should have a finite verb in the first clause or simply οὔπω following. The καί, however, is strong, as Jebb makes clear on *Ant.* 332, and ought to stand. The simplest correction would be ἔχω for ἐγώ—an easy change considering the similarity in sound and in writing of the two words.

Of the two conjectures of his own which the editor admits to the text, the first, λυτήριον <λώφημα> 554 for λύπημα is the best that has yet been proposed. Not so with ἑτοίμα for ὄμμα in 1019, because (1) ῥώμα is not readily understood from κατ' ἐμὰν ῥώμαν preceding, (2) ἐς πλέον ἢ δι' ἐμοῦ σῴζειν can hardly mean 'too largely to need my aid in his relief,' (3) the old man simply asks Hyllus to *help* (σύλλαβε). In the analysis of the various conjectures in the Appendix, Gleditsch's <τᾷδε> γὰρ οἶμαι ἂν πλέον ἢ δίχα σοῦ σωκεῖν (οἶμαι and κἂν πλέον had been suggested by M. Schmidt, δίχα σοῦ σωκεῖν by Meineke) is not mentioned. This gives very nearly the sense required. I cannot but think, however, that ἢ δι' ἐμοῦ σῴζειν (or σωκεῖν) is right, and, as Jebb says, ἐς πλέον is a certain correction of the MSS. ἔμπλεον, The sense clearly is, 'Help me, for with your aid to a greater extent than by myself' etc. Would not the following reading satisfy both sense and grammar without too great violence? σὺ δὲ σύλλαβε, σὺν γὰρ ἂν οἶμαι ἐς πλέον ἢ δι' ἐμοῦ σῴζειν (or σωκεῖν). After the corruption of οἶμαι to ὄμμα, σύν was naturally changed to σοί, and ἄν gave way to the space-filler τε. For the position of ἄν see Jebb's note on *Ant.* 466.

ἀγὼν δὲ μαργᾷ for ἐγὼ δὲ μάτηρ in 526 is more violent than Wecklein's ἐγὼ δὲ μὰν τέρματ' οἷα φράζω, and not so suitable to the sense, of course with the change of ἐλεινὸν to τὸ δεινὸν—an essential part of Wecklein's conjecture that Jebb fails to record. Thus we win a contrast between the result of the fight, which was favourable to Deianeira, and her fearful expectation of the unfavourable alternative. μαργᾷ with ἀγὼν in the sense 'the battle rages' strikes one as modern. In 869 Jebb objects rightly to the commonly accepted ἀηδὴς for ἀήθης, proposing instead ἀγηθής. The much better suggestion of Blaydes, κατηφὴς, is not even mentioned, though made extremely probable by Machlin, who proposed it, independently of Blaydes, on the strength of Choricius Gazaeus 103 (ed. Boissonade) τίς οὖν οὕτω κατηφὴς καὶ συνωφρυώμενος ὃν οὐ καταθέλξει τὰ δρώμενα; Occurring as it does in a writer who shows much familiarity with the classical poets, this certainly looks like an echo of our passage. The objection to ἐπ' ἄλλοις for ἄπαιδας in 911 is that Deianeira had no prophetic gift to know that Hyllus was not to succeed to his father's position as head of the household. The corrections made in 853 are decidedly good, giving the metrically correct ἀναρσίων <ὕπ'> οὔπω <τοῦδ' σῶμ'> ἀγακλειτόν, and explaining the source of the error. ἐς πόλιν for στόλον in 562 and ὁ γὰρ ποθῶν for τὸ γὰρ ποθοῦν in 196 are both good, better than σπόδιον for σπιλάδος in 678, which allows the objectionable ψῇ to stand.

I have had occasion above to notice the omission by the editor of essential parts of other scholars' conjectures. In 380 Wecklein's conjecture for μὲν οὖσα γένεσιν is not γεγῶσα but γεγῶσ' ἄνακτος, and in 582—7 he not only makes the changes mentioned, but also reads πεπείραμαι for πεπείρανται, which he believes to be wrong. Wunder's conjecture in 331 is ἐξ ἐμοῦ νέαν. ὑμῖν for ὑμᾶς is essential to Blaydes' κἀνακοινοῦσθαι 396, and in 1012 he proposes πολλὰ μάλ' for πολλὰ μὲν (not for πάντα), or κατὰ δὲ δρία πολλά for κ. τε δ. πάντα. Similar omissions are found in critical notes on 94, 267, 581, 825, 743, App. on 911 (Nauck prefers Reiske's ἑστίας to go with his ἀπάτορας). Nauck's conjecture in 969 is ὄντ' (not ὄντα) and his change in the corresponding verse 960 should be given. Instead of Wecklein's abandoned πρόσφατόν γ' ἐμοῦ λάβοι in 331 his latest reading τοῖς οὖσιν ἤδη πρόσφατον λύπην λάβοι would have been more acceptable.

The following conjectures are wrongly accredited: 328 αὐτῆς (omitting γ') Wecklein after Blaydes, 692 Herwerden before Blaydes, 810 ἐπεί τοι Axt, 873 καινὸν οἴκοθεν M. Schmidt before Mekler, 878 ὀλέθρου Herwerden before Blaydes, 1014 οὐδὲν ὀρέξει Gleditsch on the basis of Fröhlich's ὀρέξαι; 1238 φθίνοντος ὥραν in Nauck's reading was suggested by Blaydes.

The following emendations admitted to

the text are not accredited to their authors; 210 παιᾶνα παιᾶν', 539 ὑπὸ, 557 παρὰ, 772 'βόησε, and 1073 προσγίγνεται, Brunck; 68 ἱδρῦσθαι, 332 ἀντίπρῳρα, and 1084 διαβόρος, Dindorf; 97 καρῦξαι, 1082 ἀρτίως ὅδ' αὖ, and 1044 and 1046 ἔστι, Hermann; 445 τ' ἀνδρὶ, Seidler. We should be sorry to see Professor Jebb give up the practice, followed in the earlier volumes of the series, of noting the originators of these little corrections, even though they are now universally accepted.

We miss from the critical notes many of the conjectures that are currently reported. For this we are grateful, for in general we may justly infer that Professor Jebb has weighed them and found them wanting to such an extent that it would have been a waste of valuable space to mention them. We could cheerfully have spared many that have gained admission. But there are many others, not only supported by great names, but sometimes also by intrinsic probability, for which we look in vain. Such are Wunder's τοῦδε 17, Metzger's τάλαιναν 139, Braun's change of order in 308—311, of which Nauck and Herwerden approve, Hilberg's εἰπέ, τοῦ σπορά ποτ' ἦν 316, Hense's ὑμῖν γυναῖκες 673 and γόνος 1205. I think that no notice has been taken of two valuable works that have appeared within the last few years, Herwerden's *Lucubrationes Sophocleae* and Gleditsch's *Cantica der Sophokleischen Tragödien.* At any rate the following attractive conjectures, if they cannot all be called emendations, are not mentioned: Herwerden, transposition of μάχης and πόνων in 20 and 21 and of ποτὲ and παρὰ in 555 and 557, 87 πάλαι γ' ἀπῇ, 623 ἐρεῖς, 682 οὐδέν' (note disagreement between Jebb's note on this verse and that on *Ph.* 24 to which he refers), 955 ἐκποδὼν or ἐκτόπιον, 1058 δᾷος, 1211 που; Gleditsch, 129 noticed above, 646 ἐπ' οἴκου, 890 τίς for πῶς, 949 and 952 δύσποτμον and μένειν, 1012 πήματ' ἀναιρῶν (suggesting Wecklein's κνώδαλ' ἀναιρῶν), 1027 δεῖνα, and many others in the melic parts that deserve consideration.

We could wish that the reasons advanced by the best critics for rejecting certain verses might have received more attention in the commentary. Sometimes the objections are so stated that they appear quite trivial. On 695 ff. we read: 'Wunder rashly rejects the verse. Dobree's objection to it seems to have been the repeated ἐς.' Then follow illustrations of the repeated preposition. But even supposing that Dobree could have found so simple a grammatical construction objectionable, is it quite fair to allow the reader to infer that Wunder, Dindorf, Blaydes, Nauck, Wecklein, Subkoff and others have had no better reason for emending or rejecting the verse? See also on vv. 24, 301, 305. The interesting 'blacklist' of suspected verses on p. liii, which is given as 'nearly complete,' might be increased by the following, omitting the wholesale rejections of such scholars as Schmelzer. 31—33 Blaydes, 57 f. reduced to one by Hense; 54 f. reduced to one by Nauck; 90 f. Hermann; 167 Wunder; 260—280 Blaydes; 274 f. reduced to one by Hense; 308 f. Herwerden; 313 Wunder; 351 Opitz; 379—81 reduced to one by Hense; 383 f. Herwerden; 447 Blaydes; 672 f. reduced to one by Nauck; 678 Herwerden; 731 f. reduced to one by Nauck; 898 f. Herwerden and Nauck; 1105 Campe; 1266—7 reduced to one by Nauck; 1225—27 H. F. Müller. In this list 735 should be 745, and 1060, 1069. If the names of the important editors who agree with the first critic were given, the list would be more valuable to the student. That Professor Jebb finds it necessary to reject only three out of this large list of about 150 bad verses speaks volumes for English scholarship.

In the commentary we note a loose use of the 'accusative of respect' on v. 137 (the example from Isocrates gives a *direct object* followed by an appositive clause), 350 (ἃ is direct obj., ἀγνοία μ' ἔχει = ἀγνοῶ, cf. Jebb's note on *O.C.* 223, 583, 1119), 608 (τι is to be explained by the preceding question τί δ' ἔστι), 914 and 941 (acc. retained in passive, correctly explained on 158). ἐξῆλθον ἄεθλ' is not satisfactorily explained by the passages given on 159. The citations on 1204 f. are not in point. It is not a question of adoption into another family, but of disowning. The examples given on 1241 for the use of φράζω might be cited to prove the contrary, that χειρί was necessary to give the word a figurative instead of its literal meaning. I mention these three notes because others have found a change in the text necessary. The new interpretation offered of λιθοκόλλητον στόμιον 1261, 'a curb on lips set like stone to stone,' seems impossible. If the reading is correct the first interpretation suggested is the best, 'a curb set with sharp stones.' A curb is wanted, not to hold the lips together, but to give the sufferer something to hold between his teeth that he may better endure the pain, on the principle of a bullet in the mouth of a patient at a surgical operation. The more painful the curb the less the sense of pain elsewhere.

I have noticed a few misprints. In the text, 551 καλτῆται, 611 comma misplaced, 996 μ' ἄρ' ; in the critical notes, 331 πρόσφατον γ', 632 κἀκεῖθεν, 882 'Wunder wrote' etc. belongs to preceding verse, 964 βάσις; in the commentary, 80 f. ὕστερον, 83—85 εἴ τις, 149 f. ἐν, 679 λόγου, 801 read '1st. pers. *sing.*', 898 ποεῖν, 947 transposition necessary, 1238 ὡς; in Appendix, p. 207, l. 18, insert 'not' before 'to Hyllus.' In critical note on 1183, 'Blaydes ἀρεῖς, which Nauck and Mekler cite without noticing the ᾰ,' the editor is the guilty one. ἀρῶ from ἀείρω has ᾱ ; cf. *Pers.* ἀροῦμεν στόλον and *Ran.* 377. A similar confusion occurs in the index to the *Antigone*, where under αἴρω is given a reference to the usage of ἀείρω.

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ERHARDT ON THE HOMERIC QUESTION.

Die Entstehung der Homerischen Gedichte. Von LOUIS ERHARDT. Leipzig, Duncker und Humblot. 1894. Pp. cxiii. 546. M. 12.

Dr. ERHARDT is certainly a bold man. He believes himself to have found the final solution of the Homeric question: and what is more, he seems to expect to convert every one to his view. It is a pity that he should not have started with more moderate assertions and hopes: for his book contains much that is interesting and able, and in many points advances the question with which it deals; but excessive claims serve only to rouse suspicion and distrust.

The key which has unlocked to Erhardt the great mystery is a right conception of the Volksepos—a conception which, as he seems to think, has not been attained by any of the professed Homerists, with the single exception of Niese, and even in his case only with an admixture of error which makes the two theories, though in essence very similar, seem the very opposites of one another. Dr. Erhardt began his Homeric studies as a historian, not as a philologist: and though he has thus been enabled to attack the problem with a notable freshness of view, which renders his work excellent reading, he has perhaps had to pay the penalty in an imperfect acquaintance with recent work. So far as can be told from his book, he knows nothing of anything later than Niese and Christ.

In fact his theory is anything but revolutionary; it is in essence accepted, I believe, by most recent workers; if I may speak for myself, it is precisely the general conception of the rise of the *Iliad* which I have long held. That the creative power of the Epos is the poetical genius of an epoch; that the epic poets are the mouthpieces of their age, not individual and isolated persons of quite phenomenal genius; that the *Iliad* grew by successive accretion, each new motive affecting what went before and producing anticipative as well as subsequent changes; that an original *Iliad* is not to be discovered by mere athetesis, and that what is called interpolation in our texts is in almost every case only a part of a continuous creative process; all these theses can surely be regarded now almost as commonplaces of criticism. And the 'theory of the Volksepos' does not seem to contain more than this. It is true that Erhardt makes a point of eliminating the diaskeuast from the poem, but then the diaskeuast, as Lachmann conceived him, had, one thought, long disappeared: and the diaskeuast as he still exists, the mechanical inventor of a few lines here and there to connect portions of narrative, is virtually admitted (*e.g.* in H and P) even by Erhardt. He holds too that the Volksepos itself may be, and probably is, the work of a 'Sängerschule,' as many of us have all along been supposing that it was; so that in our fundamental conceptions it does not seem that Erhardt has brought us much farther forward.

And this suspicion is strengthened when we come to weigh the results to which the new key leads us. Erhardt is led to the discovery that the oldest part of the *Iliad* (p. 505) consists of 'the Wrath (our *A*), then the unsuccessful fighting of the Greeks in the absence of Achilles (parts of Λ-O), the sending of Patroklos and his death (Π), the return of Achilles to battle and the slaying of Hector (Y-X). To these was added a series of further songs, which partly branched off from the main action, partly served to complete it' (the Presbeia, the Agora in B, the making of the arms in Σ, the deceiving of Zeus in Ξ-O, the parting of Hector and Andromache in Z, the duels between Paris

and Menelaos, Aias and Hector, the aristeia of Diomedes and of Idomeneus, the Doloneia, the games in Ψ and the ransoming of Hector). All this I can of course only applaud with all my heart, for these views entirely coincide with my own.

But now we come to a serious point of difference. Erhardt holds that these separate songs were all tolerably independent of one another, though treating their matter under the general unity of the Wrath. That is, it would seem, that though the earlier singers of the Volksepos had a story which dealt (1) with the wrath of Achilles; (2) with the consequent discomfiture of the Greeks; (3) with the consequent sending and death of Patroklos; (4) with the consequent return of Achilles to battle and the death of Hector; yet these four different portions of the story were never combined till much later in a consecutive narrative at all, but went on more or less independently side by side. This is to me a most extraordinary idea. The whole story is there, yet the little links to bind it together are denied. Why the Volksepos should not be able to create a unity of some 2,000 lines, when it could admit unities of 600, is beyond my apprehension. And in fact we have in our existing *Iliad*, as I believe myself to have shown, the very links which are needed, save only between (3) and (4). The agreement between the four portions of the story, when carefully analysed, is complete: so complete as to preclude the possibility of even a modified independence, and I cannot see that Erhardt has done anything to disprove this agreement.

With regard to some of the later rhapsodies the case is somewhat different, and I am not concerned to deny that, before they were incorporated with the *Iliad*, such portions as the Presbeia, and still more the Doloneia, may have had a more or less independent existence: that is, they were composed with a general reference to the plot of the *Iliad*, without fitting exactly into any place in it. A similar assumption must be made too in the case of the Agora in B and of books N-O, which seem to show clear evidence of the fusion of elements originally alternative to one another. But with regard to the bulk of the accretions it seems not only most probable, but most consistent with the conception of the Volksepos as laid down by Erhardt himself, to suppose that they were originally designed for incorporation, and in fact were originally incorporated, with the *Iliad* as it was from time to time, always a corpus ready to receive fresh additions. And in all that Erhardt has said I can find no valid evidence against this view.

Hence it becomes impossible to accept Erhardt's 'second period of the Epos,' 'in which the need of a more systematic arrangement of the lays in a distinct succession made itself felt.' No reason is given why such an obvious need was not felt from the very first. In fact Erhardt here all but falls into sheer Lachmannism, and what he says is open to the objections which have been so successfully urged against the Kleinliedertheorie. However ingeniously he may try to avoid it, the work he assigns to this period is in fact no better than the task of the diaskeuast, whom he claims to dispense with; and the difficulty is acute when he comes to Peisistratos, whose collection of the lays of the *Iliad* he expressly believes in, and in fact describes as the third period of the Epos. The task of Peisistratos, he says, was the 'collecting and writing down of what already existed, not arrangement and redaction.' As for the writing down, that may of course have been left to Peisistratos, though it seems unlikely; but what possible room is there for 'collecting' when the corpus, with all its little connecting links, has already been formed? It is at least conceivable that individual lays may have existed in a more or less independent form till then: but with the links this is absurd. Their presence is unanswerable evidence that all the collecting had already been done. If the *Iliad* was not complete as we have it before the time of Peisistratos, then his work, if work he did, must have been redactional; if the *Iliad* already existed in its present form, then Peisistratos did not collect it.

It is unfortunate that Erhardt should have laid his work open to these fundamental objections in a part of the theory which is rather a hindrance than a help to his view of the Volksepos—a view which I have no doubt is in the main perfectly right, and which he has on the whole put better, perhaps, than any of his predecessors. It looks as though he had not succeeded in freeing himself from the traditional reverence which the name of Lachmann seems still to carry with it in Germany. He has done such good work that he might very easily have done better. In detail of course there is much in which it is impossible to agree with him; much rests, as in this matter it must always rest, on individual judgment. But there is much too in which he has made advances on what has been done before. His analysis, for instance, of

the Theomachy in Υ-Φ, and of the steps by which those two books have attained their present form, seems to me excellent; it is only a pity that he should not have applied the principle of gradual growth, which he uses so skilfully for these two books, to the *Iliad* as a whole, without recourse to his machinery of second and third periods. He has made another excellent suggestion too in H; that the Agora of the Trojans, with the proposal to surrender Helen, originally followed the duel in Γ, before the invention of the Pandaros episode as its conclusion; and that this proposal is what Paris refers to, when in Z he speaks of anger against the Trojans as the reason why he will not take the field. The idea is one which throws light on many difficulties, and can hardly fail to be right. On the other hand his analysis of Π is very unsatisfactory. He has not a word to say about the glaring signs of dislocation which occur in this book wherever the wall is mentioned, and which form one of the most instructive handles for the criticism of the *Iliad*. And the question of the change of armour is certainly not to be dismissed in the few words which he devotes to it in a note. In fact his view of this most important book does not seem to be at all consistent. In his summary already quoted, he distinctly, and undoubtedly with justice, puts it down as one of the oldest constituents of the *Iliad*, to which the Hoplopoiia in Σ was subsequently added. Yet in the analysis itself he says that the Hoplopoiia 'to all appearance belongs to the old portions of the poems, and to an epic period beyond which it is not in our power to see'; and seems to regard Π as in all essentials assuming the existence of Σ.

For these and other reasons, which there is no space to enter into here, the book is most disappointingly unequal. The author is so enthusiastic and hopeful, so ingenious and acute, his style is so delightfully lucid, his views are often so fresh, that one would be only too glad to give his book unmixed approval. It is certainly one to be read and weighed by all students; but it is far indeed from bringing the problem to the 'endgültigen Abschluss' which it promises.

WALTER LEAF.

EXTENDED AND REMOTE DELIBERATIVES.

'*Extended*' *and* '*Remote*' *Deliberatives in Greek.* By WILLIAM GARDNER HALE, Professor of Latin in the University of Chicago. (Extracted from the *Transactions of the American Philological Association.* Vol. xxiv. 1893.)

ALL who are interested in syntactical questions will welcome the above-mentioned *brochure* for the light it throws on two subtle points of Greek syntax, which have already been debated in the pages of this *Review*. The author sets himself to solve the twofold question: Did the Greek language possess a final relative subjunctive and a remote deliberative optative? Both questions are answered in the negative, and if all scholars will not share his conclusions they cannot henceforth overlook his arguments.

Part I. of the extracts before us is taken up with the subjunctive idiom. After giving a brief outline of all that has been hitherto written on the subject, the author proceeds to state the rival theory of the extended deliberative and defends his position as follows.

1. The introductory expressions after which the so-called 'final relative with subjunctive' is found are all of a type usually followed by the deliberative clause. They convey the notion either of the existence of a difficulty or its absence (presence of means); in other words they contain an affirmation or negation of that state of perplexity which generally postulates a deliberative subjunctive.

2. The historical order of their appearance favours a deliberative origin. All the earlier examples, down to the last of those cited from Xenophon, are found to express 'existence of a difficulty,' while it is in the later ones that 'existence of means' occurs. This fact points to the development of the latter class from the former—a state of things which should be reversed, were the 'final subjunctive' theory correct.

3. The case for the deliberative is strengthened by the absence of ἄν in all the disputed examples of Attic sources. The final relative with subjunctive is, in Homer, almost invariably accompanied by that particle, the solitary exceptions being Γ 459 and σ 334.

Now, on the hypothesis that our instances are descended from the Homeric idiom, the invariable absence of ἄν would be inexplicable, whereas on the deliberative theory it is only what we should expect.

Prof. Hale next seeks to corroborate his views from a similar idiom said to be found in Anglo-Saxon, as well as from an 'extended deliberative future indicative' of which we now hear for the first time.

Of the twenty-five examples which form the subject of the inquiry just summed up, five are introduced by οὐκ ἔχω and five by ἔχω—both used intransitively; five others have οὐκ ἔχω followed by an accusative of direct object, being of the form οὐκ ἔχω πρόφασιν, οὐδένα ἔχω. Of the remaining ten οὐκ ἔστι, with or without a predicate, is the introductory expression to five; the rest are too heterogeneous to admit of classification.

To the present writer it would seem that two of the latter five ought to be eliminated from a list of 'extended' deliberatives:

οὐ γὰρ ἄλλον οἶδ' ὅτῳ λέγω. Soph. *Phil.* 938.
οὐ προφάσεως ἀπορῶ δι' ἥντινα λέγω. Isocr. 21, 1.

These should be regarded as deliberatives proper, as the prolepsis or antiptosis in προφάσεως and ἄλλον offers no difficulty. Otherwise they possess all the marks of strict deliberatives. As regards the others Prof. Hale has abundantly proved that all those in which a subjunctive occurs must be set down as being deliberative in origin. A doubt may however be raised about some in which an optative is used, *e.g.*

οὐδένα γὰρ εἶχον ὅστις...πέμψειε. Eur. *I. T.* 588.
ὁρῶντα μὲν...ἄνδρα δ' οὐδέν' ἔντοπον
οὐχ ὅστις ἀρκέσειεν... Soph. *Phil.* 279.
οὐκ ἔχων...οὐδέ τιν' ἐγχώριον...ὅς κατεννάσειεν. *Ib.* 691.

No one can deny that (after a primary tense) nothing would be more natural than οὐδέν' ἔχω ὅστις πέμψει. It is further well known that the future indicative is retained in this construction after a historic tense. Moreover if there be any deviation from this rule we should expect to find a future optative. Nevertheless it has yet to be proved that the foregoing examples are not cases of final relative with anomalous sequence. When it is remembered that the optative is the mood of secondary sequence in most dependent clauses, the step here involved is quite intelligible. It is not certain that we do not possess instances of the kind, as may be seen from the two following parallel passages:

ἀλλ' ἆρον ἔξω καὶ μάλιστα μὲν μέθες
ἐνταῦθ' ὅπου με μή τις ὄψεται βροτῶν.
Trach. 801.
κρύψασ' ἑαυτὴν ἔνθα μή τις εἰσίδοι.
Ib. 905.

This view however loses much of its probability from the fact that εἰσίδοι is more likely due to implied oratio obliqua (where, *as she thought*, none would see). Confirmation of this is found in another verse, also from Sophocles: ἔφευγον ἔνθα μήποτ' ὀψοίμην. *O. T.* 796. Here the context points forcibly to indirect discourse as the true explanation of the optative. Hence, even in instances to which I have taken exception, the balance of probability favours the deliberative. It must not be lost sight of that Prof. Hale does not consider the optatives cited above as instances of an indirect *remote* deliberative. An indirect *remote* deliberative would necessitate recourse to a *direct* remote deliberative; but Prof. Hale, as well as Prof. Jebb, seeks the direct form of ὅστις ἀρκέσειεν in τίς ἀρκέσῃ; not in τίς ἀρκέσειε which would be the direct remote deliberative.[1]

Prof. Hale is not so felicitous in his discovery of an 'extended' deliberative future indicative. Samples of the latter are:

οὐδ' ἔνι | φροντίδος ἔγχος | ᾧ τις ἀλέξεται.
O. T. 169.
οὐ γάρ τις ὅρμος ἔστιν, οὐδ' ὅποι πλέων
ἐξεμπολήσει κέρδος ἢ ξενώσεται.
Soph. *Phil.* 302.

[1] I may perhaps be permitted to append here the arguments which, in my opinion, militate against regarding κρύψασ' ἑαυτὴν ἔνθα μή τις εἰσίδοι as a certain instance of virtual Or. Obl.

1. If this were an incontestable case of quoted statement—to the exclusion of other influences—it should admit of being rendered; 'Where, as she thought, none *saw*.' Compare Plato *Rep.* 614 B ἀναβιοὺς δ' ἔλεγεν ἃ ἐκεῖ ἴδοι—'which, as he alleged, he *saw*'; cf. also Soph. *O. T.* 1246 and Pind. *Ol.* 6, 49. The direct thought or utterance would have contained εἰσεῖδε or εἰσεώρα or εἰσορᾷ or εἰσόψεται. If either of the three former, we should have a genuine case of virtual Or. Obl., but the consequent rendering would not suit the context; if the latter, we are on debateable ground, as the question of sequence offers a difficulty whether the relative clause expresses a statement of fact or of purpose.

2. The English rendering: 'Where, as she thought, none *would* see,' is ambiguous and may be but a mere paraphrase of the ordinary final construction. It is one of our ways of expressing intention.

These possess all the characteristics of the final relative clause with the future indicative.[1] The meaning is admittedly final; the syntactical form is so likewise. In fact, practically speaking, the only element common to these and deliberative clauses is the introductory expression οὐκ ἔστι. But surely a final relative is equally admissible after οὐκ ἔστι. Is it not good Greek to say οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις λύσεται? Is the corresponding Latin, *non est consilii vis quo quis mederi queat*, to be regarded as of deliberative origin? The development of an 'extended' deliberative future indicative is of course possible, but even supposing it to exist, it could never with certainty be distinguished from the rival idiom exactly similar in form and meaning.

Prof. Hale's argument might be parodied in this way. Let us suppose the existence of a deliberative potential to be satisfactorily established and let us take as specimen of the same Soph. *Trach.* 991 οὐκ ἔχω πῶς ἂν στέρξαιμι κακὸν λεύσσων.

We now look out for an 'extension' of this idiom in the direction of purpose and we alight on the line οὐδὲ μὴν ναῦς ἔστιν ᾗ σωθεῖμεν ἄν. Eur. *Heracl.* 1047. This would be a case of 'extended' deliberative potential. Now the only difference between the line of argument here pursued and that leading to Prof. Hale's discovery, is the fact that the deliberative potential has so far not met with recognition from grammarians, whereas the deliberative future indicative is well warranted.

The remaining instance of this idiom may be readily explained without recourse to the principle of 'extension.' In the lines αὐτὸν γὰρ δεῖ προμηθέως | ὅτῳ τρόπῳ τῆσδ' ἐκκυλισθήσει τύχης, Aesch. *Prom.* 86, the phrase δεῖ προμηθέως ὅτῳ τρόπῳ is either equivalent to δεῖ προμηθεῖσθαι ὅπως or to δεῖ προμηθίας.....In the latter case we should be dealing with a strictly deliberative clause or at least an indirect question; the former is a well-known construction.

One other example of those discussed in the treatise under review calls for comment:

οὐκέτ' εἰσὶν ἐλπίδες
ὅποι τραπόμενος θάνατον Ἀργείων φύγω.
Eur. *Or.* 722.

The expression οὐκέτ' εἰσὶν ἐλπίδες, if not containing a *verbum sentiendi*, has at least a verbal substantive *sentiendi*. Further the state of 'no hope' is certainly not far removed from a state of perplexity.[2]

Moreover, as our author informs Mr. Earle, 'hopes do not exist in order that one may escape' and hence they should not be made to bear the strain of a final appendage, even of the 'extended' type.

Happily the defects just noted, if defects they be, do not in the least invalidate the main contention of the treatise, viz. the non-existence of that remarkable phenomenon—a 'Greek final relative with subjunctive.' This is a theory which Prof. Hale's acute and scholarly arguments have at last disposed of, at any rate as regards Attic Greek, although he has probably not said the last word on that portion of the subject which is an inroad on Homeric grammar.

Part II. contains a most searching study of the remote deliberative—a theory which has been widely accepted in this country.

Prof. Hale first deals with the bibliography of the subject, stating the views not only of authors of grammars but also of commentators on the classics and others. It is to be regretted he has omitted the name of Paley,[3] who certainly deserves mention. The inquiry leads to the decisive rejection of Mr. Sidgwick's hypothesis, the proofs being the following:—

1. The idea of 'remoteness from the possible' put forward as the distinguishing characteristic and *raison d'être* of the remote deliberative

(*a*) is not outside the range of meaning assignable to the potential; (*b*) neither does it constitute, as is alleged, sufficient ground for differentiation between the (subjunctive) proximate and remote deliberative; (*c*) this idea is not actually found in all Mr. Sidgwick's examples.

2. On the other hand (*a*) the potential is not only *a priori* sufficient to convey this notion of 'wild impossibility,' but (*b*) passages are forthcoming—and that in great abundance—which correspond exactly to the disputed examples, save that the presence of ἄν leaves no room for doubt as to their potential character. A list of these is given

[1] For present purposes it matters little whether we call them final or consecutive.

[2] Literally: 'no hopes remain as to whither I am to turn to escape.'

[3] Paley discussed most of the mooted passages as they came before him in his commentary on the Attic Tragedians. To him the omission of ἄν in potential clauses seemed a matter of course, and he adheres to the MS. reading in many places where other critics insert ἄν, *e.g.* Aesch. *Ag.* 535, 1346 (Paley's numbering), see also *Bacch.* 747. Cf. the indices to his Aeschylus and Euripides (vols. i. and ii.) under the word 'Optative.'

on page 192 and it alone is quite sufficient to settle the question.

3. An examination of the context of some of the alleged instances of remote deliberative favours the potential theory: *e.g.* Aesch. *Cho.* 593-4 where φράσαι is said to be potential and to act as a pointer to the 'grammatical affinities' of τίς λέγοι. Similarly Eur. *Alc.* 48 and 52.

4. Mr. Sidgwick's objections are not insoluble, not even his query as to why the omission of ἄν should be confined just to the class of expressions introduced by οὐκ ἔστι. Prof. Hale replies that as regards the independent construction the omission of ἄν is far more frequent than Mr. Sidgwick would seem to allow. He cites Aesch. *Ag.* 1163, *Suppl.* 727, Eur. *Andr.* 929, *Hipp.* 1186.[1] It is however freely admitted to be somewhat curious that the representatives of the dependent construction should all be relative. After examination of a list of potential optatives taken at random from some lexicons the following solution is suggested: ἄν is the particle of contingency as opposed to bare possibility, and its omission seems to take place in cases where the latter idea alone is conveyed.[2]

It will be noticed that Prof. Hale directs his attack especially against the groundwork of Mr. Sidgwick's theory, namely, the distinction between the possible and remote from the possible. To the present writer such a division taken as a basis of syntactical forms seemed in the highest degree fantastical. In dealing with exclamations of persons in perplexity the context is generally sufficient to explain the nature of the situation, and the subjunctive idiom is quite capable of conveying even the most whimsical ideas, *e.g.* ὑπὲρ ἀστέρας πέτωμαι; Obviously the potential is likewise available to express either a maximum or a minimum of possibility. One hears, in fine, of no language possessing special forms for expressing different shades or different degrees of possibility. This was certainly a weak point in Mr. Sidgwick's armour.

It may be remarked in conclusion that, although unhesitatingly rejecting Mr. Sidgwick's addition to our syntactical tables, Prof. Hale does not claim more than a very strong probability for the potential theory. This reserve only renders his contribution towards the solution of the problem all the more valuable.

J. Donovan.

[1] It might have been added that some of those retained by Paley have as good authority as those cited here, *i.e.* Aesch. *Ag.* 535 (Paley) 1346 (ditto), Eur. *Bacch.* 747, *Helen.* 992, *Hipp.* 868 (Paley). Of course it is needless to add that instances occur in Homer, Pindar and Theocritus.

[2] Paley seems to have hit on the same explanation. On *Ag.* 603 he comments thus: 'The optative expresses a purely mental conception apart from any condition.' And on Eur. *Alc.* 52 he writes: 'It is a peculiarity of relative words to take the optative without ἄν in some cases where a merely contingent event is conceived.' By 'merely contingent' he means what Prof. Hale terms 'bare possibility.'

ALY'S *ROMAN LITERATURE.*

Geschichte der römischen Litteratur, von Friedrich Aly. Berlin: 1894. R. Gärtner's Verlagsbuchhandlung. 8vo. pp. 356.

Dr. Aly, who is favourably known by two little books on the life and writings of Cicero and of Horace, has prepared a brief history of Roman literature with a very definite purpose. His desire is to supplement the small portion of Latin literature which can be actually read in the upper classes of schools by such a sketch as may enable them to have some conception of it as a whole, and so to enter more completely into the intellectual life of the ancient world. Hence the book is not exactly one for the general reader, but still less is it one for the professional student. There are occasional hints as to the MSS. and the best editions, but on the whole there is little of the paraphernalia of learning. On the other hand there is a good deal of independence of judgment; and in particular there is some sharp criticism of Mommsen's literary judgments, which, to say the truth, are much more conspicuous for trenchancy and brilliance than for sobriety. There are fairly numerous quotations, with translations, by Dr. Bruno Kaiser, in the metres of the originals, in which may often be noticed a far from admirable spondee in the second half of the pentameter. The general plan and compass of the book seem well adapted to the purpose in view. The introduction contains some excellent remarks on the chief characteristics

of the Roman nation and the Latin language. The derivation of *carmen* and *Casmena* from *canere* in the chapter on the beginnings of Latin poetry is of course impossible. Without disparaging the work of Naevius, Dr. Aly entirely agrees with Lucian Müller's protest against Mommsen's depreciation of the character and poetry of Ennius, treating him as the true founder of Roman literature. It is worth notice by the way that he treats the famous line of Naevius as a Saturnian, reading *Fato Metelli Romae consules fiunt;* and that he does not follow the more recent fashion of accentuating Saturnians. He differs quite as widely from Mommsen's estimate of Plautus, and finds in him a genuine representative of the vigorous popular element in the drama, as Terence represents that of refined beauty. And he has some excellent remarks in qualification of Mommsen's general estimate of the New Comedy. He is equally at variance with Mommsen's praise of the *comoedia togata,* and with his defence of Caesar's action towards Laberius. In fact for the whole of the literature of the Republic Dr. Aly gives us a running protest against the views which the genius of the great historian has made fashionable at present. He is naturally most emphatic in his attack upon the 'thoroughly unscientific' account of Cicero, by which Mommsen has pandered to the vulgar popular prejudice, and has led even the sober Dr. Schanz to speak of him as a 'gefallene Grösse.' Dr. Aly's own sketch is excellent in its compressed but clear survey of his literary activity; but it would have been more convincing, if it had allowed a little more room for the shadows as well as the lights of his character and his genius. Nothing is said which is inaccurate, but the effect of the whole is somewhat misleading. The same strong reaction leads the author to do less than justice to the charm of Caesar's prose: and he seems to forget that such simplicity and clearness are themselves signs of the highest art. To Catullus and Lucretius he does no more than justice; of Vergil he writes sympathetically, and fully recognizes his position as one of the first of 'reflective poets,' if not 'a naive genius,' a distinction which recurs with somewhat wearying frequency. The view taken is very much that of Ribbeck in his history of Latin poetry. To Sallust Dr. Aly does something more than justice; to Livy he is at least completely just. On the whole it may be fairly said that he gives a sober, accurate and kindly sketch of Latin literature, without anything of special value for English students, but well suited for the class of readers for whom it is intended. The literature of the decline is for the most part adequately treated, though such a notice as that of Cyprian is so brief as to be almost misleading. Due notice is taken of Mr. Hardy's interesting researches into the MSS. of Pliny, but the valuable evidence recently brought to light by Professor W. M. Ramsay as to Tacitus's proconsulship in Asia is ignored. Dr. Aly follows Ribbeck in treating Apuleius as the last of the Roman poets, though not without reference to Claudian and Namatianus; his survey of the prose writers he closes with Ammianus. His 350 pages are brightened for his German readers with many happy references to their native literature and especially to Goethe.

A. S. W.

TRUMBULL'S *STUDIES IN ORIENTAL SOCIAL LIFE.*

Studies in Oriental Social Life, and Gleams from the East on the Sacred Page. By H. Clay Trumbull. Philadelphia, 1894.

Greece was the source of Occidental culture, but many elements of Greek life can be explained best by comparison with Oriental customs. For instance, nothing in European modern life throws so much light upon the position of woman in Athens, and the relations of Athenians to their wives and the *hetaerae*, as the position of woman in Japan, and the readiness of the men of Japan to turn to their wives for devotion and to the *geisha* girls for entertainment. Dr. Trumbull has gathered a mass of information and observations on Oriental betrothals and weddings, hospitality, funerals and mourning, prayers and praying. Illustrations may be drawn thence for many passages of Greek literature. Oriental customs of mourning allow us to supply details and parallels for the lamentations for Patroclus (Homer Σ 22 ff.) and for Hector (X 405 ff., Ω 710 ff.), and show the full significance of Homer γ 259 ff.,

where Nestor says of the fate of Aegisthus if Menelaus had found him alive: *τόν γε κύνες τε καὶ οἰωνοὶ κατέδαψαν,...οὐδέ κέ τίς μιν κλαῦσεν Ἀχαϊάδων*. The stories told of Oriental hospitality illustrate the feeling expressed by Orestes in Aesch. *Cho.* 554 ff.: *ὥστ' ἐπεικάζειν τινὰ...καὶ τάδ' ἐννέπειν· τί δὴ πύλῃσι τὸν ἱκέτην ἀπείργεται Αἴγισθος, εἴ περ οἶδεν ἔνδημος παρών*; and 637: *εἴ περ φίλόξεν' ἐστίν*. The author gives from the experience of Dr. L. Woolsey Bacon a striking parallel to the entertainment of Heracles by Admetus (Eur. *Alc.* 509 ff.), in spite of the latter's grief for Alcestis. He says that Koords ceased their wailing in order to avoid disturbing stranger guests: 'the privileges of mourning gave way to the demands of hospitality.' After reading the chapter on Oriental hospitality, one can no longer regard as a mere quibble the claim of Lycaon (Homer Φ 75 f.), that Achilles should not kill him since he had eaten food (though as a prisoner) in the tent of the son of Peleus. The author notes many resemblances as well as contrasts between Oriental and Occidental usages, but does not make entirely clear his view of the connexion. Thus he speaks of the 'remarkable survival of these Oriental mourning customs...in the Irish wake,' and calls attention to the fact that the Irish cry of *ullagone* is 'identical in both sense and sound with the Arabic designation of the Oriental mourning cry,' without explaining the relation between the two.

But on the whole I do not know where else the classical scholar can find so conveniently gathered so much illustrative material on the subjects treated. The author, as may be gathered from the second title of the book, has collected also parallels to customs recorded in the Bible.

THOMAS DALE SEYMOUR.

Yale College.

PERSICHETTI ON THE *VIA SALARIA*.

Niccolo Persichetti. *Viaggio archeologico sulla Via Salaria nel circondario di Cittaducale.* Rome. 1893. Pp. 212.

THIS treatise is the fruit of a commission given to the author (the head of a noble family of Aquila) by the Minister of Public Instruction to explore the remains of the ancient *Via Salaria* between Rieti and the village of Tufo and between Antrodoco (*Interocrium*) and S. Vittorino (*Amiternum*), this latter portion being a branch of the main road which was continued to the coast at Giulianova (*Castrum Novum*). Between Rieti and Antrodoco and from there to S. Vittorino the line of route almost coincides with that of the modern railroad from Rieti to Aquila, which is only five miles from S. Vittorino. Travellers by it will remember the tremendous zigzags by which it climbs up from Antrodoco.

The date of the construction of the *Via Salaria* is unknown, but its name testifies to its antiquity, for with the exception of the *Via Latina* it is the only great Roman road which is not called after the censor or consul who constructed it. It is first mentioned by Livy under the year 361 B.C.; but probably at this date it only went as far as Rieti. The fact that *Forum Decii* lies about half-way between Rome and *Castrum Truentinum* or *Truentum* would on the analogy of *Forum Appi*, *F. Aurelii* and *F. Flaminii* seem to show that the road was continued to *Truentum* in the censorship of P. Decius Mus, B.C. 304. After leaving *Reate* it followed the course of the Velino (*Avens*), the first noteworthy place which it traversed being *Cutilia* or *Aquae Cutiliae* celebrated for its three lakes, on one of which was the floating island known as the *Umbilicus Italiae*, and for its mineral waters, a too liberal use of which caused the death of the Emperor Vespasian. On the edge of one of these lakes Signor Persichetti came upon a piece of the old road about fifty feet in length, but he reports that other large pieces, which are noticed by Keppel Craven in his *Excursions in the Abruzzi*, have recently been destroyed. At *Cutilia* he found considerable remains of buildings, the most important being remains of *Thermae*. At *Interocrium*, six Roman miles from Cutilia, the road left the plain and ascended to cross the Apennines. At about four miles from *Interocrium*, immediately under Monte Terminillo (7,710 feet), which Signor Persichetti identifies with *Mons Tetricus*, the *Tetricae horrentes rupes* of Virgil, the real difficulties of the road began. For the next five miles there is ample testimony to the engineering powers of the Romans, the

most striking features being the galleries or tunnels through the rock, of which the longest is 200 yards in length, and the huge supporting walls which carry the road, sometimes far above the stream, sometimes below it, now on one side of it, now on the other, wherever the ground offered least difficulty. All this is well described by Signor Persichetti, and his remarks are illustrated by several photogravures. It was in this part of the road that he had the good fortune to discover an unknown milestone *in situ*. It is the sixty-ninth from Rome and bears an inscription of the year B.C. 16.

At about nine miles from Antrodoco the difficulties ceased, and the road emerged on the broad upper valley of the Velino. Two and a half miles further lies Bacugno, which Signor Persichetti identifies as the site of *Forum Decii*, placed by Kiepert at S. Croce, nearly two miles distant. The name and some incorrect information as to the provenance of an inscription has led previous authorities to place here the well-known *Fanum Vacunae;* but Signor Persichetti shows that the true site of this place, which was a *vicus* as well as a temple, is to be found nearer Antrodoco, at a small village called Laculo, situated at a considerable height above the road. At *Falacrine*, the birth-place of the Emperor Vespasian, marked by some remains near the village of Collicelli, the road made the final ascent to the watershed, and after crossing it at a height of about 3,500 feet above the sea, descended into the valley of the Tronto (*Iruentus*). The next station on the Antonine Itinerary is *Vicus Badies*, twelve miles from *Falacrine*. Four miles further on the road reached the village of Tufo, the limit of Signor Persichetti's researches, which he plausibly identifies with the station *Ad Martis* mentioned in the Peutinger Table.

Of that part of the *Via Salaria* which led from *Interocrium* to *Amiternum* there are few visible remains. It first traversed the gorge, three miles in length, known as the Fosso di Rapello, which has more than once played a part in military annals. After ascending about 830 feet it emerged on one of the high plains so characteristic of Apennine scenery. This one is about $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles long; it terminates at Vigliana, the site of the ancient *Fisternae*. A little before Vigliana the watershed (3,300 feet) between the Velino and the Aterno is marked by the railway station of Sella di Corno. The next place on the route is Civita-Tommassa (*Foruli*), whence the road proceeded in a bee-line to S. Vittorino (*Amiternum*). This latter part of its course, about which there was some doubt, has been clearly elucidated by Signor Persichetti.

It should be noticed that in the first chapter, which deals with Roman roads in general, there are some inaccuracies. The distinction between the various classes of roads is not clearly brought out, and the statements on page 14 with regard to the officials who had the charge of the roads are incorrect. In the useful map at the end of the volume the milestone found at Antrodoco is by a slip marked as LXVII instead of LXIV. These however are trifling blemishes which do not detract from the real value of the work. It is a solid contribution to Italian archaeology and topography, and in particular to our knowledge of the Roman system of road-making.

ARTHUR TILLEY.

ROBINSON'S *PHILOCALIA OF ORIGEN.*

The Philocalia of Origen. The text revised with a critical introduction and indices: by J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON, Norrisian Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. (Cambridge University Press, 1893. Pp. lii. 278.)

THIS edition will prove a welcome boon to all students of Theology or of Christian Literature. For the textual criticism of Origen and for that of the New Testament alike the recovery of the textual tradition of the *Philocalia* is of great importance. But the work has even greater value a an end in itself, as providing the student with this excellent introduction to the study of Origen for the first time in a trustworthy text.

The edition of the *Philocalia* owes its origin to the former motive. Prof. Robinson had contemplated an edition of the *contra Celsum*, and had made considerable progress, in co-operation with Mr. Wallis, in sifting the MS. tradition of that work. But, owing largely to the advice of Dr. Hort, he was soon led to take in hand the *Philocalia*

MSS. as an indispensable preliminary of the other task. Then came the discovery that Dr. Koetschau was at work in the same field, also with a view to editing the *contra Celsum*. The two workers published their results independently, Mr. Robinson in the *Journal of Philology* 1889, Dr. Koetschau in *Texte und Untersuchungen* VI. i. From the latter scholar we may hope for a definitive text of the *contra Celsum*. Meanwhile we have in the book now under notice what may fairly be called a model of editorial work.

The introduction, dealing with the materials for the text, is lucidly clear, and the general results as bearing upon the *Philocalia* are given in a 'family tree' (p. xxvi. *sq.*). This differs slightly as to the grouping of some of its branches from that given by Koetschau. So far as it is possible to form a judgment without personal knowledge of the MSS., Mr. Robinson appears, in his summary of reasons, sufficiently to justify each step in his genealogical analysis. With regard to the MSS. of the *contra Celsum*, they all prove to be dependent on the one MS. Vat. Gr. 386; Koetschau, who in 1889 maintained the independence of Par. Suppl. Grec. 616, has now, it appears, come round to Prof. Robinson's view.

The most interesting subordinate question discussed (pp. xl.–xlix.) is the origin of *Philoc.* c. xxiv. which in Eusebius *Praep. Ev.*, whence Basil and Gregory drew it, is ascribed to an enigmatical 'Maximus.' The solution proposed for the puzzle,—that Basil and Gregory incorporated it because they knew it to occur in the Adamantian Dialogue, ascribed by them to Origen, but that the unknown author of the Dialogue took it in reality from a dialogue of Methodius where 'Maximus' was simply the interlocutor,—is made, to say the least, highly probable by Prof. Robinson.

Elaborate criticism of the text and indices is scarcely necessary in this notice. Both alike show every sign of scholarly care, and the misprints are singularly few: in fact I have only observed one, in the last word of p. 277.

The gratitude owed to the illustrious editors of the *Philocalia* by all who value a fearless and reverent constructive spirit in theology may also be extended to the conscientious accuracy by which their labour of love has now been recovered in something like its pristine form.

A. Robertson.

THE MYSTERIES AND CHRISTIANITY.

Das antike Mysterienwesen in seinem Einfluss auf das Christentum. Von Lic. Gustav Anrich, Privatdozent in Strassburg. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1894. Pp. 237. Price 5*s.* 6*d.*

This volume supplies a want to which expression was given by Mr. Mayor at the close of the interesting discussion which took place a short time ago in the *Classical Review* regarding the origin of the Lord's Supper. It works out fully the relation of the ancient mysteries to early Christianity—a subject, it may be remembered, which was considered in some of its bearings in one of the unrevised Hibbert Lectures on the Hellenizing of Christianity by the late Dr. Hatch. As the result of a very full consideration of the whole subject the author comes to the conclusion that the general judgment of the ecclesiastical writers on the mysteries that formed the mainstay of falling paganism forbids the idea that any conscious or direct acceptance of forms and institutions from the mystery-worship can have taken place. The final result of assimilation to the mysteries both of baptism and the Lord's Supper is very fully admitted; but the process is traced mainly to the magic of gnosticism—that attempt to express in symbolical and mythological form a combination of pagan, Jewish, and Christian ideas. The experiences, aims, and theories also of gnosticism, in which there was naturally inherent somewhat of the mysterious element, aided the process; and it was further promoted by the purifications, the magic, and the 'Telestik' of the Neo-Platonists and by the mystical tendency of later philosophy in which the religion of the time found its most distinct expression. Anything approaching to conscious imitation of the mysteries or designed borrowing from them—of deliberate accommodation to the religious language or modes of conception of paganism—Mr. Anrich

does not allow. 'We have here to do,' he says, 'with a natural, necessary, and therefore unconsciously effected process.' Hatch, it may be remembered, claimed no more than this; but he traced directly to the mysteries what Mr. Anrich shows good ground for considering as the result of a much wider and more complex range of phenomena. The earliest apostolic age is known to have been actuated by ideas very remote from those of the mysteries; and later on the conceptions of Christianity formed by St. Paul and the author of the Fourth Gospel are in the main to be understood as no more than 'original creations of the Christian genius on the basis of genuine Judaism and to have been influenced only in a secondary degree by Greek thought.' The author finds no ground for tracing the views of St. Paul or St. John on baptism or the Lord's Supper to Greek influences. Pfleiderer's connexion of the Pauline view of baptism with Eleusis is shown to be quite forced, the 'new birth' being nowhere mentioned as accompanying initiation, and the 'new name' of the hierophant being merely the official one of ἱερώνυμος. The man's own name came back to him in the inscription on his tomb. The opinion of the mysteries entertained by Philo (*De Sacrificant.* p. 857 A)—a contemporary of St. Paul, a Jew, and a philosopher whose writings are steeped in the language of the mysteries—may also be allowed as a subsidiary proof that Eleusis is probably about the last place in the world which St. Paul would have sought to associate with a new Christian institution; although of course it will be readily allowed that the conception of the mysteries as set forth in the *Hymn to Demeter* or as practised by devout Greeks in the Periclean age is something very different from that associated by Philo with the practice of his time.

The process of the assimilation of the Christian sacraments to the mysteries is one that in the nature of things must have been slow and gradual, affecting as it did mainly the sphere of religious feeling and experience. The increasing degree to which these were dominated by the mystic tendency of falling paganism may be explained by the fact that Christianity presented some points of contact to those tendencies. 'Christianity,' says Mr. Anrich, 'from its very origin was in some respects a knowledge concerned with revealed truths of faith, a side which was wanting to the popular religions of paganism, but has a sort of analogy in the revelations of the mysteries [but 'to the Eleusinians,' says Grote, 'the Homeric Hymn was genuine and sacred history'] and in the Neo-Pythagorean and the Neo-Platonic assumption of the divine revelation of the highest truths. Baptism and the Lord's Supper on the other hand were two sacred acts which appeared to the pagans as mysteries and must have awakened corresponding feelings and dispositions.' The spread of this view was largely favoured by the great Alexandrians, whose general conception of Christianity came to be a γνῶσις μυστηρίων. The mysteries-terminology, too, was largely used by Christian writers because it yielded convenient forms of expression for cognate experience. It was widely spread, was consecrated by tradition, and had the additional advantage of being easily intelligible to antiquity. The points of contact, therefore, between the mysteries and Christianity rest upon no conscious borrowing from the mystery-system, but are a necessary consequence of the dominance of the idea of mystery in religious feeling. In his contribution to the *Essays and Reviews* Jowett thirty years ago recommended a lexilogus of theological terms as the great desideratum for the proper understanding of the New Testament. This method is applied in this volume to the mysteries-terminology with sound judgment and an adequate acquaintance with the pagan and Christian literature connected with the subject. There seems on the whole good ground for concluding that the Christian sacraments are neither 'pagan survivals' nor 'heathen beliefs baptized into Christ.'

J. Hutchison.

Glasgow.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

ΓΑΥΡΙΣ UND ΜΑΥΡΙΩΝ.

Am Schlusse seines Artikels über die Namen der griechischen Vasenmaler äussert sich de Witte (*Bullet. de Corresp. Hell.* 1878, S. 552) über die Inschrift ΓΑΥΡΙΣ ΕΓΟΕΣΕ oder ΜΕΓΟΕΣΕ, welche Postalaccas auf einer Pyxis in Athenischen Privatbesitz gelesen hatte (*Arch. Ztg.* 1876, S. 38), folgendermaassen: '. . . Cette lecture est douteuse, et je crois qu'il est prudent d'attendre des découvertes ultérieures, avant d'admettre le nom de *Gauris* dans la liste des fabricants de vases.' Diese Mahnung de Wittes zur Vorsicht ist nicht beachtet worden. Klein giebt in seinen *Meistersignaturen*[2], S. 213, den Namen Gauris ohne ein Fragezeichen an, und an einer andern Stelle desselben Buches (S. 10) nimmt er auf ihn Bezug und vermuthet dass er einer *Vasenmalerin* angehört habe.[1] Neuerdings hat P. Kretschmer (*Die Griech. Vaseninschriften*, S. 74) dieser Auffassung widersprechen; den Namen an sich jedoch hält er für gesichert und reiht ihn unter die Vasenmalernamen mit fremdartigen oder wenigstens nicht-attischen Charakter ein.

Die angebliche Pyxis 'des' oder 'der' Gauris befindet sich gegenwärtig im K. Antikenkabinet zu *Kopenhagen*, wo ich sie im vorigen Jahre studiren und eine Abschrift der Inschrift nehmen durfte. Die Zweifel de Wittes erschienen mir vollständig berichtigt. Der erste Buchstabe des Namens ist nicht sicher ein Gamma: er hat die folgende Form Λ. Der von Postalaccas für ein Sigma gehaltene sechste Buchstabe ist sicher kein solches, sondern ein Omega (Ω). Von dem Reste des folgenden Buchstabens, welchen Postalaccas sah (Λ) und den de Witte zu Μ ergänzte (ΜΕΓΟΕΣΕ), Klein als Λ wiedergiebt (ΛΕΓΟΕ), konnte ich keine Spur mehr entdecken. Er kann sehr wohl dagewesen und im Verlaufe der Jahre erloschen sein, um so leichter als die Inschrift mit einer weissen, leicht zu zerstörenden Farbe auf den schwarzen Firmisgrund aufgetragen ist. Von dem Verbum sind die drei Buchstaben ΕΓΟ ganz sicher; Postalaccas sah noch einen weitere Rest, welchern die obere Querhasta eines Epsilon zu sein scheint.

Nach diesen Wahrnehmungen durfte die bisher angenommene Lesung des Namens ΛΑΥΡΙΣ als beseitigt gelten und es blieb ein Name zu suchen, welcher den vorhandenen Buchstaben besser entsprach. Man würde hierbei auf dem Boden der Hypothese stehen geblieben sein, wäre nicht eine der 'découvertes ultérieurs,' auf welche de Witte hoffte, hinzugekommen. Das British Museum erwarb vor kurzem eine kleine, schwarzgefirnisste Pyxis, wahrscheinlich aus der Gegend von Aidin, auf deren Deckel in rotfiguriger Manier ein rechter Arm, ein Schwert in der Scheide haltend, und zur Linken, unter dem Arme, die in zwei Zeilen geschriebene purpur aufgemalte Künstlerinschrift

ΜΑΥΡΙΩΝ
ΕΓΟΙΕ

zu sehen ist. Kein Zweifel! Wir haben den fragmentirten Malernamen auf der Pyxis in Kopenhagen ebenfalls ΜΑΥΡΙΩΝ zu lesen. Auch dort wird das My die eigenthümliche Form mit den kurzen Schenkeln gehabt haben, woraus sich der Rest Λ erklärt. Der Rest (Λ) welchen Postalaccas vor dem ΕΓΟ . . . constatirte, ist der obere vordere Theil eines Ν.

Die Anwendung des Imperfectum ΕΓΟΙΕ auf der Pyxis im British Museum ist sicher. Möglicherweise war auch auf dem Kopenhagener Gefässe die gleiche Form ΕΓΟΙΕ oder ΕΓΟΕ verwendet, doch können wir, da die Pyxis hinter den angegebenen Buchstaben einen Bruch zeigt, dies nicht sicher erwissen.

Ueber die künstlerische Art des Vasenmalers Maurion ein Urtheil zu fällen, erscheint verwegen, gegenüber dem geringen Bilderschmuck, welchen die beiden kleinen Werke des Meisters in Kopenhagen und in London zeigen: hier ist, wie wir bereits oben sagten, nur ein Arm mit einem Schwerte, dort ein Krater, in ziemlich flüchtiger Weise, dargestellt. Für die Lebenszeit des Malers giebt uns jedoch der

[1] Die Verwendung weiblicher Arbeit in den Töpferwerkstätten Athens ist uns durch die Hydria der Sammlung Caputi in Ruvo (*Annali*, 1876, Tav. D, E) für die mittleren Dezennien des 5ten Jahrhunderts sicher bezeugt. Auf einem herrlichen, streng rotfigurigen Schalenfragmente von der Akropolis von Athen erscheint ebenfalls eine Frau in einer Töpferwerkstätte: leider ist nicht mehr zu erkennen, in welcher Weise sie beschäftigt war.

Charakter der Inschrift, wie ich glaube einen sicheren Anhalt. Das Omega einerseits und die zweizeitige Anordnung des Künstlerinschrift andrerseits weisen in die mittleren Dezennien des 5ten Jahrhunderts; ein Zeitgenosse von ihm, Sotades, wendet dieselbe Form des Verbums, ΕΠΟΙΕ, an.

Was den Namen Μαυρίων an sich betrifft, welcher sonst, so viel ich sehe, nicht weiter bezeugt ist, so darf man wohl in Erwägung ziehen, ob wir in ihm nicht eine Weiterbildung von Μαῦρος und demnach in dem Vasenmaler einen nach Attika Zugewanderten oder einen ausländischen Sclaven zu erkennen haben, wie einen Σκύθης, einen Λυδὸς, und einen Συρίσκος.

P. Hartwig.

Rom, *Sept.* 1894.

C. SEPTIMIUS, PROCONSUL OF ASIA. B.C. 56–55.

The late M. Waddington, in his invaluable treatise *Fastes des Provinces asiatiques de l'Empire romain*, 1872, gives the succession of the proconsuls of the Roman Province of Asia from Quintus Cicero to Claudius Pulcher as follows:—

Q. Tullius M. f. M. n. Cicero.....B.C. 61–58.
C. Fabius M. f. [Hadrianus].....B.C. 58–57.
T. Ampius T. f. [Balbus].....B.C. 57–56.
Name unknown.....B.C. 56–55.
C. Claudius Ap. f. Pulcher.....B.C. 55–53.

In my *History of the Coinage of Ephesus* (1880) (p. 72) I was able to show on the evidence of a previously unpublished Cistophorus of Ephesus dated OϹ (=76 of the era of Asia = B.C. 58–57) that the immediate successor of Q. Cicero was T. Ampius, and that the names of Fabius and Ampius must consequently be transposed.

A hitherto undeciphered Cistophorus of Tralles in Lydia now enables me to supply for the first time the name of the missing proconsul B.C. 56–55. The coin in question must have been seen by M. Waddington while he was occupied (1888—1893) on his Corpus of the coins of Asia Minor, daily visiting the British Museum and examining coin by coin every specimen in our National Collection.

As however this particular coin was very thickly coated with oxide I presume that he passed it by as hopelessly illegible; otherwise I think he would have consulted me (as was his wont in the case of obscure coins) with regard to the reading of the inscription.

A few days ago, suspecting that this coin did not bear the name either of Ampius or Fabius, I subjected it to a careful process of cleaning. The oxide is now completely removed from its surface, and every letter of the inscription is clearly and even sharply legible as follows:—

C. SEPTVMIVS
T. F. PROCOS

Beneath the usual Bow-case and serpents is the name of the local Greek magistrate of Tralles ΠΟΛΥΔΕΥΚΗΣ accompanied by his personal signet or badge—the hat of one of the Dioscuri surmounted by a star.

There can therefore be now no room for doubt that C. Septimius T. f. is the name of the proconsul of the Province of Asia B.C. 56–55.

C. Septimius is mentioned by Cicero (*Red. in Sen.* ix.) among the seven Praetors for the year B.C. 57 who used their influence in supporting his (Cicero's) recall from exile.

The appointment of the ex-praetor, C. Septimius, to the proconsulship (in his case propraetorship with title of proconsul) of Asia is not recorded by any ancient writer, but, about four years after his return to Rome from Asia, we again meet with his name as one of the signatories (*qui scribendo adfuerunt*), of the Senatusconsultum M. Marcelli B.C. 51, where his name is given in full as C. Septimius T. f. Quirina (the last name being that of his tribe), (Cael. *ap.* Cic. *ad Fam.* viii. 8). Again in two of Cicero's letters to Atticus written, according to Schmidt, on the 7th and 8th March B.C. 45, the name of C. Septimius appears as a member of the College of Augurs (Cic. *ad Att.* xii. 13, 14).

Sooner or later a Cistophorus of Ephesus will I have no doubt be discovered bearing the date OH or OΘ (78–79 of the era of the Province of Asia, corresponding with B.C. 56–55), together with the name of C. SEPTVMIVS PROCOS, which will be useful as confirmatory evidence.

I may perhaps be allowed to take this opportunity of expressing an earnest hope that M. Waddington's MS. catalogue of all the known coins of Asia Minor may not be long withheld from publication. He showed it me in a complete state a few weeks before he left England early last year, telling me at the same time that on his return to France he would lose no time in placing it in the hands of the printers.

This catalogue (the result of no less than forty years' study) is not merely a description of M. Waddington's own collection (valuable indeed as that alone would be). It is a complete Corpus of the coins of Asia Minor in all the great European cabinets, each of which was in turn visited and minutely examined by M. Waddington. Mionnet's readings (frequently lamentably deficient) were all either verified or corrected by him, and thoroughly reliable descriptions were added of hundreds of coins which are as yet unpublished.

Who can say what new lights such a catalogue, by such a scholar as M. Waddington, might not throw upon the fragmentary history of Asia Minor in Greek and Roman times?

BARCLAY V. HEAD.

October, 1894. *British Museum.*

MONTHLY RECORD.

ITALY.

Great St. Bernard.—The excavation of the 'paln of Jupiter' has been completed, and the rest of the walls brought to light. Three votive tablets have been found: (1) C·VETTIVS·SAL...P.P.LEG·XV | V·S·L·M. The mention of the fifteenth legion without further specification points to a date when the Primigenia did not exist, *i.e.* before the time of Claudius, and when that legion was in Pannonia. (2) M·CASSIVS | FESTVS | MILES LEG X> IVLI | RVFI | V·S·L·M. The legion is that known as Gemina. (3) I·POENINO | IVL·FORTV | NATVS BF· | COS | V·S·L·M. About fifty of these tablets are now known, one being in the British Museum. Among the finds were a small bronze statuette of Pallas, fibulae, weapons, stamped tiles, and 174 Gallic and Roman coins.[1]

Pavia.—Part of an old Roman bridge has been discovered, close to the site of the modern bridge; it consists of a boat-shaped pier pointing up stream, formed of blocks clamped together, in three layers, the lowest projecting down stream. The shape of the upper end shows that the hydraulic principle of meeting the greatest resistance by oblique surfaces was recognized in antiquity. The bridge appears to have been completely made of stone, and may date from the Augustan age.[2]

Cortona.—An Etruscan cinerary urn of travertine has been found, incised [illegible] | [illegible], *Vel·Karse Velchal. Karse* appears to be the original of the Latin name *Carseoli* or *Carsulae; Velchal* is probably for *Velcia natus.* The inscription is of archaic date, as shown by the >| for K.[1]

Corneto-Tarquinii.—The excavations have been continued in the necropolis, and a tomb cleared out which contained an onyx scarab of the advanced archaic period, with a design of Peleus [illegible] and the young Achilles: Peleus is pouring oil from a lekythos. Besides this, eight gold ornaments were found, one vase of bucchero, and five of Attic make; among the latter was a skyphos with black figures, whereon the painter had originally intended to depict a Dionysiac scene, but had abandoned his intention and transformed it into a group of Amazons. In the other tomb was a large *dolium* of clay containing a metal vase, fibulae and other remains.[1]

Rome.—In Reg. x., on the way up to the Palatine, were found four fragments of a leaden pipe, one being inscribed IMP·DOMITIANI·AVG·GER·SVB·CVRA· EPAGATHI·AVG·L | PROC·FEC·MARTIALIS·ET·ALEXANDER·SER. It may be referred to the alteration of the *aqua Claudia* under Domitian, which brought water to the palace on the Palatine from the Celimontane aqueduct.[2]

Palestrina.—An interesting honorary inscription to Trajan has been brought to light. It runs: IMP·CAESARI·DIVI·NERVAE·F | NERVAE·TRAIANO· AVGVST | GERMANICO·PONTIF·MAX | TRIB·POTESTAT· COS·IIII·P·P | DECVRIONES·POPVLVSQVE. On the left is inscribed: DEDICATA XIII K·OCT· | TI·CLAVDIO ATTALO MAMILIANO | T·SABIDIO SABINO·II·VIR. It belongs to a statue of Trajan which was inaugurated A.D. 101, on September 18th, the Emperor's birthday.[2]

Terracina.—The site of the temple of Jupiter Anxur has been discovered on Monte S. Angelo near the city; it is mentioned by Livy, and this deity is alluded to by Virgil (*Aen.* vii. 799). A wall of limestone with a well-moulded cornice was recognized as the base of the temple, and fragments of mosaic paving were also discovered. Finally the entire plan was revealed, the dimensions being 33·50 × 19·70 metres. Among the remains were stamped tiles, lions' heads in alabaster, one drum of a column, votive objects in lead, and two marble bases. The latter are inscribed respectively DEXTER | VENERI | OPSEQUENTI | V·M·DON and CARPINATIA | FORTVNATA | VENERI V·S·L·M. It is clear that Venus had a sanctuary within the temple. The leaden votive objects consist of *crepundia* representing the furniture of a room, a table, couch, stool, side-board, candelabrum, etc., also pairs of *solcae* and a series of plates with fish on them (resembling the painted terra-cotta fish-plates sometimes found in Southern Italy, of which there are specimens in the Fourth Vase Room of the British Museum). Near the temple was a curious construction of rectangular walls built over a natural cave, either for an oracle, or more probably a *bidental.* Below is a large super-structure of arches, probably the *praetorium Theodorici* of a medieval writer, and behind the temple a portico in *opus incertum* covered with painted stucco, supported by Corinthian columns.[2]

Strongoli, Lucania (the ancient Petelia).—A marble pedestal of a statue has been found, with an honorary inscription to Manius Megonius Leo; on the left is an extract (*Kaput*) from his will. This inscription seems to show that Petelia was an important place in the second century of the empire; Leo was aedile, *quaestor pecuniae publicae, quattuorvir lege, patronus municipii,* and *quattuorvir quinquennalis.* His will seems to betray a great anxiety to be remembered by posterity. With this were found the left hand of a large bronze statue, wearing a ring, part of a large stone vase inscribed SACRVM, and a bronze coin of Faustina the younger.[3]

GREECE.

Eretria.—The American School has discovered, near the theatre, the foundation of a building which

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[1] *Notizie dei Lincei*, Feb. 1894.
[2] *Ib.* March 1894.
[3] *Notizie dei Lincei*, January 1894.

appears to be a temple of Dionysos. Between this and the western *parodos* of the theatre was a long stylobate with bases *in situ* for monuments of theatrical victories, as is shown by the fragmentary inscriptions. They have also found a row of large stone water-troughs, water-pipes, and part of an ancient street. East of the town a tumulus was opened, which had been erected round a tower twenty feet high; it contained no grave, and had already been opened in ancient times. In excavating the stylobate above mentioned was found a small but graceful head of Aphrodite.[1]

CRETE.

Mr. Arthur Evans has published the results of his discoveries of early methods of writing among the Cretan people in the Mycenaean age. He has found numerous examples of seal-stones of a peculiar kind engraved with symbols of a hieroglyphic nature, and collected seventy of these symbols belonging to an independent hieroglyphic system. From stones of a similar form and also from pre-historic vases and other objects he has collected a series of linear characters, a certain proportion of which seem to have grown out of the pictorial forms. The hieroglyphs include parts of the human body, weapons and implements, animal and vegetable forms, maritime objects, and astronomical and geometrical signs; they show interesting affinities to the Hittite forms.

From the linear characters a Mycenaean script of twenty-four characters has been reconstructed, each probably having a syllabic value, a large proportion being identical with the signs of the Cypriote syllabary. They cannot be later in date than 1000 B.C., and must be previous to the introduction of the Phoenician alphabet. The relation of the picture-signs to the linear characters has not yet been elucidated, but they seem to be more or less contemporaneous. The former are perhaps indigenous to Crete, and the latter Mycenaean in the widest sense. Another result of these discoveries is to show that the Philistines were the old indigenous stock of Crete, and that it was consequently they who used these signs.

The researches of Dr. Halbherr in this island have done much to corroborate Mr. Evans' discoveries, he having also found stones with syllabic signs. On the south side of Mt. Ida he has investigated three tombs of Mycenaean date, containing numerous vases. He has also discovered two towns hitherto unknown, from one of which came a series of inscriptions, one of the archaic period, fragments of fine Mycenaean vases, and archaic Greek pottery with reliefs. In a grotto near Lebena he found vases of the Thera class, also objects of stone, and a prehistoric habitation, and in another grotto numerous fragments of very ancient pottery.[2]

CARIA.

Mr. Paton has found an inscription which identifies the site of the Carian Telmissos, and assists in the identification of several other important sites. The inscription in question, with plans, &c., will be published in the forthcoming number of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.

Journal of Hellenic Studies, Vol. xiv. part 1.

1. The Hymn to Apollo: an essay in the Homeric question. A. W. Verrall.
2. The Chest of Kypselos. H. S. Jones.

A reconstruction by the light of recent discoveries of Corinthian pottery and metal-work, reproducing the specially Corinthian features of the work.

3. Animal-worship in the Mycenaean Age. A. B. Cook.

Discussing the cult of various animals as illustrated by gems and other monuments on which appear human figures dressed up as animals, and the relation of this cult to Totemism and anthropomorphic worship, between which it appears to be intermediate.

4. A lecythus from Eretria with the death of Priam. E. A. Gardner.

Shows how the Epic tradition is modified by artistic and technical influences; also discusses history of painting in black figures on white ground.

5. Selected Vase-fragments from the Acropolis of Athena.—II. G. C. Richards.

Publishes several red-figured fragments.

6. Greek Head, in the possession of T. Humphry Ward, Esq. Eugénie Sellers.

The stylistic affinities point to Kalamis or one of his school as the sculptor.

7. Polledrara ware. Cecil Smith.

A republication of the hydria with Theseus and the Minotaur, and of the bronze female bust.

8. Archaeology in Greece, 1893–4. E. A. Gardner.

H. B. WALTERS.

Archäologisches Jahrbuch. 1894, part 4. Berlin.

1. Schöne: a study of the Nekyia of Polygnotos, with especial reference to Robert's monograph. (i) He shows that there is no evidence for supposing that the figures were-life size, nor that their arrangement and indications of scenery were like those of the vases usually quoted: probably only four colours on a white ground were employed: and with a very high horizon the perspective effect was somewhat similar to that of Oriental pictures. (ii) He discusses the Descent into Hades, the representation of the Shades, and the relation of these pictures to the Homeric Nekyia; concluding that Polygnotos 'adhered to the idea of the shadow world which each of his contemporaries who knew the Odyssey must have held.' (iii) He makes some suggestions as to the divergent views existing in regard to the relative positions of certain figures in the composition. 2. Mayer: explains the much-debated Splanchnoptes motive as that of a boy holding up meat on a spit, which is found on vases: and identifies it with a marble statue of an ephebus found at the Olympieion at Athens in 1888: plate and cuts. 3. Strzkowski: studies the column of Arcadius at Constantinople, reviewing the extant ruins, the description of Gyllius, the view of Sandys (1610) and a detailed drawing of Cassas (died 1827): also the drawing by Melchoir Lorch (1557) noted in *Arch. Jahrb.* 1892, p. 91: and compares the column of Theodosius: cuts.

Anzeiger. Report of the boundary commission from the end of Nov. 1892–1893. Acquisitions of the British Museum in 1892. Antiquities of Stift-Neuburg at Heidelberg. Notes on Attic terra-cotta slabs, by Masner: on the παρασκευή in the east pediment at Olympia, by Six: on a vase with Herakles sacrificing, by Körte, with rejoinder by Furtwängler.

Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique. 1893. August-December. Paris.

1. Couve and Bourguet: publish the inscriptions from the polygonal wall at Delphi discovered by Haussoullier in 1880 and as yet unedited: they are a hundred and nine in number, and all deeds of enfranchisement, mostly of the normal type: to this is appended an index of proper names. 2. Michon: publishes (plate 16) a headless statue of

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[1] *Berl. Phil. Wochenschr.* 7 July 1894.
[2] *Academy*, 25 August and *Times*, 29 August.

a draped woman in the Louvre: this statue was acquired in 1829 by the former owner at Halicarnassus: though of good Greek work, it does not seem to have belonged to the Mausoleum. 3. Lechat: the archaic Elgin head in the British Museum (*Cat.* 150) is the head of a Sphinx. 4. S. Reinach: suggests the restoration, on the authority of Cyriac, of a new sculptor's name, Thrasyxenos of Paros. 5. Pottier: continues his series of 'documents céramiques' of the Louvre: (ii) vases of Ionian type; Ionism in Attika. 6. Joubin: publishes two decrees of proxenia and a deed of enfranchisement found by him at Stratos in 1892. 7. Lemnios: two inscriptions of Cyzicus. 8. Svoronos: a long article on the numismatics and history of Mykonos. 9. Diehl: publishes an inscription in Greek and Latin found in 1889 by Cousin at Ali-faradin on the borders of Pisidia and Kibyratis: it is a rescript of the emperors Justin and Justinian, assuring imperial protection to the oratory of St. John, A.D. 527. 10. Lechat and Radet: thirty-nine inscriptions of Mysia (cf. *ante* xii. p. 187). 11. Legrand: sixty inscriptions of Mysia and Bithynia. 12. Diamantaras: coins of Lycia. 13. Weil publishes the text of the Delphic hymn; and 14. S. Reinach gives the new fragments with musical notation and a long critical study of their bearing on our knowledge of Greek music.

Institute. Homolle's report on Delphi, and (p. 616) two Delphian inscriptions giving the accounts of the temple administration: Svoronos' interpretation of astronomical types on coins (p. 618), applied to coins of Crete (p. 621), especially the famous Gortyna type. News and correspondence: Athens, Peloponnesus, Islands, &c. including three new Orphic inscriptions from Eleutherae (cf. *ante*, p. 121).

C. S.

OBITUARY.

WILLIAM ALEXANDER GREENHILL, M.D.

As the only English physician of the present century who had devoted himself to the ancient literature of his profession, Dr. Greenhill claims some mention in the pages of the *Classical Review.* Very full and appreciative notices have appeared in the *Athenaeum* and the *Guardian*, as well as in the local papers, and in these his many-sided activity, disinterested character, and sound and zealous churchmanship have been set forth in attractive colours. We shall here speak of him chiefly as the exponent of the Greek and Latin, and, incidentally, of the Arabic medical literature.

William Alexander Greenhill was born on Jan. 1, 1814, of a family which had an hereditary connexion with the Stationers' Company; his father having been treasurer of the Company, his elder brother, who died not long since, secretary and afterwards Master. In 1828 he went to Rugby at the beginning of Arnold's headmastership, and there he laid the foundation of his sound scholarship. He was a favourite pupil of the great Doctor, whose niece he ultimately married; and among such schoolfellows as Deans Stanley, Vaughan, and Lake, he was regarded as not the least promising of the brilliant band.

In 1832 he went to Trinity College, Oxford, where he held an exhibition. Here he at first gave himself up to desultory reading, instead of working for the schools: in after life he attributed this to the inferiority of the college lectures as compared with Arnold's teaching, but owned that he had acted priggishly in giving way to this feeling.

After a year or two he thought better of it, but it was then too late to read for honours, and in the end he took no degree in Arts, graduating M.B. in 1839 and M.D. in 1841.

Together with his scientific studies he cultivated that literary side of the profession which he made so completely his own.

The Bodleian is rich in Arabic MSS., and it is understood that these, as well as printed sources, were laid under contribution. On his marriage he settled in Oxford, and began practice as a physician. Here he was one of Newman's parishioners, and for some time his churchwarden. His first publication, in 1842, was the Greek text of the anatomical treatise of Theophilus Protospatharius, περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς, in a more complete form than had yet appeared. In the same year he contributed the medical articles to Dr. (afterwards Sir William) Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities.* In the last edition of this work he was the only one of the original writers (except the late Dr. Leonhard Schmitz to a slight extent) who revised his own contributions. Some years later he wrote the lives of the ancient physicians for the *Dictionary of Biography* in the same series. In 1844 he was chosen by the Sydenham Society to edit the Latin works of its eponymous hero. Soon afterwards

he translated the work of Rhazes *On Small-pox and Measles* for the first time from the original Arabic; previous English versions having been made from the Greek or Latin.

About 1852 Dr. Greenhill left Oxford and settled at Hastings. Here, in addition to his practice, he was the life and soul of every philanthropic and sanitary scheme, especially of the Hastings Cottage Improvement Society. He was also conspicuous in church and parish work; and the notices which have appeared since his death testify to the affection and reverence with which he was regarded by his fellow-townsmen. His old age was not free from sorrows. His elder daughter died of consumption, and his elder son was cut off in the midst of a promising career as an undergraduate; Mrs. Greenhill did not long survive this double loss. His literary work continued. Some years ago he brought out an elaborate edition of Sir Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici*, and at the time of his death was engaged upon the same author's *Hydriotaphia*. He also contributed largely to *Notes and Queries*, and to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, the last volume of which, published since his death, includes the life of Dr. J. B. Mozley, the Regius Professor of Divinity. The subjects of his biographies were mostly Oxford celebrities. Besides his distinguished schoolfellows already mentioned, he was the friend of almost every eminent Oxonian of his time; of Pusey, Newman and Keble; of Deans Church, Goulburn, Liddell and Scott; of Dr. Mozley; of Dr. Ogle and Sir Henry Acland, Regius Professors of Physic; and of Mr. Gladstone. He had long suffered from a heart trouble, and on Sept. 19 he passed away after two hours' illness, in his 81st year; having kept up his literary labours to the last. A son and a daughter survive him.

W. W.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Classical Studies in honour of Henry Drisler. New York, Macmillan and Co. 1894.

This sumptuous volume commemorates in German fashion the fiftieth year of Dr. Drisler's official connection with Columbia College. It consists of twenty-one papers by his pupils on various subjects connected with classical philology or archaeology, with the exception of three which are concerned with oriental literature. (1) *On the meaning of* nauta *and* viator *in Hor. Sat.* i. 5, 11-23, by S. G. Ashmore. After an examination of various parallel passages and the views of commentators the writer concludes that the *viator* is a 'man on foot, whose destination lay in the same direction as that of Horace's party, and who was too poor to pay his fare by boat. He joins the *nauta* who is guiding the mule, and the two men sing as they go.' (2) *Anaximander on the prolongation of infancy in man*, by N. M. Butler. This note on the history of the theory of evolution calls attention to the remarkable way in which certain pre-Socratic thinkers, especially Anaximander and Xenophanes, anticipated some modern discoveries. It is clear, for instance, from a fragment of Anax. that he 'observed and understood the main point in connection with the prolongation of the period of infancy in man; namely, that it affords a needed opportunity for the adjustment of the complex physical and psychical activities to their environment,'—a point which has recently been drawn out by Messrs. Spencer, Fiske, and Wallace. (3) *Of two passages in Euripides' Medea*, by M. L. Earle. In the much-vexed l. 12 Dr. Earle would read ὀργῇ for φυγῇ after Musgrave, and in the next line change αὐτὴ to αὐτῷ. For ἀφικόμην in 503 he would read ἀφήκαμεν—a change which hardly seems required. (4) *The preliminary military service of the equestrian Cursus Honorum*, by J. C. Egbert, junr. From a study of the inscriptions of the empire it appears that the equestrian military service during the three centuries of its history assumed four different forms. I. *Tribunatus militum*, II. *Tribunatus cohortis vigilum, cohortis urbanae, cohortis praetoriae*, III. *Praefectus cohortis, tribunus militum, praefectus alae*, IV. *Praefectura alae*. The *praefectura* (*castrorum*) *legionis* became a part of the *militiae equestres* under Septimius Severus. At first this military service merely led to civil offices, but from the time of Hadrian the military career assumes an importance of its own. (5) *References to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic literature*, by R. J. H. Gottheil. (6) *Literary frauds among the Greeks*, by A. Gudeman. This paper draws attention to some of the more important and interesting literary frauds beginning with Onomacritus (Hdt. vii. 6). The entire classical period gives no clear case, which will not surprise us in such an age of originality of thought and expression, and at a time when no class of *reading* public had yet arisen. They first appeared in the guise of interpolations, a common example of which is the practice of actors to tamper with the text of the dramatists. The centuries following the time of Aristotle were fruitful in forgeries. (i) In poetry Heraclides Ponticus is instanced as introducing us to the mythical predecessors of Homer, viz. Philammon, Linos, and Amphion. Some of the odes of Sappho, the didactic sayings of Theognis, and the erotic songs of Anacreon were so much diluted with the effusions of unknown bards that it is often most difficult and sometimes impossible to separate the genuine from the spurious. (ii) In philosophical literature we find a long list of forgeries, which owe their existence principally to two causes, one being a pecuniary inducement and the other a desire to increase for purposes of propaganda the material of certain sects, particularly

the Neo-Platonic and the Neo-Pythagorean. Examples are found in the spurious writings of Plato, most of the esoteric works attributed to Aristotle, but most of all in the pseudo-Pythagorean writings. (iii) Literary frauds however reached their culmination in the department of epistolary composition. 'There is scarcely an illustrious personality in Greek literature or history from Themistocles down to Alexander, who was not credited with a more or less extensive correspondence.' But not all apocryphal writings were the result of fraud. Thus the class of poems known as the Epic Cycle was generally attributed to Homer down to the time of Zenodotus, so the Corpus Hippocrateum was increased by spurious medical treatises. (7) *Henotheism in the Rig-Veda*, by E. W. Hopkins. (8) *On Plato and the Attic Comedy*, by G. B. Hussey. There is probably no direct connection between the Ecclesiazusae and Plato's Republic. 'Both are an outcome of the same state of restless thinking and love for reconstruction that was then prevalent among the Athenians.' However, in the few fragments we possess of the works of Theopompus, who belongs partly to the Old and partly to the New Comedy, we seem to discover the first instances of a direct parody of the Republic. We see this in the Στρατιώτιδες and the Καπηλίδες. (9) *Herodotus* vii. 61, *or ancient Persian armour*, by A. V. W. Jackson. The purpose of this paper is to 'summarize the main results already arrived at with reference to the description which Herodotus gives of the Persian armour, and then to test the passage in the light of standards drawn from Iranian literature, the Avesta, Old Persian inscriptions, Pahlavi books, and later Persian writings, as well as from some non-Iranian sources, and also from the monuments and rock-sculptures of Iran itself.' It is illustrated from bas-reliefs and especially by a plate of the Dieulafoy frieze of archers from Susa. (10) *Archaism in Aulus Gellius*, by C. Knapp. Gellius' fondness for the old writers and his habitual study of their works is well-attested. Among poets Plautus and Ennius, among orators Cato Censor stand highest in his estimation. In all this Gellius is in accord with the literary tendencies of his time. Fronto and Apuleius show the same fondness for all that is archaic in vocabulary and style. The whole is illustrated by a list of archaisms from Gellius. (11) *On certain parallelisms between the ancient and the modern drama*, by B. Matthews. A slight paper. The writer thinks that Euripides in composing the Medea was 'fitting' some Athenian actor, that the Oedipus Rex is scarcely more skilfully contrived than Ibsen's 'Ghosts,' and that the 'topical song' of the modern burlesque resembles the parabasis of the Old Comedy. (12) *Ovid's use of colour and of colour-terms*, by N. G. McCrea. In order to determine Ovid's colour preferences, all instances of his use of each colour-term are given. 'Ovid decidedly prefers the most luminous colours, markedly exceeding the spectrum proportion in yellow, and, to a less extent, in green.' (13) *A bronze of Polyclitan affinities in the Metropolitan Museum*, by A. C. Merriam. This paper, illustrated by a plate, describes a bronze statuette found in Cyprus by General di Cesnola. The writer thinks it may be a copy from the statue of Cyniscus by Polyclitus, and would assign it to the middle of the fifth century and to the Peloponnesian school. (14) *Geryon in Cyprus*, by A. C. Merriam. A description of the three shields on the largest statue of Geryon from Cyprus, from which the conclusion is drawn that it is a work of the second half of the sixth century. (15) *Hercules, Hydra, and Crab*, by A. C. Merriam. This is concerned with the instances where the crab appears as an antagonist of the hero whether with or without the hydra. An illustration is given from a mutilated group found by General di Cesnola. (16) *Onomatopoetic words in Latin*, by H. T. Peck. The Latin language was rich in the most primitive kind of onomatopoeias, those which are formed directly in imitation of some natural sound, and there is ample proof that the Romans recognized and enjoyed these words. A list of rare onomatopoetic words follows. (17) *Notes on the Vedic deity Pūsan*, by E. D. Perry. (18) *The so-called Medusa Ludovisi*, by J. Sachs. This paper is an able argument to show that this relief represents not Medusa but Penthesilea dying, but at a later stage than appears in the archaic Amazon torso of Vienna. There is nothing to show whether the so-called Medusa is part of an independent figure or a fragment of a group. The paper is adorned with two beautiful plates, of the so-called Medusa and of the Vienna torso. (19) *Aristotle and the Arabs*, by W. M. Sloane. A historical account of the Arabian appreciation of Aristotle, more particularly of Avicenna. It is maintained that the Arabian philosophy was much more than the mere 'insensate strong box' in which the Peripatetic system was locked up for a few centuries. (20) *Iphigenia in Greek and French Tragedy*, by B. D. Woodward. A comparison between Euripides and Racine. (21) *Gargettus, an Attic Deme*, by C. H. Young. An elaborate account of the history of this deme, with a list of all the people known to have belonged to it in literature or by inscriptions. The only important name in literature is that of Epicurus.

Transactions of the American Philological Association, 1893. Vol. xxiv.

(1) *The scientific emendation of classical texts*, by E. A. Sonnenschein. The canons here laid down are exemplified by Plautus, whose text presents two problems—the problem of MSS. and that of metre and prosody. The first step is to examine into the relations of the extant MSS. to one another and to arrange them in families, the next to infer the probable reading of the archetype or archetypes, and the last (if necessary) to bring all the resources of palaeography, logic and observation of the language of the author to bear upon the problem of emending the text. Prof. Sonnenschein also says that the critic 'may be called upon to put into a lacuna of the text something which the author himself might have written'—surely a most dangerous doctrine. (2) *On the canons of etymological investigation*, by M. Bréal. Prof. Bréal reminds the reader of a few rules which are too often forgotten by the lexicographer: (i) he must conform to the lessons taught by phonetics, (ii) he should always be careful to distinguish the suffixes. A dictionary of words arranged according to their suffixes is a great desideratum, (iii) he must examine the concordance of meanings as minutely as the concordance of forms. A protest is rightly made against the habit which linguists have of accumulating in the prototypes they invent all the phonetic elements presented by their descendants. Thus the *Ursprache* after being praised for its harmony 'has suddenly come to be the least sonorous and most rugged of tongues.' (3) *Ein Ablaut problem der Ursprache*, by W. Streitberg. (4) *Dunkles und helles l im Lateinischen*, by H. Osthoff. I have purposely refrained from summarizing these papers as they are printed in the original German. To give papers in a foreign language in a periodical meant for English-speaking readers is a fraud upon them, for it cannot be presumed that all understand German. If the papers are worth printing they are also worth translation. (5) *The implicit ethics and psychology of Thucydides*, by P. Shorey. Thucydides' philosophy of life is

considered under two aspects: (i) ethical positivism, (ii) intellectualism. Under the first head it is shown that he regarded the nature and conduct of man as 'strictly determined by his physical and social environment and by a few elementary appetites and desires,' that while the naïve man is duped by the moral drapery thrown round this primitive core the wise man discovers the naked human nature beneath. On the intellectual side Thucydides is constantly preoccupied with the part in life played by the conscious calculating reason. All this is excellently illustrated from the History. Prof. Shorey is not a thorough-going admirer of the style of Thucydides. He remarks, 'often what we take for a new substantive thought is merely an ingenious variation on a commonplace theme. Often periphrases that are apparently wrapped around a kernel of profound suggestion are found empty when unfolded.' This he attributes to the study of the formal rhetoric of the day. (6) *English words which have gained or lost an initial consonant by attraction*, by C. P. G. Scott. This is a second paper, the previous one was published in the *Transactions* for 1892. Unfortunately the writer is a prey to the silly affectation of writing 'publisht, hav, ar, speld, gon, wer,' etc. etc., which makes an interesting subject matter too tiresome to read. Luckily it is not connected with classical philology, so I am not compelled to read it. If we are to reform our spelling we shall not stop here. (7) *'Extended' and 'remote' Deliberatives in Greek*, by W. G. Hale. This admirable paper is the gem of the collection. Prof. Hale here gathers up all that has been written on this subject in the grammars and lately in the *Classical Review* and expounds his own views. With regard to (1) the extended deliberative, *i.e.* cases like ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐκέτ' ἔστιν εἰς ὅ τι βλέπω, he concludes that the subordinate clause is a true deliberative and not derived from a clause of purpose. One reason against the latter view is that in all the Homeric clauses of purpose expressed by the subj., with one exception, the mood is accompanied by ἄν or κε. With regard to (2) the so-called remote deliberative, as seen *e.g.* in οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως λέξαιμι τὰ ψευδῆ καλά, he concludes that the most probable solution is that these are cases of ordinary potentials and equivalent in sense to optatives with ἄν. These seven papers are here published in full. A good many others were also read and discussed at the annual 'Proceedings' and abstracts of them are given in the appendix. Altogether the present publication in no way falls below the high standard attained by the previous numbers.

R. C. S.

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

ENGLISH BOOKS.

Appian. Civil Wars. Book I. Translated by E. F. M. Benecke. Cr. 8vo. Sewed. Blackwell.

Benecke (E. F. M.) Poetarum Latinorum Index in usum versificatorum nostratum conflatus. Post 8vo. 172 pp. Methuen. 4*s.* 6*d.*

Caesar. Tales of the Civil War. Adapted for the use of beginners, with vocabulary, notes and exercises by Charles Haines Keene. Macmillan. 1*s.* 6*d.*

—— Gallic War. Books I. and II. Edited by T. W. Haddon and G. C. Harrison, with plans and illustrations. Cr. 8vo. xxxvi, 107 pp. E. Arnold. 1*s.* 6*d.* net.

—— Gallic War. Books I—VII. Literally translated from the text of Hoffmann, by St. George Stock. Post 8vo. 140 pp. Shrimpton. 3*s.* 6*d.*

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The Classical Review

DECEMBER 1894.

THE POWER OF PARDON POSSESSED BY THE 'PRINCEPS.'

The question as to the exercise of the power of pardon in the Roman Principate cannot be said to be one which has suffered from over-treatment. Mommsen in his first edition of the *Staatsrecht* (ii. p. 848, note 2) lamented that 'the whole subject of the rescission of sentences and of the power of pardon earnestly demanded a comprehensive revision.' The complaint was listened to by Johannes Merkel, who in 1881 produced his treatise *Über die Begnadigungscompetenz im Römischen Strafprocesse*, a marvel of learning and clearness, and so complete that any attempt to revive the question must be largely a criticism of his work. Still the question deserves to be revived, for on at least one all-important point, the power of pardon possessed by the Senate, Mommsen and Merkel differ fundamentally from one another. Hence any attempt to weigh again the delicate balance of probabilities, which is the result not only of discrepant statements of historians but of conflicting utterances of jurists, is justifiable, in spite of the fact that little or no evidence can be added to the material already collected. The solution of questions such as this may be assisted by analogies gathered from other fields of inquiry as well as by the addition of positive evidence, however poor a substitute the former may be for the latter.

Pardon may be treated under two aspects, as a question of judicial administration and as a question of constitutional law. From both points of view its historical development is important, although from the latter it is more obviously so. But, from one point of view at least, its importance as an element in constitutional law has been perhaps exaggerated. We often find a tendency to treat the growth of a power of pardon as though it were equivalent to the growth of a theory of sovereignty. This is not necessarily the case. Pardon may be an administrative or it may be a purely judicial act. It may be the right of an extra-judicial branch of the executive, such as the President of a Republic, or it may be the right of a High Court to rescind sentences; but this executive authority or this court may have none of the other attributes of sovereignty. It can be shown that at Rome the Emperor's power of pardon grew with his control of legislation; but, had the latter power not accompanied the former, few would have dreamed of seeing in the mere executive exercise of pardon a sign of sovereign authority.

This brings us to another—a narrower but still more instructive point of view—from which the power of pardon may be treated either as mainly a constitutional or as mainly a judicial question. Pardon may be exercised by a central controlling authority set above all courts of law, or it may be exercised by a supreme court over its own jurisdiction and over that of lesser courts. In neither case is it essentially a sovereign prerogative, but in the first it must have an extra-judicial basis: in the second it depends simply on the scheme of subordination of courts recognized by the state. But a third and more complicated alternative is possible, one also more closely connected with the

judicial than with the administrative functions of government. The power of annulling its sentences may be possessed by each separate court in its own right. Here there is a general power of pardon but no general pardoning power. We shall have to inquire whether this system, familiar to the Republic, and which maintained itself in the form of the modified *in integrum restitutio* of each separate court, still survived in its perfect form in the Principate, or whether the striving after unity of administration was powerful enough to suppress the autonomy of the courts.

Another important distinction between the different aspects of this power is suggested by the possibility of limitations being set on the power of pardon—limitations not, like those just discussed, connected with its sphere of operation, but with its actual exercise. Pardon, in short, may be conditional or unconditional. It may be limited to certain contingencies by law or by custom, which is as strong as law, or it may be wholly unfettered. It is in the latter case only that it is a true sovereign right, although the exercise even of this power would not make the holder of it a sovereign. The question of main interest from the point of view of constitutional law, and the one which chiefly demands an answer, is the question whether this unconditioned power of pardon, however it may be viewed, was possessed by the princeps. If it was, we must ask further how it was gained and whether it had a legal basis.

The power of pardon, as generally understood, implies the previous existence of a sentence to be rescinded, and all who have treated this question have been careful to distinguish it from such powers as that of amnesty, which precedes trial, or of *abolitio*, which precedes a sentence, or even from the power of completing the function of a lower court by ratifying a sentence which it is incompetent to pronounce on its own authority. The distinction is a just one, yet even juristically the latter are analogous powers, and historically they tend usually to accompany the exercise of the true power of pardon. They, therefore, demand a place in this discussion.

The judicial influence of the princeps was of such a many-sided character that it is necessary to begin by distinguishing his power of pardon from the many indirect modes by which he could control the jurisdiction of other courts. The least formal of these was guaranteed by his presence at the senate when sitting as a court of justice: and in whatever character he attended the 'consilium' of the consul's court, whether as magistrate or as senator, his control of its decisions was none the less effectual because it was indirect. A less anomalous, but still indirect interference with the jurisdiction of lower courts arises from the emperor's position as a Court of First Instance. This authority of the emperor as a high court of voluntary jurisdiction, granted apparently to Augustus by a plebiscitum of 30 B.C. (*Classical Review*, 1894, p. 144), did enable him to usurp the jurisdiction of the lower courts; but it is going too far even to describe it as a 'right of summons' possessed by the emperor (Merkel, *op. cit.* p. 58); it is really rather a right of the parties than a power of the magistrate, since the summons could proceed only on a request for cognizance. Its effectiveness as a mode of control rested on the facts that the request could proceed from prosecutor or accused in a criminal case, as it might from either of the parties in a civil suit, and that the merits of the case would have to be considered before the emperor decided whether he should exercise his own jurisdiction. It is obvious that this procedure might be employed as an indirect mode in which the accused might secure the grace of the emperor, although there appears to be no case known in which the power was used, or rather abused, for this purpose. We come next to a procedure which approximates much more closely to a power of pardon, and in its final stages does not fall far short of it. It is the emperor's control of provincial jurisdiction, not in the way of appeal, but in the form of supplementing the competence of provincial governors by confirming penalties which required ratification. The capital punishment of decurions was prohibited by Hadrian (*Dig.* 48, 19, 15), and the earliest *mandata* directing the procedure of governors in such cases are those of the 'divi fratres' (*Dig.* 48, 19, 27, 1 and 2). The punishment of deportation had also been confined to the princeps and to the two great prefects by the time of Septimius Severus (*Dig.* 48, 19, 2, 1 and 21, 2, 1),[1] and any provincial governor could only inflict the penalty subject to the emperor's ratification (*Dig.* 48, 22, 6, 'missa plena opinione ut

[1] The earliest notice of the restriction appears to be found in the edict-commentary of Ulpian, written probably under Septimius Severus. It was Severus who created, or confirmed, the power of the 'praefectus urbi' to 'deport' (*Dig.* 48, 22, 6). This does not touch the question of the emperor's control over the ordinary criminal courts of Rome even for the time of Severus, since the 'praefectus urbi' was a delegate of the emperor.

princeps aestimet, an sequenda sit ejus sententia'). It was inevitable that this power, gradually usurped by the emperor, should be followed by another—by the power, that is, of reforming illegal sentences, where a mistake had been made by the governor and where a change in the sentence required ratification; in this case both amendment and restitution were forbidden to the judge, and the question was referred to the emperor (*Dig.* 48, 19, 9, 11, 'referre ad principem debet, ut ex auctoritate ejus poena aut *permutetur* aut *liberaretur*'). In both these cases the confirmation, the change, or (what must have been very much rarer) the rescission of the penalty was made by imperial rescript following on the 'relatio' of the governor. The emperor acts in this case as an interpreting authority, and it is evident that we have here no theory of a power of pardon. The procedure is simply the result of the limitation of the competence of certain judges. If limitations of this kind, based on nature of punishment or on rank, exist, there must be some court to fill up the lack of competence: and, as in the history of the appeal, the highest court in the Roman world, that of the 'princeps,' was ultimately chosen for this purpose. Its basis is to be sought not so much in any general prerogative, such as the 'proconsulare imperium,' as in the fact that the 'princeps' and the consistory formed the highest interpreting authority in the empire. Nor could the procedure usually have led to the exercise of pardon; the punishment, where found improper, was changed by the emperor. Yet full restitution was contemplated as a possibility, and this power of ratification might be so used as to become an act of grace. A passage in the *Code* (9, 51, 1) shows us Antoninus (Caracalla) in the consistory saying to a man who had been deported to an island, 'Restituo te in integrum provinciae tuae.'[1] This necessity for consulting the princeps by 'relatio' in certain cases must have done a great deal to strengthen a power which we shall soon have to examine—that of the superior *restitutio* possessed by the emperor over all criminal jurisdiction in the provinces, although the latter had an independent origin and is found as early as Trajan, probably before the fixed rules which we have just discussed had been finally framed.

[1] In this case the delinquent had appeared in person, and the result was practically a trial in the 'auditorium' of the emperor. But this must have been very unusual. As a rule the procedure was by rescript, which did not demand the presence of the accused.

For the present we must turn from the provinces and glance again at the courts of the central state to find a true, though very limited, power of pardon resting on a legal basis. This is the 'intercessio' in virtue of the 'tribunicia potestas' which gives the emperor the power of vetoing the decrees of the Senate when constituted as a criminal court. Here the emperor extends the functions of the tribune of the Republic as a court of cassation; the procedure becomes formal, for rules are framed for its exercise[2] and the language of the appeal is used. But it is an accidental power in so far as it arises merely from the fact that this class of sentences assumed a form which was subject to the tribunician veto, and it was consequently confined to one sphere of jurisdiction only. The tribunician power furnished no basis for the exercise of a general power of pardon.

Its complement, the 'proconsulare imperium,' with its direct supremacy over the imperial provinces, and its vaguer but still very real control over the senatorial, would seem at first sight sufficient for establishing a basis for this power in the world outside Italy. But, except in the case of military jurisdiction, which was, as a matter of course, completely under the control of the 'imperator,' the power of 'restitutio' over provincial jurisdiction seems to have been of too gradual a growth for it to have been felt as a necessary and immediate outcome even of this 'imperium.'

The unlimited power of 'in integrum restitutio' over criminal jurisdiction is a true power of pardon: and that this prerogative was possessed by the emperor in all the provinces is proved by many statements of the classical jurists. But there are also evidences which prove that it had a gradual growth—a growth perhaps as gradual as that which led to the recognition of the universal appeal to Caesar. The passages in the correspondence of Pliny and Trajan (31, 5; 56, 3; 57, 1), which have been sometimes taken to show that this power then existed, sometimes that it did not exist in its perfect form, really prove two points: firstly, that there was at the time no fixed rule limiting the 'restitutio' of governors, at least in senatorial provinces; and, secondly, that

[2] Tac. *Ann.* 3, 51, 3, 'factum senatus consultum, ne decreta patrum ante diem *decimum* ad aerarium deferrentur idque vitae spatium damnatis prorogaretur'; cf. Dio lvii. 20, 4; Suet. *Tib.* 75. Merkel (*op. cit.* p. 54) notices a striking peculiarity of this rule from the point of view of constitutional law. The regulation that increases the power of the superior court is obtained by a concession of the lower.

'restitutio' by a governor was felt to be permissible in certain cases. A fixed rule was created by a series of 'mandata,' of which this of Trajan may have been amongst the first, laying down the general principle that 'praesides' should not rescind their sentences without consulting the emperor, and specifying the cases in which they might use their own discretion.[1] This prerogative of the 'princeps' is necessarily associated with the 'proconsulare imperium,' since it is this alone that brings the emperor into contact with the provinces; but it is not an outcome of it. The courts even of the provincial world are not the emperor's courts in the early principate. It grew with the greater centralization of government and the increasing limitation of the powers of governors—a limitation created by the ever growing practice of making 'relationes' in cases of difficulty. The reference is made to the emperor as the highest court, as an interpreting authority. The history of the usurpation of the 'restitutio' by Caesar is a part of the history of procedure by rescript: and the imperial rescript is rather a vehicle of advice than of command. But a general 'mandatum' was the inevitable consequence of successive rescripts; it saved time and informed provincial governors of limitations on their powers which had been largely created by their predecessors. It was thus that the creation of customary law became fixed in the imperial ordinances before it was finally stereotyped in the writings of the jurists. If we ask whether this power even as finally developed rests on any general theory of pardon, the answer is 'probably not.' It is simply restitution on equitable grounds, but on wider grounds than those possessed by the ordinary provincial governor.

It is when we turn to the courts of the central state that the question where pardon resides becomes, as we should expect, more complicated. For, if pardon is a function of the judicial power, the imperial jurisdiction has two rivals, the senate and the *quaestiones perpetuae*, theoretically exempt from its control; and if it is a part of the executive functions of government, then there is the senate, whose administrative control over Rome and Italy is far more real than that nominally assigned it over certain of the provinces. Here we are in the midst of controversy; for while Mommsen assigns pardon to the senate, Merkel, with less confidence but with more certainty, finds it vested in the 'princeps.' We shall attempt to show that neither of these two views is tenable in its extreme form; but that the power of pardon, like most administrative, judicial and even legislative functions in the Principate, is divided.

The senate continues to grant public amnesties (*abolitiones publicae*) on the occasions of festivals or public rejoicings ('ob laetitiam aliquam vel honorem domus divinae vel ex aliqua causa, ex qua senatus censuit abolitionem reorum fieri,' Ulpian in *Dig.* 48, 16, 2; cf. 48, 3, 2, 1). This has little or nothing to do with any general theory of pardon; it is primarily an administrative act; the power of ordaining such 'feriae' was naturally accompanied by what, according to Roman religious notions, was an inevitable consequence of such ordinances. This power is not shared by the emperor, but, as an interpreting authority, he may step in to show the proper limits of such decrees. Domitian by an edict declared that such 'abolitiones' did not extend to slaves who were in custody awaiting trial (*Dig.* 48, 16, 16; cf. 48, 3, 2, 1).

We now turn to two cases, which have been preserved, where the senate seems to exercise the power of actually rescinding criminal sentences, *i.e.* of 'restitutio' in its pure form. It is said of Claudius (Suet. *Claud.* 12) 'neminem exulum nisi ex senatus auctoritate restituit': and of Antoninus Pius (*vit.* 6) 'his quos Hadrianus damnaverat in senatu indulgentias petiit, dicens etiam ipsum Hadrianum hoc fuisse facturum.'[2] Standing by themselves these passages might appear to exhibit a general power of 'restitutio' possessed by the senate, although they are far outweighed in number by passages which assign such a function to the 'princeps' alone. But the context in both of these cases shows that Merkel is undoubtedly right in holding that we have here to deal with an unwonted concession made by the 'princeps.'[3] They are cases of certain 'principes' exercising, with the senate's

[1] Such specified cases are found in Trajan *ad Plin.* xxxii. and in a rescript of divus Pius (*Dig.* 48, 19, 22).

[2] The words 'quos Hadrianus damnaverat' must probably be taken, with Merkel, to signify persons condemned in the emperor's courts. If they mean persons condemned by the senate (through the indirect influence of the emperor), the case is simple enough; since, as we shall see, the senate undoubtedly possessed the power of 'restitutio' within the sphere of its own jurisdiction.

[3] This procedure of Claudius is cited by Suetonius amongst instances of his being 'parcus atque civilis.' The sentence immediately following the words cited from the life of Antoninus Pius begins 'imperatorium fastigium ad summam civilitatem deduxit.'

authority, a power which the average ruler would have exercised in his own right, and it is doubtful whether they rest on the faintest idea of the senate's being a body properly qualified to pardon. They are, in fact, not exactly parallel to the imperial delegations of appeal, to which they have been compared. In the delegation of appeal we have the recognition that there is another side to the dyarchy; the appeal is made primarily to the consuls. Here we have simply an instance of the emperor consulting an ever-present 'consilium'; cases that would naturally have come before the smaller council (the later consistory) are referred to a wider body. The procedure resembles the delegation of appeals only in so far as it springs from the same 'civile ingenium' of the 'princeps.'

A third instance of the exercise by the senate of a power which at least approximates to pardon dates from the the reign of Pertinax. In an inscription (Wilmanns i. n. 1198) we find the record of a M. Antonius Antius Lupus 'cujus memoria per vim oppressi in integrum secundum amplissimi ordinis consultum restituta est.' He had been put to death by Commodus (*vit. Commod.* 7) and was amongst those whose memories were restored in the reign of Pertinax (*vit. Pertin.* 7, 'revocavit etiam eos qui deportati fuerant crimine majestatis, eorum memoria restituta qui occisi fuerant'). Here we have apparently an instance of 'restitutio memoriae' by the senate. Merkel (p. 44) in his efforts to disallow any power of pardon to the senate understands the 'senatus consultum' here as that which rescinded the 'acta' of Commodus. It is a possible, but it is not the most obvious, interpretation. The difficulty arises here from the fact that the whole question of 'damnatio memoriae' is shrouded in great obscurity. It must be treated both as a general power of the senate and as an appendix to its criminal jurisdiction (Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* iii. p. 1190). It was a consequence of 'perduellio' (Rein, *Criminalrecht* p. 501) but a special appendix to each separate condemnation (*ib.* p. 537). No instance appears to be known of condemnation of memory being pronounced by any other authority than the senate, during the Principate. If in this way it supplemented the jurisdiction of other courts, then we need not inquire by whom Antius Lupus had been condemned. 'Restitutio memoriae' would be a prerogative of the senate[1] and if we choose to regard it as a power of pardon, the senate does to that extent possess this power.

Has the senate, then, no power of 'restitutio' other than this occasional restoration of the memory of the condemned? For an answer to this question we have the best material conceivable, the definite statements of jurists. The praetor in his edict dealing with the 'infames' exempted those who were 'restituti' from the praetorian infamia. Ulpian in his commentary to the Edict remarks (*Dig.* 3, 1, 1, 10) 'De qua autem restitutione praetor loquitur? utrum de ea quae a principe vel a senatu Pomponius quaerit: et putat de ea restitutione sensum, quam princeps vel senatus indulsit.' This statement is certainly no justification for Mommsen's theory of a general power of pardon possessed by the senate; but it is equally illegitimate to extend it with Merkel (p. 49) to a general *abolitio infamiae.* No abolition of immediate infamia appears to be known until the period after Constantine, and there is no evidence for an 'abolitio' of mediate infamia without a quashing of the sentence which created it. Nor could the senate have had power to cancel the immediate infamia even of its own members. It could expel its members—and even this procedure is quasi-judicial—but there is nothing to show that it could restore them. The passage in the praetor's edict on which Ulpian commented clearly refers only to judicial restitutio, which, according to the commentators, might be granted by three courts, the emperor, the senate and the praetor, and the important point to notice is that the 'restitutio' of the senate is *unconditioned* like that of the princeps, not conditioned like that of the praetor. Here at least the dyarchy of emperor and senate is complete. But for this very reason the passage furnishes no evidence for a general power of pardon being possessed by the senate. It possesses 'restitutio' only over its own sentences and only in its capacity as a criminal court. This 'restitutio' doubtless continued in force as long as the senate continued to be actively employed as a criminal court. In legal theory this power was never lost to the senate; for, however seldom its jurisdiction was employed in the later empire, it never ceased to be a court of criminal jurisdiction. Hence the appearance of the principle, however casually stated, in the *Digest.* Its preservation is due to a motive similar to that which led Justinian's

[1] When Nero 'Lolliae Paulinae cineres reportari sepulchrumque exstrui permisit' (Tac. *Ann.* 14, 12, 6), this 'restitutio memoriae' was no doubt effected by a 'senatus consultum.' Lollia Paulina had been condemned by the senate.

compilers to preserve the theory that the senate was an inappellable court.

It is true that a great number of passages may be cited from the writings of the classical jurists which appear to conflict with this conclusion and implicitly to deny this power to the senate. All these passages state that pardon is confined to the emperor. A closer examination shows, however, that they are by no means conclusive against our theory. First we may take a series of passages from Ulpian (*Dig.* 28, 3, 6, 2; 32, 1, 5; 48, 23, 2) and from Paulus (*Dig.* 34, 1, 11; 48, 23, 4), chiefly referring to the validity of wills and codicils, all of which speak of restitution 'a principe' or 'indulgentia principis,' and have no word to say of restitution by any other power. The reason for this silence is no doubt to be sought, as we shall soon see, in the place occupied by these passages in the *Digest.* The next important point to notice here is that the passages are perfectly general and do not raise the question of the court which had condemned the persons so restored. More important is the series of passages from the jurists which deal directly with criminal law and which state that 'restitutio,' as well as any change or commutation of sentence, can be effected by the 'princeps' alone. Of these six passages no less than four refer directly to the provinces (*Dig.* 48, 18, 1, 27; 19, 9, 11; 19, 31; 19 27); a fifth from Marcian (*Dig.* 48, 19, 4), although it appears in a general form, seems as though it may have been originally directed to provincial administration. The sixth and most important is a statement by Paulus (*Dig.* 42, 1, 45, 1 = lib. i. *sent.*) and seems the only one that means to lay down quite a general principle. It runs 'de amplianda vel minuenda poena damnatorum post sententiam dictam sine principali auctoritate nihil est statuendum.' It refers, therefore, to revision of sentences rather than to 'restitutio,' but, judicially considered, the principle of both these powers is the same.

The uniformity of statement in these passages, which seems to conflict with the theory that the senate possessed a power of 'restitutio,' may be accounted for on three grounds; (1) many refer to the provinces, and the emperor's superior power of 'restitutio,' the growth of which has been traced above, is here admitted; (2) even the most general statements, such as that of Paulus, are sufficiently true approximately not to surprise us by their occurrence. They are true of nearly the whole Roman world. The early exceptions had been the senate and the 'quaestiones,' but the senate with its limited Italian jurisdiction was not an important exception, and the 'quaestiones' had disappeared by Paulus' time (*Dig.* 48, 1, 8); and (3) we must always remember the place of these passages in the *Digest.* They were excerpted by the compilers as a statement of a principle which was literally true after the abolition of the procedure of the 'judicia publica' and after the senate had practically ceased to act as a court of justice.

We may now turn finally to the only form of pardon which yet remains to be discussed: that of the emperor for Rome and Italy. That the emperor possesses the power of judicial 'restitutio' over his own sentences can hardly be doubted. In some of the passages which treat of recall from exile and the like a personal act of the emperor seems clearly implied (*e.g.* Tac. *Ann.* 14, 12 and 12, 8); others (*e.g.* Tac. *Ann.* 4, 31) are rendered doubtful, because they may imply previous condemnation by the senate, and consequently a restitution through the employment of the tribunician veto. But, apart from these isolated cases of 'restitutio,' we have frequent evidences of a wholesale pardon being extended by emperors to the victims of past reigns. Such acts are mentioned under Claudius (Dio 60, 4), Otho (Tac. *Hist.* 1, 90: Plut. *Otho* 1), Vitellius (Tac. *Hist.* 2, 92),[1] Vespasian (Dio 66, 9), Antoninus Caracalla (*vit.* 3) and Gordian (Herodian 7, 6, 4).[2] In none of these passages is there any suggestion of the cooperation of the senate.

If we compare these instances with the few examined above, where the senate is mentioned as being consulted by the emperor on questions of 'restitutio,' we have to choose between the probabilities of all mention of the senate being omitted in these numerous cases, the actual controlling power of the emperor being so great, and of the activity of the senate, where it occurs, being abnormal. In questions of historical probability, where we are dealing with legal institutions described by non-juristic writers, the number of instances on either side counts for little. It is the context of the instances that is all-important, and from this point of view, as we have already seen,

[1] In the passages referring to the reigns of Otho and Vitellius the language is indeterminate; the mention is simply of 'reversi' or 'revocati ab exilio.'

[2] A similar isolated case of 'restitutio' is mentioned by Pliny (*Ep.* 4, 9, 2), '(Julius Bassus) a Domitiano relegatus est: revocatus a Nerva.'

there is everything to be said for Merkel's view that 'restitutio' was made by the emperor, and that, where we find a mention of the senate, its concurrence was only an imperial concession.

If we ask what sentences were thus rescinded, the most obvious answer is 'the judgments of the emperor's own courts.' The holder of office may change, but the 'princeps' as a court never dies. It is purely judicial restitution, which is as valid over the acts of the emperor's predecessors as over his own. The exemption of the senate's jurisdiction from this power is almost certain. Besides the evidence for senatorial restitution noticed above, the fact that cross appeals were not allowed[1] makes it extremely unlikely that the emperor gained[2] any power of rescinding its sentences. For 'restitutio' on the whole follows throughout the analogy of the appeal. The 'quaestiones perpetuae' are not necessarily implied in any of these instances, for these courts were not usually employed in the trial of political offences. The question whether the emperor had any power of 'restitutio' over the 'quaestiones' is by no means easy to answer. There is no evidence for such a power, but perhaps it it is not quite so impossible that it existed as has usually been thought. If we admit that the emperor has no control over the 'quaestiones' in the way of appeal, does this exclude a 'restitutio' of their sentences based on certain valid grounds? Possibly not. In civil cases the analogy of the appeal is not followed here. We have the instances of Claudius' 'restitutio in integrum' of cases in the 'judicia ordinaria' (Suet. *Claud.* 14), and of Domitian's restitution of judgments of the centumviral court (Suet. *Dom.* 8). The passages cited by Merkel (p. 64) to illustrate the unchangeableness of judgments in the early Principate—

Quinctil. *Declam.* 372: 'judicia judiciis rescindi non possunt. sera post damnationem innocentiae defensio est.'

Seneca, *Controv.* iii. 23: judex quam tulit de reo tabellam revocare non potest. quaesitor non mutabit sententiam suam.—

are perhaps too general to be argued from. They only show the general inviolability of a 'res judicata'; this did not, however, in general exclude either the appeal or the 'restitutio.' But, if they be taken to prove the complete unchangeableness of a sentence by the ordinary criminal court at Rome which had pronounced it, this will be an argument for some power of 'restitutio' having been vested in the 'princeps.' For it is hardly conceivable that, at a time when the whole Roman procedure was being coordinated and reformed by statute law as well as by imperial edicts,[3] no provision whatever should have been made for an equitable readjustment of unjust sentences. If such a power was exercised by the 'princeps,' it would probably not have assumed the form of a cancelling or an amendment of the sentence, but of permission for 'retractatio judicii' or renewal of the trial. The control, in any case, would not have been so arbitrary as that in the emperor's own courts. The grounds for 'retractatio' may have been fixed, but the question whether it should be resorted to in any particular case may well have been referred to the highest court and the highest interpreting authority, the emperor. This may be pronounced conjecture; but we have more right to speculate about the 'quaestiones' than about any other court in the Principate, since their complete disappearance has caused no trace of their relations to the emperor to be preserved in the *Digest.*

On the whole there is no evidence that this 'restitutio' was exercised over any criminal courts at Rome but those of the 'princeps' himself. Had it been, it could not be explained, as the control over provincial courts has been explained, as the gradual growth of customary law—the instances are too early for the growth of customary law on such a point. This 'restitutio must have been based on a principle fairly obvious from the first: and this could have been none other than rescission by the emperor's court of its own sentences.

But, even in the procedure as thus limited, have we any theory of pardon? Probably none of free pardon such as that granted by a sovereign—the epoch of 'general indulgences' is not reached until much later. In all these cases there was probably at least the fiction of improper—*i.e.* of irregular—condemnation. This appears very clearly

[1] Ulpian in *Dig.* 49, 2, 1, 2, 'sciendum est appellari a senatu non posse principem, idque oratione divi Hadriani effectum.' It becomes a stronger proof if we believe it to be an old principle confirmed (and not created) by Hadrian.

[2] That he could not have possessed it from the first is proved by the necessity of employing the tribunician 'intercessio' as an indirect means of pardon.

[3] Of the first kind were the leges Juliae *de judiciis ordinandis* and *judiciorum publicorum*; of the latter such imperial regulations as that by which Titus put an end to an anomaly of the criminal courts by forbidding 'de eadem re plurimis legibus agi' (Suet. *Tit.* 8).

in the procedure adopted by Gordian (Herodian 7, 6, 4), where he is spoken of as παλινδικίαν διδοὺς τοῖς ἀδίκως κατακριθεῖσι; that is, his 'restitutio' did not lead to an acquittal but to a renewal of the trial (retractatio judicii). It is a power which does not differ essentially in theory from the praetorian restitution, which is certainly not a power of pardon.

But, besides the restitution proper, we have evidences of a power possessed by the emperor from the very dawn of the Principate. This is the 'abolitio,' or power of quashing indictments, which approximates to pardon and may clearly be used for this purpose. Instances of its employment are found under Augustus (Suet. *Oct.* 32), Gaius (id. *Calig.* 15; cf. Dio 59, 6), Domitian (Suet. *Dom.* 9), and Vespasian (Dio 56, 9). So far as we conceive this procedure to have been adopted within the sphere of the emperor's jurisdiction, the possession of the right of 'abolitio' creates no difficulty, although we may not be able to fathom the principles on which its exercise was based. If we are forced to adopt a legal theory for what seems to have been a somewhat irregular procedure, it seems simply to have been the right of a court, less hampered by legal formalities than any other, to refuse indictments brought before it. But the instances given by our authorities seem to show a wider power than this. The procedure of Augustus, who 'diuturnorum reorum — nomina abolevit,' we may perhaps account for with Mommsen (*Staatsrecht* ii. p. 885, note 1) by saying that it was an outcome of the extraordinary 'potestas' which he possessed before the final constitution of the Principate. Gaius 'criminum — omnium gratiam fecit,' but the context shows that political charges, which had survived his predecessor's rule, are meant, and these might have been before the emperor's court. The same is true of Vespasian's use of the 'abolitio'; but Domitian 'reos—univeros discrimine liberavit,' and fixed certain conditions under which alone these charges could be renewed. There is nothing in the context here to fix the limits within which he exercised his authority; it is quite possible, however, that political prosecutions before the emperor's court alone are meant.

But, if we hold that these instances force us to admit a wider power of 'abolitio' than this, it is not altogether impossible to supply, from the known prerogatives of the 'princeps,' a basis for this power. A very wide power of quashing indictments might have been exercised by the emperor in two ways. The one is an indirect mode of control based on his personal jurisdiction, the other a direct power springing from his 'tribunicia potestas.' As regards the first, we must remember that it was possible to get any case *brought* to the emperor's court. It might be presented to that court in the first instance by the prosecutor, or the request for cognizance might come from the accused. The emperor might, therefore, listen to the preliminaries of any case and then refuse to take it, without 'remitting' it to another court.[1] It is extremely unlikely that any other criminal court at Rome would have listened to even the preliminaries of a prosecution which had been rejected by the emperor, and in this way what was practically a general power of 'abolitio' might have grown up.

But the power might also have been exercised more directly. It has been stated above that the 'tribunicia potestas' furnishes no basis for a general power of pardon; but it does not seem hitherto to have been noticed that it might have furnished a basis for something approaching to a general power of 'abolitio' in criminal jurisdiction. The veto of the tribunes was in the Republic sometimes exercised against the preliminaries of a prosecution in a 'judicium publicum,' and might be directed against the reception of the charge itself. Vatinius appealed successfully to a tribune 'ne causam diceret' (Cic. *in Vat.* 14, 33), and the college interfered to protect C. Antonius against condemnation for 'repetundae' (Ascon. *in orat. in tog. cand.* p. 111). The exercise of this power, although unusual, was admittedly legal, and it must undoubtedly have descended to the emperors with the other attributes of the 'tribunicia potestas.' It might be directed against the senate as well as against the 'quaestiones,' and perhaps the indirect influence of the emperor on senatorial jurisdiction may be accounted for largely on this hypothesis. The numerous instances in which the senate refuses to entertain a charge until the will of the emperor is consulted may have arisen, at least partly, from a sense that the tribunician veto was possible at any stage of the proceedings.

Here we may conclude our sketch of the

[1] In the case of Piso Tiberius 'minas accusantium et hinc preces audit integramque causam ad senatum remittit' (Tac. *Ann.* 3, 10, 6). The word 'remit' is unfortunate, as it might seem to imply that the court to which the remit was made was bound to accept the case. This was not true either of the senate or of the 'quaestiones,' which were theoretically independent of any anterior decisions of the 'princeps.'

'princeps' as the head of criminal jurisdiction in the Roman world. He does become very nearly the head, but he is not a supreme authority, still less a sovereign. His exact position will be best exhibited by a brief summary of the conclusions tentatively arrived at.

The senate possesses no general power of pardon beyond its inheritance from the Republic of declaring 'abolitiones' on certain public occasions; but it has, as a high court, the 'restitutio' of its own sentences. Further than this, it is occasionally consulted by the 'princeps' on the advisability of his rescinding the sentences of the imperial courts, but in this procedure there seems to reside no recognition of a power of pardon.

The emperor, as regards Roman courts, possessed the right of 'restitutio' only over his own sentences. It is merely a judicial power, and there is no interference, in the way of 'restitutio' proper, with the sentences of the senate, and perhaps none with the sentences of the 'quaestiones.' If any interference was possible with the latter, it probably merely assumed the form of a permission for 'retractatio.' The emperor probably possessed some power of 'abolitio' in all criminal jurisdiction. As regards criminal jurisdiction in the provinces, the revision of the sentences of the courts, where revision is suggested by the judge, like the infliction of punishments denied to the judge, centres finally in the hands of the emperor. It appears to have been based on no special prerogative, but to have been a gradual development of customary law—a reference to the highest authority in the Roman world, the emperor and the imperial consistory. This custom became fixed by the writings of the jurists, and appears as an undisputed prerogative of the emperor in the form in which they have been preserved for us by Justinian's compilers. The difference between the imperial 'restitutio' and that of the provincial governor, when it was permitted, is that the former, although supposed to be based on equitable grounds, was unlimited, the latter was limited by certain well-defined rules. This power might be so employed by the emperor as to take the form of a free pardon, but theoretically it was merely an equitable assistance. As a legally unlimited power of rescinding sentences, it approaches very nearly to a power of pardon; but it is an executive duty rather than a sovereign right, and we search in vain in the Principate for a power of pardon regarded as an admitted constitutional right of a sovereign.

In the later empire, if there is no difference in theory, there is yet a difference in practice. The issue of 'indulgences' and 'abolitiones,' some occasional, like those granted by Constantine to the Christians, some, like the Easter pardons, regularly recurring, proceeds from the emperor as the head of the administration. They are the work of the imperial consistory rather than the function of a supreme judge. Meanwhile the wholesale pardons, retrospectively extended to the victims of past reigns, have disappeared. For it is one of the brightest features of the later empire that, as the emperor's prerogative became more undisputed, the actual administration of justice became more independent of the imperial personality. There were greater stretches of administrative law, but there was less judicial tyranny.

From a practical point of view, throughout the history of this power the imperial consistory must be kept in mind. It is significant that the consistory first becomes prominent under Hadrian (*vit. Hadr.* 18 and 22, Haubold *de consistorio*, p. 30) at the very time when the control of provincial jurisdiction was beginning to centre in the hands of the emperor. The references (*relationes*) were felt to be no longer made to the emperor alone but to the emperor's privy council, or, if we regard the 'auditorium' as distinct from the consistory, and employ what is not quite a perfect analogy, to the judicial committee of the privy council,[1] composed of the greatest jurisconsults in the Roman world. This was the standing defence of the emperor's control of jurisdiction; it was through this that he came to be replaced by his prefects, no doubt in pardon as well as in appeal, and that his personality came in time to be lost in a great impersonal system of central administration.

A. H. J. Greenidge.

[1] The analogy is rendered imperfect by the probability that some of the members of the auditorium (*e.g.* great lawyers who were not distinguished for statesmanship) were not members of the consistory (Haubold *de consistorio*, p. 42).

ON THE DURATION OF THE ACTION OF THE ORESTEAN TRILOGY.

The story of Orestes in Aeschylus is generally assumed to be essentially the same as in Homer, Sophocles, and Euripides: Orestes was sent from home when a boy (of ten years) by his sister or a nurse, in order to save his life at his father's death; after eight years in Athens or Phocis, on coming to manhood, he returned to his home and slew his mother and Aegisthus; after that, he wandered for an indefinite period (Eur. *Iph. Taur.*), pursued by the Furies, until he was at last acquitted of guilt and purified in Athens. Thus a period of at least eight or ten years would intervene between the death of Agamemnon and the trial of Orestes on the Areopagus.

My thesis is that, according to Aeschylus, the action of the *Eumenides* closes only a few (perhaps ten) days after that of the *Agamemnon*.

The case must not be prejudiced by any assumption that all the great poets would agree in such a matter. The freedom allowed by the Greeks in the treatment of mythical details is well illustrated by the case of Oedipus. According to Homer, the relationship between Oedipus and Jocasta was discovered immediately on their marriage; she hung herself, but he lived on, and—far from blinding himself—seems to have fallen in battle; certainly he was buried with royal honours at Thebes. In Sophocles, the awful truth was not made known until four children had been born to the unhappy pair; then Jocasta hung herself, while Oedipus blinded himself, was driven out of the city to suffer in exile, attended by Antigone, and finally died near Athens; his sepulchre was as unknown as that of Moses; the contest between his sons for the possession of Thebes followed. In Euripides, finally, on the long-delayed discovery of the relationship between them, Oedipus blinded himself but remained at Thebes; while Jocasta did not hang herself at all, but stabbed herself after the death of Eteocles and Polynices; not till then was Oedipus driven from home.

The undisputed discrepancies in the stories of Agamemnon's family are instructive. Homer knows nothing of any quarrel between Atreus and Thyestes, nothing of Iphigenia and her sacrifice, nothing of Electra; Aegisthus invited Agamemnon to his home as the warrior was returning to Greece and there—not at the palace of the king of men—slew him at the feast by an ambuscade of armed men,—Clytaemnestra not aiding in any way; Orestes passed his youth at Athens, and eight years after the death of his father returned to his home and slew Aegisthus, while Clytaemnestra seems to have committed suicide. The Epic poet knows of no guest-friend Pylades, and of no pursuit of Orestes by the Furies. The fortune and fame of Orestes are held up by Athena as an incentive to Telemachus.

The established differences being so great between the story followed by Homer and that told by Aeschylus, we should be ready to receive evidence that the action of the Orestean trilogy was much more condensed than is generally supposed and is assumed by the stories of Homer and Sophocles. The differences of the Euripidean account are so marked in this particular matter, that I shall say nothing of his play; when I speak of the *Electra* in this paper, I mean the Sophoclean drama.

My thesis involves a different view from that ordinarily held with regard to the age of the Aeschylean Orestes at his father's death. He can no longer be considered a boy of ten years at that time; he must be already a man. The evidence for this view is partly negative and partly positive. In the warning of Aegisthus by the chorus in the *Agamemnon* (1617, 1638), that Orestes may return and inflict vengeance on his father's murderers, no indication of youth is found as in the warning given by Hermes in Homer that Orestes would return *when he should come to manhood* (ὁππότ' ἂν ἡβήσῃ, α 41). In the *Electra* of Sophocles, Orestes is guided on his return by the faithful old paedagogus who had saved him; as Orestes says to his sister, οὗ τὸ Φωκέων πέδον | ὑπεξεπέμφθην σῇ προμηθίᾳ χεροῖν, 1349 f. The aged attendant points out to the son of Agamemnon Argos, the sanctuary of Io, the Lycean agora, the renowned temple of Hera, Mycenae, and the home of the Pelopidae, ὅθεν σε πατρὸς ἐκ φόνων ἐγώ ποτε | πρὸς σῆς ὁμαίμου καὶ κασιγνήτης λαβὼν | ἤνεγκα κἀξέσωσα κἀξεθρεψάμην | τόσονδ' ἐς ἥβης, 11 ff. A hint of the tender age of the Sophoclean Orestes when sent from home may be found in his mother's words about him, as μαστῶν ἀποστὰς καὶ τροφῆς ἐμῆς 776, which though exaggerated in any case are better suited to a boy of ten than to a youth of eighteen. In the *Choëphori*, on the other hand, no

attendant is said to have saved Orestes' life, and none accompanies him as his guide on his return. Electra had nothing to do with his departure. Orestes of his own knowledge is perfectly familiar with the locality. Nothing indicates that he has not seen his home since early childhood. But, for a positive argument, in Aeschylus Orestes is an *exile*. In this respect the difference is marked between the representations of Aeschylus and of Sophocles. In the latter's play, Orestes has deserted his home of his own will, rescued from death by his sister, and sent away secretly. In the Aeschylean trilogy he was driven out by his mother. When, under his reproaches, Clytaemnestra says that he should not declare that he was cast out—she had sent him to the home of an ally—he insists that he was 'sold, though the son of a free father.' When the mother asks what price she had received for him, he declares that he is ashamed to name it openly. In her stichomythic reply she bids him consider also his father's wantonnesses,—*καὶ πατρὸς τοῦ σοῦ μάτας* (*Choëph.* 906–911). What Orestes means by the price received for him, is clear; he was sent from home because he was too old a youth to endure the sight of the intimacy between Aegisthus and his mother. His sisters, being women, were helpless, but the young man would not have brooked the sight of his mother's shame and the wrong to his father. Such an age for Orestes is assumed also in the *Agamemnon*, 841 ff., where the queen apologizes for her son's absence; if he were only a ten-year-old boy, she need not have mentioned his absence, any more than that of his sisters, in her speech of welcome to her husband. That passage shows sufficiently that Orestes was no child to be saved by his sister; his mother says he was already in Phocis. That Orestes was considered an exile is indicated elsewhere in the *Choëphori*, and also in the opening lines, where he says *ἥκω γὰρ ἐς γῆν τήνδε καὶ κατέρχομαι*, explained correctly by Aristophanes' words in the mouth of Aeschylus, *Frogs* 1113, *φεύγων δ' ἀνὴρ ἥκει τε καὶ κατέρχεται*. With this is to be compared *Ag.* 1617 f., *Ὀρέστης ἆρά που βλέπει φάος, | ὅπως κατελθὼν δεῦρο κ.τ.λ.*, and the words of Aegisthus, 1639, *οἶδ' ἐγὼ φεύγοντας ἄνδρας ἐλπίδας σιτουμένους*.

In accordance with the view here presented of the age of the Aeschylean Orestes is the fact that the *Choëphori* does not contain the indications abundant in the *Electra* of the lapse of time since the death of Agamemnon. Sophocles evidently followed the Homeric story that Orestes returned after eight years. He represents Electra as losing all hope because of the procrastination of Orestes (*El.* 164 f., 303 ff.). 'He says that he will come, but does naught of what he promises.' Clytaemnestra too has long (*αἰέν*, 782) expected the return of her son to render vengeance; the dread of this has kept sleep from her eyes. But in the *Choëphori*, Orestes is not yet the declared enemy of the guilty pair. On receiving the false news of Orestes' death, Aegisthus expresses regret (833 ff.) which bears no marks of hypocrisy, and clearly does not look to be slain by his hands. Perhaps he does not think that Orestes has yet heard of Agamemnon's death. The Aeschylean Electra is so far from resting all her hope on her brother that she actually needs to be reminded of him by the coryphaeus (108).

The lamentations of the chorus of the *Choëphori* on their entrance are more natural when understood as following soon after Agamemnon's death. The cheeks of the women are torn by their nails, their garments are rent in their grief, *ἀγελάστοις ξυμφοραῖς πεπληγμένων* (30). To discuss the old question of the constitution of the chorus of this play would carry us too far afield for the present discussion, but I must express my belief that modern scholars would not have thought these women to be Trojan captives, if it were not for the opinion of the scholiast, which in such matters has the slightest of weight. The lists of *dramatis personae* seem to be derived from those which were made under the direction of Aristophanes of Byzantium, yet modern criticism denies them any authority in the case of names which are not found in the text, like that of Aeacus in the *Frogs*. The passage *ἔκοψα κομμὸν Ἄριον ἔν τε Κισσίας | νόμοις ἰηλεμιστρίας*, 411 f., is assigned to Electra by some editors, with as much authority as to the chorus; but if any one desires to assign these verses to the chorus, and to interpret them literally and exactly (not merely *in Oriental fashion*), he would make these women out to be Persians and not Trojan captives. Evidently the chorus sympathize with Agamemnon as they could not do if they had been taken by him at the fall of Troy, and had remained in his service only during the voyage to Greece. Their sympathy is not so much with Electra personally as with the old royal house. They are to be compared with the watchman at the opening of the *Agamemnon*, who has true affection for his lord and sincere sorrow for the troubles of the house. No sufficient

motive has been assigned for the lamentation of the 'Choëphori' if they are Trojan captives. But if they are old servants of Agamemnon, and mourning for his death, this is surely an indication that the murder had not taken place eight years previously. When Orestes sees them, he asks himself, πότερα δόμοισι πῆμα προσκυρεῖ νέον, 13, which is most easily interpreted, 'Is some one else dead?' This involves an allusion to his father's death borne out by the next verses, which would be natural soon after its occurrence, but less so after several years had passed. So, too, the conversation between Orestes and Electra and the chorus, 427 ff., implies that he had not heard the details of his father's death; but I lay little weight on this, because at their first meeting after a great sorrow, though distant in time, friends naturally recall the details of the occurrence.

The address of the chorus to the tomb of Agamemnon, calling upon the earth which *now* lies over him (ὦ πότνια χθὼν . . . ἣ νῦν ἐπὶ ναυάρχῳ | σώματι κεῖσαι τῷ βασιλείῳ, 703 f.) implies recent burial; otherwise νῦν is meaningless.

An interesting bit of circumstantial evidence tending to show that the action of the *Choëphori* followed soon after that of the *Agamemnon*, in my opinion, is found in *Cho.* 797 ff., where Orestes after the death of his mother brings upon the scene the blood-stained garment in which his father was entangled at the bath, before the murderous blows were struck. This robe is stretched before the chorus, and the attention of men and gods is called to the dye of blood as evidence of Clytaemnestra's guilt. The supposition is extremely improbable that this garment so stained should have been preserved by the 'butcher queen' for eight years, as if it were a pleasant memorial, kept in a convenient place where Orestes could find it at once. On the other hand, nothing could be more effective than the discovery by Orestes of the manner of Agamemnon's death, before Clytaemnestra had had a convenient opportunity to destroy the evidence; he takes her thus 'red-handed.'

Two expressions in the *Choëphori* have been thought to imply the lapse of time since the action of the *Agamemnon*. One of these is τῶν πάλαι πεπραγμένων | λύσαθ' αἷμα προσφάτοις δίκαις. | γέρων φόνος μηκέτ' ἐν δόμοις τέκοι, 787 ff. If the γέρων φόνος must be understood, with the scholiast, specifically of the murder of Agamemnon, then this passage would not follow soon after the king's death. But the γέρων φόνος refers naturally to the former blood shed in the house of the Pelopidae, to which constant reference is made in the latter part of the *Agamemnon*, and the prayer in question may fairly be compared with the words of Clytaemnestra, *Ag.* 1538 ff.; she was ready to count good all the past, hard though it was, if only the divinity of the Pleisthenidae would depart from the house. Similarly, τὰ μὲν παλαιὰ συγκεκραμένα | ἄλγη δύσοιστα ταῖσδ' ἐν Ἀτρέως δόμοις, *Cho.* 726 f., in the mouth of the old nurse are not to be restricted in reference to the single sorrow for the death of Agamemnon. The chief difficulty which my view has to meet is in ἔμολε μὲν δίκα Πριαμίδαις χρόνῳ *Cho.* 928. Here χρόνῳ of course is naturally interpreted *at last*. But the expression is so general and relative that I do not think it should be allowed to balance the evidence on the other side.

That the action of the *Eumenides* follows fast upon that of the *Choëphori* is less opposed to popular opinion. The expressions used of the Furies and of their pursuit of Orestes, and his refuge to be sought at the temple of Delphi, are almost identical in the two plays (cf. *Cho.* 1031 ff. with *Eum.* 40 ff., 166 ff., 202 ff., 278 f., 567 f.). The Pythian priestess sees Orestes sitting ἐπ' ὀμφαλῷ with drawn sword, still dripping with blood, with the suppliant bough and fillet which he had brought from Mycenae. The first scene of the *Eumenides* seems to be as closely connected with the close of the *Choëphori* as with the second scene of its own play. The second scene of the *Eumenides* is sometimes thought to be widely separated from the first,—but this supposition is improbable. Orestes and the Furies have 'traversed sea and land,' indeed, in the journey from Delphi to Athens,—but that is here an indication of the route taken rather than of the distance travelled. Orestes declares that the stain of his mother's blood, while still fresh (ποταίνιος, *Eum.* 278), was washed away by Apollo (*Eum.* 235, 278, 568). On his journey he had met men, but had brought no pollution upon them, and thus the fact of his complete purification was proven.

If the proof of my main thesis seems still incomplete, Athena comes to my aid in *Eumenides* 393 ff. She hears the appeal of Orestes, as suppliant at her shrine, and comes with speed at the call from the land of the Scamander, where (as she explains) she is engaged in taking formal possession of the portion of the Trojan territory which

the Achaeans assigned to the sons of Theseus as part of the spoils of war on the capture of Troy. This is a delightfully artistic touch of the poet and a delicate reminder of the time of the action, if we suppose that Troy had been taken only a few days before; but entirely unmeaning and unreasonable if we suppose the sack of Troy to have preceded by eight or ten years. In the latter case, the question at once arises, why Athena had delayed so long the occupation of the land, and why she should be thus employed at this particular moment. In my opinion, by the words of Athena the poet tells us distinctly that the action of the *Eumenides* followed immediately the close of the Trojan war, and hence immediately after the action of the *Agamemnon*.

One further indication of time is found in the dialogue of the scene to which I have just referred. On Athena's arrival and in response to her questions, Orestes not merely tells her who he is but narrates in detail the death of his father. But if Agamemnon had been dead for eight or ten years, surely Athena would have heard of it! The Greek tragic poets, to be sure, often represent their characters as ignorant of what they must have known. For instance we should say that it was hardly complimentary to Theseus or his city for Sophocles to make Oedipus inquire (*O.C.* 68) who was king of Athens! But such statements are for the sake of the audience, while in the Orestean trilogy no reminder of the death of the king was needed for the sake of the spectators. But if we understand that the poet wished to represent Athena as still in ignorance of the fate of Agamemnon all difficulty vanishes, and the speech of Orestes is just what is desired.

According to my view, then, the Aeschylean Orestes was sent from home by his mother several years before his father's murder. He lived as an exile in Phocis. On learning of Agamemnon's death, he turned at once to Apollo (περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις πάτριος ἐξηγητής) for instructions as to his duty, and was directed to compass the death of his mother by guile and then to seek purification at the Pythian shrine. (ὁ μάντις ἐξηγεῖτο μητροκτονεῖν.) He returns at once to his home and slays Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra. Without delay the Furies, invoked by his mother, appear before his eyes, and he flees to Delphi. There he is purified by Apollo and is directed to hasten to Athens where he might hope for legal acquittal. Just as the warning of the chorus at the close of the *Agamemnon* is fulfilled in the *Choëphori*, so the last words of the *Choëphori* prepare for the first scene of the *Eumenides*, and the last words of this first scene lay the foundation for the action which follows. The connexion, from first to last of the trilogy, could hardly be closer. Of course the different plays of a trilogy might be separated by generations, as was the case in the Theban Trilogy—*Laius*, *Oedipus*, *Seven against Thebes*, each of a different generation,—not to speak of the time supposed to have elapsed between the action of the *Prometheus Bound* and that of the *Prometheus Loosed*. But certainly the action of the Orestea loses nothing, while it gains in energy and distinctness, if we think of it as condensed into a few days.

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δῆθεν.

THERE is a use of δῆθεν in Apollonius Rhodius to which attention has not been hitherto drawn. The particle is employed where in Homer we should have had simply δή. Instances are:

> εἰ δὲ καὶ οὔνομα δῆθεν ἐπιθύεις δεδαῆσθαι,
> τῷδε Κυτίσωρος πέλει οὔνομα, τῷδέ τε Φρόντις,
> τῷ δὲ Μέλας. B 1157-9.
> νῦν δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ δῆθεν ὁμοίης ἔμμορες ἄτης.
> Δ 62.
> ὠλόμεθ' αἰνότατον δῆθεν μόρον; οὐδ' ὑπάλυξις
> ἔστ' ἄτης. *Ib.* 1261.
> τὴν δ' ὅγε δῆθεν ὑποβλήδην προσέειπεν.
> Γ 1119.

The other passages are A 998, B 384, Γ 354, Δ 1291. In none of them is the special force of δῆθεν present, and we have simply an equivalent of δή. As δῆθεν does not occur in early Greek at all, the fact may serve to gauge Apollonius' familiarity with the minuter details of Epic usage. δῆθεν is similarly employed in the *Anacreontea* (i. 14-18, with καὶ δῆθεν for καὶ δή): ἐγὼ δ' ὁ μωρὸς ἄρας ἐδησάμην μετώπῳ· καὶ δῆθεν ἄχρι καὶ νῦν ἔρωτος οὐ πέπαυμαι. It is probably in view of such cases that Hesychius gives ἐντεῦθεν as one of the senses of δῆθεν: L. and S. quote the passage from the *Anacreontea* under this head.

The general employment of the particle is not free from difficulty. In the first place, it is extremely rare. It occurs in Aeschylus twice (*Prom.* 202 and 998), in Sophocles once (*Tr.* 381), in Euripides six times, in Thucydides six times, in Xenophon once, Herodotus nine times, Plato once, Hippocrates twice, never apparently in Aristophanes or the Orators. The only later writers beside Apollonius who appear to use it are Aratus (once), Plutarch (three times), Pausanias (once), Dio Cassius (*passim*), Herodian (eight times), Lucian and Heliodorus. I will now suggest an explanation of the usage, which differs from that generally current.

δῆθεν is employed (1) at the beginning of sentences (second) in order to distinguish profession or hypothesis from fact, (2) with single words or phrases—which it always follows—(*a*) as with sentences, (*b*) simply to draw attention to an explanation. We may represent the first usage by inverted commas,[1] the second by a *sic* or note of exclamation. But just as in English we constantly quote words or phrases, or professions in general, with an indignant, sarcastic, or ironical intention, so δῆθεν constantly occurs in indignant, sarcastic, or ironical sentences. To describe the particle however as always ironical is an abuse of language, from which few grammarians are free. The most generally apt translation would be 'you know' or 'you understand.'

To illustrate: for δῆθεν with the sentence we may quote

λόγος γε μὲν ἐντρέχει ἄλλος
ἀνθρώποις, ὡς δῆθεν ἐπιχθονίη πάρος ἦεν κ.τ.λ.
Aratus *Phaen.* 100-1.

τόν τε ἄρτον, ᾧ δῆθεν ἐμέμικτο τὸ φάρμακον κ.τ.λ. Plut. *De Soll. An.* 973 E.

ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπεπεμψάμην μέγα φρονῶν, ὅτι δῆθεν τῆς βασιλέως θυγατρὸς τὸν ἐμὸν υἱὸν ὀψοίμην γαμέτην.—Xen. *Cyrop.* iv. 6, 3.

κἀγὼ σκυθρωποὺς ὀμμάτων ἔξω κόρας,
ὡς δῆθεν οὐκ εἰδυῖα τἀξειργασμένα.
Eur. *Or.* 1319-20.

In all the cases δῆθεν has the force of quotation marks; but the sentence gives to it in the second and fourth the sense of mere profession, in the third the same with a tinge of sarcasm added. If we translate the sentences, our 'you know' will be similarly affected.

[1] This method of putting the matter was suggested to me by Dr. Postgate.

Employed with words or phrases the particle merely calls attention in

οἱ δ' ἰητροὶ σοφιζόμενοι δῆθεν ἔστιν οἳ ἁμαρτάνουσιν.—Hippoc. (Kühn) iii. p. 153. Cf. iii. p. 64.

ὁ μὲν γυναῖκα ἐποίησεν ἔχουσαν λύραν, Σπάρτην δῆθεν, Πολύκλειτος δέ κ.τ.λ.—Pausanias iii. 18, 5.

καινὸν δὲ τοὔνομ' ἀνὰ χρόνον πεπλασμένον
Ἴων, ἰόντι δῆθεν ὅτι συνήντετο.
Eur. *Ion* 831-2.

Cp. *ibid.* 656 and *Herc. Fur.* 949.

Here we have simply 'you understand.' Indignation or contempt is added in

ἐκερτόμησας δῆθεν ὡς παῖδ' ὄντ' ἐμέ.
Aesch. *Prom.* 986.

'This surely is mockery, as if I were a child.'

οἱ μὲν θέλοντες ἐκβαλεῖν ἕδρας Κρόνον
ὡς Ζεὺς ἀνάσσοι δῆθεν, οἱ δὲ τοὔμπαλιν κ.τ.λ.
ibid. 202.

'Zeus forsooth.'

ἤλλαξε δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐνιαυσίων μηνῶν τὰ ὀνόματα, ὅσα μὲν ἀρχαῖα καταλύσας, πάντας δὲ ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ παρηγορίαις ὀνομάσας, ὧν αἱ πλεῖσται εἰς Ἡρακλέα δῆθεν, ὡς ἀνδρειότατον, ἀνεφέροντο.—Herodian i. 14, 17.

'Heracles, if you please.'

Something between indignation and amazement is expressed in

καί σφι βουλευομένοισι δεινόν τι ἐσέδυνε, εἰ δὴ διαγιγνώσκοιεν σφίσι τε βοηθέειν οἱ παῖδες πρὸς τῶν κουριδιέων γυναικῶν τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τούτων αὐτίκα ἄρχειν πειρῶτο, τί δὴ ἀνδρωθέντες δῆθεν ποιήσουσι.—Herod. vi. 138.

Lastly, there is irony in

οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ κωλύμῃ, ἀλλὰ γνώμης παραινέσει δῆθεν τῷ κοινῷ ἐπρεσβεύσαντο.—Thuc. i. 92. Cf. 127.

τοὺς Πέρσας εἶρξε ὡς κατασκόπους δῆθεν ἐόντας.—Herod. iii. 136. Cf. i. 73, vi. 1, viii. 5, etc.

πολλὰ δὲ τὰν
βασιλίδ' ἐστίαν κακῶς
ἔβαζε δῆθεν ἐχθρὸς ὢν στρατηλάταις.
Eur. *Rh.* 717-9.

'Reviled, truly.'

τέλος δὲ πεπεισμένους δῆθεν ὡς Ἀπόλλωνος υἱῷ δεῖξαι τὰ γράμματα.—Plut. *Lys.* 448 C. Cf. *Pyrrh.* 395 D.

τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἀπελθεῖν δῆθεν ὅποι βούλοιντο δοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ ἐκείνων ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἐφόνευσεν.—

Dio Cass. (Sturz) § 24 and *passim*. Cf. Herodian ii. 15, 6, vii. 11, 7 and 16, etc.

I now come to a question which has evoked some discussion. Hoogeveen not having seen that in Eur. *Or.* 1112

εἴσιμεν ἐς οἴκους δῆθεν ὡς θανούμενοι

δῆθεν is misplaced and in sense follows *ὡς*, Hartung, using what our grammarians would, I suppose, term irony, says that this does not surprise him in Hoogeveen. Hartung's view has been followed by most editors in this and other passages. Jebb, discussing the matter on Soph. *Trach.* 381, declares that 'there are certainly instances where the special point of the irony conveyed by *δῆθεν* lies in the words which follow it' (quoting Aesch. *Prom.* 986, Thuc. i. 127, iv. 99)...'but that is no reason why *δῆθεν* should not refer to the whole sentence.' The passage from Soph. *Tr.* 381 however—

τῆς ἐκεῖνος οὐδαμὰ
βλάστας ἐφώνει δῆθεν οὐδὲν ἱστορῶν—

he translates at variance with his note 'she of whose parentage Lysias could say nothing, because, forsooth, he had asked no questions.' Now very strong reasons would be needed to convince us that *δῆθεν* violates the canon that no word can begin a sentence-group which cannot begin a sentence; and again, to make it probable in the face of a comparatively large number of cases that *δῆθεν* does not go with the previous word. As soon as we see that the particle is not necessarily ironical every difficulty vanishes. If the *ἐφώνει* is sound—which has been doubted with some show of reason—*δῆθεν* goes with *βλάστας* to convey a sneer 'her origin forsooth': *βλάστας* is too general a word to use of a princess. *ἐφώνει*, as an unemphatic word, may come between *βλάστας* and *δῆθεν*, just as *ἀνάσσοι* intervenes in Aesch. *Prom.* 202 *supra* (though here possibly the particle goes with *ἀνάσσοι*, contrasting Zeus' *kingship* with Kronos' *paternal rule*) and *αὐτό* in Herodian vii. 7, 16 *ὡς πολιορκήσοντες αὐτὸ δῆθεν*. That a participial or *ὡς* clause should be added to explain or continue the sneer, irony, etc., in *Trach.* 381 and several of the passages quoted above is no more surprising than if to 'This surely is mockery,' which is sufficient to express indignation in itself, we should add 'as if I were a child' (*Prom.* 986). In Thuc. i. 127 *τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἄγος οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐκέλευον ἐλαύνειν δῆθεν τοῖς θεοῖς πρῶτον τιμωροῦντες* I propose to take *δῆθεν* not with the following words, but with the phrase *ἄγος ἐλαύνειν*, which is ironical like *γνώμης παραινέσει* c. 92. We have irony again in iii. 68 *διότι τόν τε ἄλλον χρόνον ἠξίουν δῆθεν αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὰς παλαιὰς Παυσανίου μετὰ τὸν Μῆδον σπονδὰς ἡσυχάζειν*, where *δῆθεν* goes with *ἠξίουν* 'requested forsooth'; unless indeed it is a mere mark of quotation. In one passage, which Stephanus and Hoogeveen quote from Heliodorus (*Aethiop.* i. c. 14 *θρήνων οὐκ ἐπαύετο δῆθεν μὲν τοῦ ἐπί σοι, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς τοῦ ἐφ' ἑαυτῇ*), the particle certainly attaches to the following words in the sense of 'professedly.' The passage, which no doubt was not without influence on the current view, seems to show that by the time of Heliodorus *δῆθεν*, which originally only *implied* pretence, had come to *denote* it: having recovered the force of a full word it had recovered the right to head its clause. But this does not justify us in finding the same usage in the tragedians. The passage from Eur. *Or.* 1112 we may translate 'We will indeed enter the house (as if about to die),' the *δῆθεν* being spoken with bitter sarcasm in the thought of the deed to be done there. The misplacement of the particle (*εἴσιμεν ἐς οἴκους δῆθεν* for *εἴσιμεν δῆθεν κ.τ.λ.*) may be due to the fact that the phrase acts as a single word: does not go with one word more than the other, and so, as in *γνώμης παραινέσει δῆθεν*, follows the whole.

The derivation of *δῆθεν* from *δή* + a form of the Homeric *θήν* 'surely' seems to have been first given by Hartung. Although *θεν* does not occur separately, yet the parallelism of *δέ* and *δή* etc. lends support to the derivation. Hartung ascribes the sense of *ἐντεῦθεν ap.* Hesychius to a false etymology equating the *-θεν* to that of *σέθεν*. We have shown that there was a late classical employment of *δῆθεν* in place of *δή*; and, as *δή* often has practically the force of *ἐντεῦθεν*, the rendering may have arisen in this way. Of *θήν* with *δή* in Homer we have one occurrence, viz. *γ* 352-3:

οὔ θην δὴ τοῦδ' ἀνδρὸς Ὀδυσσῆος φίλος υἱὸς
νηὸς ἐπ' ἰκριόφιν καταλέξεται κ.τ.λ.

The proper force of the compound would therefore be 'now surely' or 'nothing less than this surely,' *δή* denoting that a limit or result has been reached (Monro, *Hom. Gr.*[2] § 350).

F. W. Thomas.

Ἑκτημόροι.

THE view of the ἑκτημόροι (or ἑκτημόριοι) taken by Mr. Wayte is supported by Schömann, Böckh, Hermann and his latest editor Thumser, Gilbert, Busolt, Buchsenschütz and Holm. The importance of these names may justify those who, like myself, agree with Dr. Sandys and Dr. Sidgwick in taking the opposite view (that the ἑκτημόροι paid only a sixth of the produce) in desiring that their case shall be fully stated.

The subject naturally falls into two divisions: (I) the ancient evidence, (II) the *à priori* probability.

I Of the evidence.

Plutarch, *Sol.* 13, 2 ἕκτα τῶν γινομένων τελοῦντες is quite explicit, and is admittedly on our side. Ἀθ. πολ. ch. 2, though not so explicit, may fairly be claimed on the same side, for, as Dr. Sidgwick has shown (*Class. Rev.* viii. p. 296), the words κατὰ ταύτην τὴν μίσθωσιν, coming just after the word ἑκτημόροι, must mean that the μίσθωσις was ἕκτον μέρος, while the words that follow, εἰ μὴ τὰς μισθώσεις ἀποδιδοῖεν, must mean that the μίσθωσις was rent paid, not wages received.

Now these two authorities are the oldest that can be quoted on the matter; and moreover they are the only statements by writers that have a historical interest in the subject. The later authorities are lexicographers, interested mainly in the etymology of the word and content to acquiesce in ambiguous and traditional phrases. These remaining authorities come trailing after each other at long intervals, Hesychius in the fourth century, Photius in the ninth, and Eustathius in the twelfth. Besides these we have the scholiast on Plato's *Euthyphro* 4 C, to which we cannot assign a date.

In Hesychius the true tradition is not yet extinct. Under the word ἐπίμορτος we read μορτὴ γὰρ τὸ μέρος ἐκαλεῖτο, καὶ ἑκτημόροι οἱ τὸ ἕκτον τελοῦντες. This is clear enough and can be claimed as a third testimony. But on the word itself, ἑκτημόροι, he utters an uncertain, though (I think) not a discordant, sound: ἑκτημόροι· οἱ ἕκτῳ μέρει τὴν γῆν γεωργοῦντες. The bare dative is to be noticed; one would have expected ἐπὶ ἕκτῳ μέρει. But the same dative without the preposition occurs in the gloss on Plato, οἱ αὐτοὶ δὲ καὶ ἑκτημόροι, ἐπεὶ τῷ ἕκτῳ μέρει τῶν καρπῶν εἰργάζοντο τὴν γῆν, and again in our next authority, Photius, who has under the gloss πελάται the words οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἑκτημόροι ἐπειδὴ ἕκτῳ μέρει τῶν καρπῶν εἰργάζοντο τὴν γῆν. As to these three places it would seem a plausible theory that in the oldest of these authorities, whether Hesychius or the scholiast on Plato, the preposition ἐπὶ fell out, as it well might after ἐπεὶ, and that the other two copied the mistake. But this theory, tempting as it is, must be accepted with caution. Naber indeed in his edition of Photius (Proleg. p. 56) would read ἐπεὶ ἐπὶ ἕκτῳ μέρει. And Hemsterhuys would make a similar correction in the scholium of Plato. But Ruhnken in a note in Bekker's edition of the scholia points out that this omission of ἐπὶ occurs in other places too, so that it is dangerous for us to venture to restore it in any. In the earlier portion of Hesychius' gloss on ἐπίμορτος we have ἐπίμορτος· σπόριμος γῆ ἐπιμεριστή· λέγεται οὕτω καὶ ὁ μέρει ἐργαζόμενος. (Here Moritz-Schmidt would read ἐπὶ μέρει, though in the gloss on ἑκτημόροι he leaves ἕκτῳ μέρει without the preposition.) Again, Photius in a second gloss on πελάται has πελάται· οἱ μισθῷ δουλεύοντες. We may therefore (perhaps) dispense with the preposition in the three places mentioned above. The grammarians were chiefly anxious to connect ἑκτημόροι as closely as possible with ἕκτον μέρος and adopted an expression both ambiguous and unusual. But even if we read ἐπὶ ἕκτῳ μέρει, the expression, though no longer unusual, remains ambiguous. Some would seem to have supposed that ἕκτῳ μέρει εἰργάζοντο must be translated 'worked *for* a sixth part.' But there is no dative of price in Greek. The dative may, no doubt, express attendant circumstances; so the dative μισθῷ attached to a verb implies that payment accompanied the transaction; but in which direction the payment passes only the context and common sense can decide. If I say μισθῷ δουλεύω it would naturally mean 'I serve *receiving* hire'; if I said οἶκον μισθῷ οἰκῶ I should be taken to mean 'I keep house *paying* rent.' If I say μισθῷ γεωργῶ it may mean, I think, either 'I till the ground receiving hire,' or 'I till the ground paying rent.' (In all these cases the addition of ἐπὶ would be more usual, but the sense of the case is not thereby modified.) The same point comes out on examining the instances given by Jelf § 610, 2. Where a dative χαλκῷ is used with οἰνίζοντο (*Il.* H 473) it means of course that wine was bought by

the payment of bronze; where with ζημιοῦν (Hdt. vi. 136) it means that the punishment consisted in the payment of money; but where it is used with κερδαίνειν (Hdt. viii. 60) the gain consists of something *received.* The grammarians in fact neither knew nor cared for anything more than that ἑκτημόροι had something to do with a sixth part.

Then, last of all, comes Eustathius, who observes on *Od.* τ 28 (but not much *à propos* of anything) ἐθνικὴ δὲ λέξις καὶ ἡ μόρτη, τὸ ἕκτον, φασὶ, μέρος τῶν καρπῶν, ᾗ ἐδίδοτο τοῖς ἑκτημορίοις ὡς ἐν ἀνωνύμῳ κεῖται λεξικῷ ῥητορικῷ. Here at last, amid the dregs of a Byzantine tradition, we have a definite statement, as I hold, on the wrong side. The bishop has got hold of one of the ambiguous glosses and read it the wrong way. So much then for the ancient evidence. If I were to attempt to mark the scores made so far, I think I should describe it as three goals against a try.

II If we turn to *à priori* considerations the case is still clearer. It is absurd to say that the payment of one-sixth of the produce would not be felt as a hardship. If the economic rent of a holding be nil, the payment of a sixth of the produce *will* be felt as a hardship. But there are holdings of which the economic rent is nil. Probably no Irish landlord, perhaps even no English College Bursar, would have fallen into the mistake made by these great German scholars. Mrs. Poyser went so far as to compare English farming to cooking a feast all the year and getting nothing but the smell for your pains; but what would she have said to surrendering five-sixths of the produce of her dairy? To the names of Oncken and Gomperz, quoted by Dr. Sandys as supporting his view, must be added that of Naber. He in his Prolegomena to Photius, p. 57, after quoting Schömann's view, most sensibly says: 'Plane contra est; nusquam terrarum adeo sunt fertiles agri ut hanc conditionem agricolae ferant. In insula Java verbi causa, hoc est sub caelo haud parum feliciore, agrorum possessores olim solvebant e toto proventu unam partem, sibi habebant quattuor partes.' He then refers to a place in Polybius, which appears to be i. 72, where Polybius represents the Carthaginians as most cruel for levying from the cultivators, after the first Punic war, *half* of the produce, it being implied that the amount usually claimed by the state was one quarter. And this (it may be remarked) was in the land of the *Libycae areae!* Naber proceeds: 'Itaque Attici coloni, *qui solum arabant sterile,* misera erant conditione' etc. In *métayer* systems, it is true, the portion of produce claimed by the landlord is often more than a half; but in estimating the practical working of any such system we must know, not only the quality of the soil, but also what part the landlord bears in providing cattle, implements, manure, etc., and this part is often a large one (Mill, *Pol. Econ.* Book ii. chap. 8). Enough has been said to show that the payment of one-sixth may be felt as a hardship. But we may go farther. It is quite possible for a rent of one-sixth to be a perfectly fair rent in ordinary years, and yet for there to be a difficulty in meeting it in exceptional years. And the grievance, as Dr. Sidgwick has shown, was in the fearful power the law gave to a creditor over any man who, from any combination of circumstances, was unable to meet his liabilities. It was, in fact, rather an Arrears Bill than a Land Bill that Solon introduced. Liddell and Scott may therefore be left uncorrected in their article on ἑκτημόροι. But they seem to uphold the opposite view in their article on μορτή.

Much interesting matter remains as to the relation of the ἑκτημόροι to the πελάται, about which the authorities differ, some making the πελάται synonymous with the ἑκτημόροι, others making the πελάται labourers for wages. Should not the word be connected with πολέω rather than with πέλας, πελάτης standing to πολέω somewhat as πενέστης to πονέω? But this is matter for philologists.

E. S. Thompson.

NOTE ON CURTIUS X. 1, 19.

Igitur Mesopotamiae praetoribus imperavit, materia in Libano monte caesa devectaque ad urbem Syriae Thapsacum septingentarum carinas navium ponere: septiremis omnes esse deducique Babylona. Cyprierum regibus imperatum, ut aes stuppamque et vela praeberent.

In this passage the word *septiremis* or VII

remis, as the MSS. give it, is undoubtedly corrupt for the following reasons:

In the first place *septiremes* or *hepteres*, as they were called, were very rare, and it is not probable, not to say impossible, that Alexander would have built a whole fleet of them. Secondly, there are no other instances, as far as I know, of such an enormous fleet consisting wholly of the same sort of ships: always to the *triremes* was added a small number of ships of a larger size. So there is no warrant for suggesting another cipher for VII. Finally our suspicion is roused on learning that *septiremes* is an ἅπαξ εἰρημένον in Latin literature, especially as the MSS. only give VII *remis*. The corruption of the word being unquestionable, let us follow the order of Curtius' tale about the building of that fleet.

Firstly Alexander commands that timber should be cut and transported to Thapsacus for the building of seven hundred ships. Further that all those ships should be VII *remes* and be brought to Babylon. Finally the Cyprian princes are ordered to furnish the metal, oakum and sails.

Hence we see that Curtius has informed us of the sources of the timber, metal, oakum and sails, *i.e.* of nearly all the materials needed for the construction of ships. Nearly all, I said, for whence came the oars, the principal means of locomotion? That nothing is said about them is the more astonishing as the origin of the sails, that played a so far inferior part in ancient navigation, is duly noted. For by ordering that the whole fleet should consist of *septiremes* Alexander has not yet inferred that the oars should be added too.

I firmly believe that this neglected information is hidden in the words VII *remis omnes esse*. Therefore *remis* is to me not the latter part of an adjective but abl. plur. of the substantive *remus*, and so the assumption is near at hand that VII in the MSS. is a corruption of *cum* or of *in* after the analogy of *in armis esse*.

P. H. DAMSTÉ.

LEIDEN, 15 *October*, 1894.

NOTE ON CIC. *TUSC.* I. 22, 50.

QUASI vero intellegant, qualis sit in ipso corpore, quae conformatio, quae magnitudo, qui locus: *ut*, si iam possent in homine vivo cerni omnia, quae nunc tecta sunt, casurus-*ne* in conspectum videatur animus *an* tanta sit eius tenuitas, ut fugiat aciem.

This passage has caused some difficulty. The defenders of the MS. reading take *ut* in the sense of 'for example.' Chase's note is: 'I agree with Hottinger, Orelli and Moser, in regard to the rendering to be given *ut* in this passage (cf. Cic. *Part. Or.* 19, 65):—[as if they understand], *for example*, whether etc. Lambinus conjectured *aut* for *ut*, which is adopted by Wesenberg, Baiter and Seyffert; Heine omits *ne* after *casurus*, and puts a colon after *animus*.' Tischer-Sorof [8] reads for *ut* aut, and for *an* ac non. This reading is based on Koch *Coniectanea Tulliana*, p. 37 (1868), and Weissner in the *N. Jahrb. für Philol. und Pädag.* p. 298 ff. (1869). *Ac non* for *an* seems possible from the palaeographic point of view; Koch cited as a parallel passage *Fam.* iii. 2, 2: pluribus verbis ad te scriberem, si aut tua humanitas longiorem orationem exspectaret aut id fieri nostra amicitia pateretur aut res verba desideraret ac non pro se ipsa loqueretur. Weissner cites *Sext. Rosc.* 33, 92: quasi nunc id agatur, quis...occiderit, ac non hoc quaeratur eum etc. Objection can be taken to *ut* 'for example.' L. and S. s.v. *ut* ii. A. C. cite only Cic. *De Or.* 3, 29, 112 and Quint. 8, 3, 89; 4, 3, 12, where on the face of it *ut* might mean *for example*, introducing a dependent sentence. In reality it does not. In Cic. *Part. Or.* 19, 65 it is even further from doing so. Certainly none of these passages is similar to the sentence before us.

I suggest therefore the following interpretation: ut (*sc.* intelligerent) etc.: 'and so they would understand, if they could penetrate into the secrets of a living man, whether the mind seems likely to come into our ken, or its delicacy is such as to escape our vision.' By this interpretation the sense comes out at the same place as in the explanation of Chase. The MS. reading is retained by a natural interpretation of *ut*, and the triple change of *ut*, *ne* and *an* is avoided. Granting all that may be claimed on palaeographic grounds for *ac non* instead of *an*, and admitting that *ne* would be brought into the MSS. from *an*, we still have the third difficulty of *ut* for *aut*.

The sequence is not violated by this interpretation. Cf. Gildersleeve's *Lat. Gr.* § 517, R. 2, and the example there cited from Pliny.

I urge the consideration of *ut* in a consecutive sentence as a relative and submit the following explanation of its etymology. The point is to account for the loss of the initial consonant *qu*. I see in *ut* a representation of Sanskrit *utá*, which means 'and also' but is also interrogative. Now in Sanskrit *utá* takes the optative, and the sense is precisely 'and so,' cf. Delbrück, *Altind. Syntax* p. 260.

In Latin beside *cum* was probably **cut* (cf. Sk. *ku-tra*), **cubi*, etc., but the similarly used *ut* = Sk. *utá* mastered the other forms and gave *ubi* etc.

In the form *utī* we possibly have a Latin representative of Sk. *utá vāi*.

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NOTES ON EURIPIDES' *HELENA*.

1135 MR. HORT's suggestion εἰσένει for εἰς ἓν ἦν has already been proposed in my edition of the *Helena* (Clarendon Press, 1882; revised, 1892). I wrote: 'It has occurred to me...to suggest εἰσένει (νέω), "piled up" the sails into the ship... Of this verb however the pres. and imperf. do not seem to occur in Attic Greek...only the aor. ἔνησα and the perf. pass. νένημαι or νένησμαι are found.' But the MS. reading may be right = 'were fitted into one (figure),' *i.e.* compactly. Εἰς ἓν = *una* is rather a favourite expression with Euripides. Cf. l. 742, *Orest.* 1640, among other instances.

I had also cited, on l. 388, the passage from Pindar, *Ol.* i. 38 (61) upon ἔρανον. I think πεισθείς is certainly corrupt, but probably some participle in -θείς stood in the original.

I append a few notes of my own.

122 Adopt W. G. Clark's reading (from the *Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology*, 1854–1859) εἶδον, εἰ καὶ νῦν σ' ὁρῶ, a reiteration in varied terms of l. 118 = 'I saw her, just as I see you now.' [Εἶδον, ἦν &c. has been suggested to me as still nearer the MSS. εἰδόμην, but ἦν with subj. is not definite enough for the sense.]

263 Read 'λαβον (ἔλαβον), with Porson and Dindorf, for λαβεῖν. Hermann's λάβοιν is not only a doubtful form, but does not give the meaning required. The indicative means 'would that I, after being obliterated, had (then) taken a plainer form.'

679 Read (with Dindorf, &c.) τί δ' for τάδε and ἐφῆχ' for ἔθηχ', but retain τῶνδε κακῶν, 'which of these misfortunes did Hera inflict upon you in consequence of the trial?' *i.e.* in revenge for her slighted beauty. In 675 Menelaus had asked τί νῷν χρῄζουσα προσθεῖναι κακόν; Helen replies with lamentations and a vague allusion to the κρίσις, whereupon Menelaus inquires more precisely.

1158 It has been suggested to me to read τί for αἳ, and some verb such as ἔπραθον for the unmeaning ἔλιπον of the MSS. 'Why did they (the Greeks) make desolate the chambers &c.?'

1247 Perhaps read ἐξορίζομεν, 'take out (and let down) into the sea.' Cf. διορίσαι 394, also l. 828.

1353 'πύρωσας may be genuine. Reading ὃν for ὧν, the sense may be 'thou didst inflame (with love) one whom thou oughtest not,' *i.e.* Paris, the votary of Cybele. It is true that πυρόω in this sense lacks positive authority, but the meaning is possible and natural, just as *succendere* is used absolutely without *amore* by Propertius, i. 2, 15. Paley's ἔκυρσας εὐνῶν is not convincing.

1453 Read εἰρεσίας with μάτηρ. Ῥοθίοισι, 'amid the surge.'

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NOTE ON THREE PASSAGES OF PLAUT. *TRUCUL.*

PLAUT. *Trucul.* 667–8, 896, 952 (Schoell's text).

I offer brief notes on the distribution of the dialogue in these three passages.

(1) vv. 667–8. Strabax the rustic lover has been talking outside the house to Astaphium, the maid of Phronesium. The old arrangement of the end of the scene was

STRABAX. *Ibitur, ne me morari censeas.* ASTAPHIVM. *Lepide facis.* But Schoell divides STRABAX. *Ibitur.* ASTAPHIVM. *Ne me morari censeas.* STRABAX. *Lepide facis.* His reason is that by Langen's canon *morari* in Plautus never = *cunctari.* This is true, but nevertheless the old division is right and *morari* is transitive with the object *te* omitted *more Plautino.* Keep then the old distribution and translate, 'I will go, lest you should think that *I* am keeping you here,' for which Astaphium thanks Strabax by the reply 'That's very nice of you.' It was Strabax who was detaining Astaphium, not *vice versa:* the thanks belong naturally to Astaphium, not to Strabax.

(2) v. 896. The soldier Stratophanes returns. He sees Phronesium and Astaphium and addresses them *quid hic vos agitis?* Phronesium angrily retorts *ne me adpella.* What are we to do with the next three words? BCD give *nimius evi,* LZ *nimium sevis, ilicet* is Schoell's conjecture. I would read *saevit,* take the three words together, assign them to Stratophanes and treat them as an aside. *Nimium saevit: ilicet,* 'she's very angry: it's all up.' Then Phronesium, who has commenced *ne me adpella,* goes on naturally *potin ut mihi molestus ne sies?*

(3) v. 952. Phronesium is getting all she can out of Strabax and Stratophanes, who bid against one another for her favours. Strabax offers silver, Stratophanes gold, this will determine the distribution of the line. The gold Philippics belong to Stratophanes, *talentum argenti* to Strabax. Thus, to take the conjectures of Camerarius and Brix, Strabax will be made to say *Em tibi talentum argenti,* which Stratophanes outbids with *Philippicum aes est: tene tibi.*

To mix the gold and the silver and assign the whole line to the same speaker is impossible for any one who has read carefully what has gone before. The only real question is what we are to read at the end of the line, *i.e.* in what terms Stratophanes makes his offer.

Spengel and Langen object to *Philippicum* as non-Plautine, and Langen has shown that *Philippus,* not *Philippeus* is the more regular Plautine form. It will perhaps be best to read *Philippum hoc aes est: tene tibi,* but my point is the division of the line rather than the form of the adjective employed.

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MONRO ON GREEK MUSIC.

The Modes of Ancient Greek Music, by D. B. MONRO, M.A., Provost of Oriel College, Oxford. Oxford: 1894. (144 pp.) 8*s.* 6*d.* net.

MR. MONRO's book merits the serious attention of all students of Greek music. From the time of Böckh it has been the general assumption of scholars that the 'modes' of Greek music—the ἁρμονίαι familiar to readers of Plato's *Republic*—were, like the modern major and minor, scales distinguished by the order of their intervals, and that each of the seven degrees of the diatonic octave could and did form the final of such a scale. This thesis has been elaborately expounded by Westphal, Gevaert, and numerous other writers on the subject. Mr. Monro's object is to prove that the modes were nothing more than keys differing only in pitch, and that of modes in the modern sense one only was known to Classical Greek music, viz. a scale corresponding to the modern minor as played in descending from A to A, and represented by the standard 'Dorian' octave, extending from E to E, but having for its tonic the 'μέση' (A). It will be seen at once how revolutionary Mr. Monro's work is; and there is no question that the author has marshalled the facts which he adduces as evidence with great skill, so that his argument is *prima facie* a very telling one.

Putting aside for the moment the statements of Greek writers on music, to whom the appeal must ultimately lie, we may premise that there are two circumstances which create at the outset a prejudice against Mr. Monro's view, a prejudice which it is his business to dissipate by the most convincing proof that the ancient authorities can be interpreted only in the sense which he attributes to them. The first is the fact that although the trained modern ear can detect a certain difference of 'colour' in keys of different pitch (Helmholtz, *Tonempfindungen,* p. 476 f.), it is impossible to us to conceive of such keys as exerting so strong an influence on human sensibility and character as that attributed by Plato and Aristotle to the modes. How, we ask,

could a melody which in B♭ minor imitated 'the tones and accents of a brave warrior on the field of battle,' become, when transposed into D minor, a plaintive dirge, while in A minor it partook of a convivial character? This difficulty will perhaps appear to many insuperable, when every allowance has been made for possible changes in human sensibility. But although it creates a strong presumption against the correctness of Mr. Monro's view, it cannot absolve us from examining the positive evidence in its favour.

Beside this negative consideration, there remains the positive fact that the varieties of ἦθος attributed by the Greek philosophers to the modes are distinctly traceable in music which does not confine itself to the diatonic major and minor. This is true not only of the popular melodies of many nations, but especially of the plain-song of the Catholic Church, which is lineally descended from the music of Ancient Greece. It is sufficient here to refer to the admirable treatment of the subject by Gevaert in vol. i. of *La Musique de l'Antiquité*, pp. 166 ff., 200 ff. One instance will suffice. The ἁρμονία μιξολυδιστί, according to Plato, was plaintive and appropriate to the dirge. On the usual theory it corresponds to the fourth Gregorian mode (B natural), which is described by a writer of the eighteenth century as 'appropriate to feelings of compunction and sadness, complaint, prayers, supplications, lamentations, groanings.' Those who study the parallels drawn by M. Gevaert must feel that in them we have a body of evidence sufficient to predispose us strongly in favour of the current view of the modes.

We may now approach Mr. Monro's argument more closely. His method is in itself a good one. It consists in treating the passages or works of ancient authors dealing with the subject in chronological order, and interpreting them in their most natural sense. So far as the principle is consistently pursued we may safely trust its guidance, only remembering that the sense does not always lie on the surface, and that the beginning of a process cannot be interpreted with certainty without reference to its end. To deal adequately with the closely-woven web of Mr. Monro's argument would require a treatise following him point by point and section by section; but it is possible to select certain prominent theses and topics for discussion without doing him an injustice.

The earlier sections are directed towards establishing

(1) that the ἁρμονίαι of Plato and Aristotle did, in fact, differ in pitch, and, that the difference of ἦθος is connected by those writers with the difference of pitch;

(2) that the term ἁρμονία disappears from scientific writing after the time of Aristotle and is replaced (in the works of Aristoxenos) by τόνος, which certainly means 'key'; while the writers (such as Plutarch) who use both expressions treat them as convertible.

Both these points deserve to be carefully considered.

(1) Mr. Monro is successful in showing that different ἁρμονίαι were associated with different degrees of pitch. The Aeolian is called βαρύβρομον ἁρμονίαν by Pratinas; and in musical terminology certain modes—or rather varieties of the same mode[1]—were called σύντονοι and χαλαραί (or ἀνειμέναι), and these terms were connected with a difference of pitch, for Aristotle *Pol.* v. (viii.) 1340 b 20 writes, τοῖς ἀπειρηκόσι διὰ χρόνου οὐ ῥᾴδιον ᾄδειν τὰς συντόνους ἁρμονίας, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἀνειμένας ἡ φύσις ὑποβάλλει τοῖς τοιούτοις. Nor can it be questioned that Plato and Aristotle, in their philosophical treatment of the ἦθος of the modes, seized upon these distinctions, and sought a parallel to them in ethical language. The 'loosely-strung' modes (χαλαραί, ἀνειμέναι) were μαλακαί and affected the soul μαλακωτέρως. The 'highly-pitched' modes were plaintive in character. The Dorian and Phrygian occupied a middle place in pitch, and are therefore selected by Plato as occupying a mean between extremes, while Aristotle holds that the Dorian mode influences the mind μέσως καὶ καθεστηκότως.

The ἁρμονίαι, then, *as usually executed*, differed in pitch, and fell roughly into three groups. But though we learn from this that in practical μελοποιία certain ἁρμονίαι were associated with certain regions of pitch—a fact not denied by the supporters of the mode-theory (Gevaert i. p. 205)—we have as yet no positive evidence as to *what* the ἁρμονίαι were, and if such evidence can be found elsewhere, it must be allowed to decide the question.

But Plato and Aristotle, it will be said, explicitly connect difference of ἦθος with difference of pitch. It is no doubt true that they do fasten on the terms σύντονοι and ἀνειμέναι, as well as on the central position

[1] Is it not clear that in Plat. *Rep.* 398 F the words ἰαστί...καὶ λυδιστί, αἵτινες χαλαραὶ καλοῦνται are equivalent to χαλαραϊαστὶ καὶ χαλαραλυδιστί? This is not brought out either by Prof. Jowett's or by Mr. Monro's translation. συντονολυδιστί is mentioned a few lines earlier; the term συντονοϊαστί appears to have been replaced in use by μιξολυδιστί (Gevaert, i. p. 156).

occupied by the Dorian and Phrygian modes, and turn them to account in philosophical speculation: but how far they were here, as so often, following a *verbal* lead may be indicated by the following considerations:—

(*a*) In *Pol.* iv. 1290 a 19, Aristotle mentions the view that all modes were really reducible to two—Dorian and Phrygian—of which the rest were παρεκβάσεις. And this view he compares with that which saw only two right constitutions—oligarchy and democracy—the rest being likewise παρεκβάσεις, ὀλιγαρχικὰς μὲν τὰς συντονωτέρας καὶ δεσποτικωτέρας τὰς δ' ἀνειμένας καὶ μαλακὰς δημοτικάς—*i.e.* oligarchies were 'highly-strung' closely organized governments, democracies 'relaxed,' soft, disorganized. Is there any reason to suppose that while Aristotle here follows the verbal leading of the parallel, he (and Plato) neglected the same brilliant opening in the case of ἦθος?

(*b*) The parallel breaks down in practice. For Phrygian, although occupying a central position and therefore selected by Socrates, is rejected by Aristotle as ἐνθουσιαστικός (the same character is given by him even to the Hypo-phrygian in *Probl.* xix. 48, which should according to pitch be classified with the μαλακαὶ ἁρμονίαι), and it seems quite possible that Socrates indicates his consciousness that the parallel will not hold water by his feigned ignorance in reply to Glaukon —οὐκ οἶδα τὰς ἁρμονίας, ἀλλὰ κατάλειπε κ.τ.λ.

On the first head, therefore, Mr. Monro's proof seems inconclusive. Later authorities, such as Aristides Quintilianus, attribute a certain ἦθος to the various τόποι τῆς φωνῆς or 'registers' (see § 25), and we may admit that in composition the τόπος and therefore the key was chosen to suit the ἁρμονία, but this must not be allowed to prejudice the question as to what the ἁρμονία was.

(2) The identification of ἁρμονία and τόνος —which Aristoxenus no doubt uses in the sense of 'key' (τοὺς τόνους ἐφ' ὧν τὰ συστήματα τίθεται)—is difficult to maintain. It may be shown that Plutarch uses the terms loosely, so that *e.g.* in *De Mus.* 17 ἡ δωριστὶ ἁρμονία is afterwards spoken of as ὁ δώριος τρόπος (the later synonym of τόνος, cp. Monro p. 27), and in c. 19 appears as ὁ δώριος τόνος; but until the meaning of ἁρμονία is settled it must remain an open question whether Plutarch erroneously applied the terms τρόπος and τόνος to an ἁρμονία, or whether the three are really identical.[1] Mr. Monro presses the argument that as Plutarch states that the tetrachord hypaton was omitted in the τόνος δώριος in order to preserve the ἦθος, and as the τόνος δώριος clearly means the δωριστὶ ἁρμονία of which P. has lately been speaking, the essential element of the scale must have been its pitch. But we must point out that no support is lent to this latter view by the context of the passage quoted, since the omission of τρίτη and νήτη in the τρόπος σπονδαϊκός and the use of the νήτη συνημμένων in the same scale as well as in the Phrygian mode are carefully explained in a manner which leaves no doubt that considerations of tonality in the modern sense and *not* of absolute pitch were the cause of the restrictions. No doubt Plutarch means that the tonality of the Dorian scale on which its effect depended was more clearly felt if the compass of the melody was not extended below the melodic final (E).

Mr. Monro attributes to Plutarch the same interchange of expressions in the passage (c. 8) relating to the νόμος τριμερής of Sakadas. Plutarch says: 'there were three τόνοι in the time of Sakadas [*circ.* 590 B.C.] Dorian, Phrygian, and Lydian; S. composed a strophe in each, and instructed his chorus to sing, the first δωριστί, the second φρυγιστί, and the third λυδιστί.' It may be that Plutarch here uses τόνος in the sense of ἁρμονία, but surely some attention is due to the view that mode as well as key was changed in the composition referred to; by this means the rule given by Plutarch in cap. 6 (ἐν γὰρ τοῖς νόμοις ἑκάστῳ διετήρουν τὴν οἰκείαν τάσιν) was strictly observed, since in spite of the change of ἁρμονία (which Plutarch says was unknown in early κιθαρῳδία in the words preceding those just quoted) the three strophes were reduced to the same pitch.

Thus we see that the identity of ἁρμονία and τόνος must not be hastily inferred from the somewhat confused statements of Plutarch, and we may now ask whether it is proved by the use of Plato, Aristotle and Aristoxenus. ἁρμονία in the sense of mode is foreign to the terminology of Aristoxenus; τόνος in the sense of key does not appear in Plato or Aristotle. This fact in itself, however, proves nothing; and a reason for the disuse of the term ἁρμονία is suggested by Mr. Monro himself on p. 56. The word had at least three meanings (1) 'scale' in general, (2) *either* 'mode' or 'key'—whichever meaning we give to the word in Plato—,(3) the enharmonic genus. As Mr. Monro says, 'it is not surprising that a word with so many meanings did not keep

[1] Another instance of Plutarch's usage in this respect is supplied by Dr. Sandys in the last number of this *Review*, p. 397.

its place in technical language but was replaced by unambiguous words.'

The result of our examination of Mr. Monro's argument, then, has been to leave the question an open one. If positive indications on the nature of the ἁρμονία can be found, they must guide us in our decision. Such indications are not wanting.

In one instance Mr. Monro departs from his chronological arrangement of passages. On p. 55—much later than the section on Plato (p. 7)—we find a quotation from the *Philebus* 17. Mr. Monro says truly enough that the passage 'has an air of technical accuracy not usual in Plato's references to music.' If this be so, should it not have held the first place in § 5, and should it not have governed the interpretation of the more popular passage in the *Republic*? In the *Philebus*, then, Plato speaks of intervals (διαστήματα) and the συστήματα produced by their combination ἃ κατιδόντες οἱ πρόσθεν παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν τοῖς ἑπομένοις ἐκείνοις καλεῖν αὐτὰ ἁρμονίας. As Mr. Monro remarks, there is a close agreement between this passage and the teaching of Aristoxenus with regard to σύστηματα. Does not this show that the word which in reality replaced ἁρμονία was not τόνος but σύστημα? In close connection with this should be taken the passage of Aristoxenus (p. 36, 29 Meib.) in which he criticizes his predecessors, who τῶν συστημάτων τὰς διαφορὰς οἱ μὲν ὅλως οὐκ ἐπεχείρουν ἐξαριθμεῖν, ἀλλὰ περὶ αὐτῶν μόνων τῶν ἑπτὰ<ὀκτα>χόρδων (the emendation is a necessary one) ἃ ἐκάλουν ἁρμονίας τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν ἐποιοῦντο. These passages show clearly that the term ἁρμονία was applied to the species of the octave, and Mr. Monro does not deny this; but he argues that the word ἁρμονία 'even in the time of Plato appears as a word of traditional character (οἱ πρόσθεν παρέδοσαν), his own word being σύστημα,' while its use 'is noticed by Aristoxenus as if it were more or less antiquated.' 'There is no such hesitation, either in Plato or in Aristotle, about the use of ἁρμονίαι for the modes.' Surely the argument is somewhat strained here. Is it not equally open to us to say?—'In the time of Plato the popular term, consecrated by tradition (οἱ πρόσθεν παρέδοσαν), was ἁρμονία; in technical writing σύστημα was gradually taking its place, from the cause assigned by Mr. Monro on p. 56 (*v. supr.*); by the time of Aristoxenus the change of usage was complete and he could therefore speak of the use of ἁρμονία in this sense as a thing of the past.' Is there any sign of "hesitation" in the passage of Arist. *Probl.* xix. 26 διὰ τί μέση καλεῖται ἐν ταῖς ἁρμονίαις, τῶν δὲ ὀκτὼ οὔκ ἐστι μέσον; where Mr. Monro admits the use of the word ἁρμονία in the sense of σύστημα?

Our list of indications, however, is not yet complete. On p. 24 Mr. Monro notices the statement (derived by Plutarch from an unknown writer named Lysis) that Lamprokles (*circ.* 475 B.C.) discovered the true place of the disjunctive tone in the Mixolydian ἁρμονία at the upper end of the scale (ἐπὶ τὸ ὀξύ) and admits that the explanation given by Westphal and Gevaert[1] is correct—that the Mixolydian was an octave of the form

He tries to minimize the importance of this notice—which bears on its face the stamp of genuine antiquity—and concludes, 'in any case the existence of a scale of this particular form does not prove that the octaves of other species were recognized in the same way.' Should we not rather infer that so clear a testimony to the meaning of ἡ μιξολυδιστὶ ἁρμονία ought to govern our interpretation of the corresponding terms applied to other modes?

Once again, in the immediate context of the passage just quoted, Plutarch says: ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπανειμένην λυδιστί, ἥπερ ἐναντία τῇ μιξολυδιστί...ὑπὸ Δάμωνος εὑρῆσθαί φασι τοῦ Ἀθηναίου. On this Mr. Monro says, 'The statement that the "relaxed Lydian" was the opposite of the Mixolydian has given rise to much speculation. In what sense, we naturally ask, can a key or a mode be said to be "opposite" or "similar" to another? I venture to think that it is evidently a mere paraphrase of Plato's language. The relaxed Lydian is opposed to the Mixolydian because it is at the other end of the scale in pitch.' But

(*a*) the relaxed Lydian—if rightly identified by Mr. Monro with the later Hypolydian key—is *not* 'at the other end of the scale in pitch' to the Mixolydian key, since the final of the one is A, and of the other E♭. Thus Mr. Monro's explanation is inadequate; while

(*b*) a simple and convincing explanation is given by Gevaert (i. p. 109). The succession of intervals in the Hypo-lydian mode is *precisely inverted* in the Mixolydian (semitone-tone-tone-semitone-tone-tone-tone). What more suitable meaning can be found for ἐναντία?

[1] See the very clear statement of the question in *La Musique de l'Antiquité* i. p. 47 f.

Thus far then we have seen that the facts established by Mr. Monro do not prove the ἁρμονίαι to be keys, while we have certain clear indications that the name was applied to modes.

Space will not permit us to trace the remainder of Mr. Monro's argument in all its details, but some salient points deserve special treatment.

1. In § 24 Mr. Monro develops an argument on which great stress is laid. The names of the keys and the smae names as applied to the species of the octave follow each other in precisely reversed order. As he says, this cannot be an accidental coincidence; either the names of the species were derived from those of the keys, or conversely. But we learn from Aristoxenus that in his time the seven species (to which he gives no names) had long been recognized by theorists, while the number of keys and their relative pitch was still unsettled. Therefore, argues Mr. Monro, the names of the keys must be the original ones, and must have been transferred to the species after the determination of their number and relative pitch. On the other theory the scheme of seven keys would have been at once complete.

Stated thus in the abstract, the argument appears a strong one. But Mr. Monro has omitted to explain why the two series of names occupy the reverse order of pitch.[1] The reason is that *the keys were used in order to reduce melodies composed in the various modes to a common standard of pitch* (Gevaert i. p. 218). Let each species be noted in the key of the same name, and all will occupy the same octave—viz. that which extends from F to F in modern notation (see Table I. p. 127 in Mr. Monro's book). That this is the true explanation is amply confirmed by the fact that in the Greek instrumental notation (Monro § 27) the fifteen *original* letters represent two octaves in the Hypo-lydian key (that of F), while all the other keys are noted with a greater or less proportion of derived signs—*i.e.* the Hypo-lydian key was the 'open key' of antiquity. This fact is explained by Gevaert by the supposition that the octave originally belonged to the Dorian key, which afterwards became a semitone higher owing to a change in the standard pitch. Mr. Monro suggests that 'the Dorian became split up into two keys by difference of local usage, and that the lower of the two came to be called Hypo-dorian [later Hypo-lydian], but kept the original notation.' Now, whichever be the true explanation, it can scarcely be reconciled with the view that the absolute pitch of the ἁρμονίαι was of such importance that a change of a tone or even a semitone produced a change of ἦθος. The prevailing uncertainty with reference to the pitch of the keys in the time of Aristoxenus—which, when the position of the Mixolydian is rectified by a necessary correction of the text, amounts merely to this, that on the flute the interval of a minor third was equally divided instead of being split up into tone and semitone—seems only to imply that the 'standard pitch' and the system of names dependent on it were not absolutely fixed.

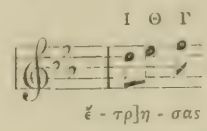
2. The names of the seven species are given for the enharmonic genus by Pseudo-Eucl. *Introduct. Harm.* (a work probably dating from the end of the second century A.D.) and for the diatonic by Gaudentius (? fourth century). By the latter author they are applied to the octaves founded on each degree of the diatonic scale, by the former to those founded on the various degrees of the enharmonic scale. Hence the diatonic Phrygian octave is *d e f g a b c d*, while the enharmonic Phrygian is *c c e* f a b b* c*—not, as we should expect to be the case if the species were of practical rather than theoretical importance, *d e e* f a b b* c d*. The objection is a very pertinent one, and it must be conceded to Mr. Monro that to the author of the *Introductio Harmonica* theory was more important than practice. But he is a writer of unknown and probably late date, when the enharmonic genus had fallen into disuse; and we are fortunately in possession of a piece of direct evidence that the ancient form of the Phrygian enharmonic was precisely that which we should expect to find. This is the famous commentary of Aristides Quintilianus on the ἁρμονίαι of Plato's *Republic*, discussed by Mr. Monro in §§ 33, 34. Mr. Monro tries to minimize the importance of this direct testimony to the identity of Plato's ἁρμονίαι with the species of the

[1] It is strange that Mr. Monro should not mention this explanation, and still more strange that on p. 77 he should write with reference to the notation as follows: 'The octaves which are defined by the successive pairs of letters, β-γ, δ-ε, and the rest, are octaves of definite notes. If they were framed with a view to the ancient modes, as Westphal thinks, they must be the actual scales employed in these modes. If so, the modes followed each other, in respect of pitch, in an order exactly the reverse of the order observed in the keys. It need hardly be said that this is quite impossible.' The modes regarded as sections of the Perfect System—not necessarily 'the actual scales employed'—*did* succeed each other in an order the reverse of that observed in the keys.

octave in the enharmonic genus, but not, as it seems to us, with success. The very imperfection of the scales, to which Mr. Monro (p. 97) can find no parallel, furnishes one of the clearest indications of their antiquity, since, as will be seen from Gevaert's transcriptions (vol. i. p. 286 f.), it is caused by the absence of the *προσλαμβανομένη* from the system which they presuppose. There is no reason whatever to trace Aristides' information to the same source as '*ἡ παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις κατὰ διέσεις ἁρμονία*,' as Mr. Monro does on p. 98 f. They are correctly noted in the usual manner, whereas the latter diagram is, as Mr. Monro has no difficulty in showing, 'a species of forgery,' *not* employing the ordinary notation. The witness of the ancient document embedded in the text of Aristides remains therefore unshaken.

3. In §§ 29—31 Mr. Monro discusses the musical theory of Claudius Ptolemy, and particularly his double system of *ὀνομασία κατὰ θέσιν* and *κατὰ δύναμιν*. It is to be noted that in the discussion he appears to follow Westphal's *later* doctrine, according to which *ὀνομασία κατὰ δύναμιν* was the old system, applying to the *σύστημα ἀμετάβολον*, while *ὀ. κατὰ θέσιν* was that which varied with the scale. But, as he himself states, 'the *θέσις* of Ptolemy's nomenclature is the absolute pitch (*Harm.* ii. 5 *ποτὲ μὲν παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν θέσιν, τὸ ὀξύτερον ἁπλῶς ἢ βαρύτερον, ὀνομάζομεν*)'; and von Jan has clearly shown (*Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* 1886, Sp. 1285 ff.) that the contrary view (adopted in Westphal's earlier works) is the correct one. Mr. Monro insists strongly that Aristoxenus and his followers recognize only the perfect system and the keys, while Ptolemy's nomenclature (*κατὰ δύναμιν*)—which should have been all-important, had the species of the octave been the scales of practical importance—seems to be his own invention, or at least of recent invention in his time. It is true that he has no difficulty in disposing of the passages adduced by Westphal from earlier writers to prove the existence of *ὀνομασία κατὰ θέσιν*. As we have shown, it is rather *ὀνομασία κατὰ δύναμιν* that we should seek; and Arist. *Probl.* xix. 20 is rightly interpreted of the *μέση κατὰ θέσιν* (*i.e.* of the perfect system) by Gevaert (i. p. 260). But it must be remembered that the musical theory of Aristoxenus and his school is that naturally developed with reference to *wind* instruments (*i.e.* the flute), for which the perfect system and its keys are admirably adapted; while Ptolemy's system, on the other hand, is that applicable to *stringed* instruments, such as the cithara and lyre[1]—and, whatever may have been the date at which *ὀνομασία κατὰ δύναμιν* was first invented, *there is no question that the κιθαριστής must in practice have adopted the method of tuning his instrument which Ptolemy presupposes and the modern harpist practises long before the theory was expounded in the 'Harmonics.'*

4. A word remains to be said on the extant remains of Greek music. Mr. Monro prints the three most recent additions to our stock: (1) the Seikelos inscription, after Crusius; (2) the fragment of Euripides' *Orestes*, after the same scholar; (3) the Delphic paean and fragments, after M. Théodore Reinach. He notices with regard to the last-named composition the fact (which had escaped MM. Weil and Reinach[2]) that, as in the case of the Seikelos inscription, there is a remarkable correspondence of melody with accentuation; in all but three cases an acute accent is followed by a note of lower pitch: while in every case there is a fall of pitch in the two notes of a circumflexed syllable. When Mr. Monro wrote, the opposite case seemed to occur once, in the word *θνατοῖς*, but this exception has since been removed by von Jan's reading (⅄ for Λ).[3] We are now able to add the



name of the composer—Kleochares, the son of Bion, of Athens (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894, p. 71).

Of these three compositions, the first[4] and third appear to be written in the 'Dorian' mode, and Mr. Monro finds in this fact a signal confirmation of his theory. But the Dorian mode would certainly be that most appropriate to a choral lyric addressed to the Pythian Apollo, so that its use in the Delphic paean might have been expected. As to the *Orestes* fragment the case is not so clear. MM. Wessely and Ruelle regard the mode as Hypo-phrygian, noted in *τόνος Λύδιος*. Mr. Monro prefers to regard it as '*Dorian*' with the addition of *ὑπεριπάτη* at the lower end of the scale—i.e. *the Dorian ἁρμονία as given in the table of Aristides Quintilianus.* This seems to be right; but

[1] See Gevaert i. p. 253, with note 2.
[2] It is noticed by Crusius, *Philologus* liii. 504.
[3] The same scholar suggests Θ for O in bar 19, *i.e.*
[4] On the Seikelos inscription see T. Reinach, *Revue des Etudes Grecques* 1894, p. 203.

is it quite fair to Aristides to say that 'as the Dorian least needs defence,' the fact that it is verified by an actual piece of music does not go far in support of the other scales in the same list'?

There remain (1) the scales in practical use on the κιθάρα given by Ptolemy (§ 31); of these one seems to be Phrygian, another Hypo-phrygian in species, while the rest are Dorian or Hypo-dorian; (2) the hymns of Mesomedes (Mr. Monro clings to the name Dionysius, which has been shown not to belong to the composer of the hymns by von Jan, *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie* 1890, p. 679 f.); of these two are Dorian in mode, one Hypo-phrygian; (3) the exercises given by Bellermann's *Anonymus* (on which little stress should be laid); of these three are Hypo-dorian and a fourth perhaps Hypo-lydian, if their tonality be pressed.

Lastly, MM. Havet and Théodore Reinach have lately published (*Revue des Études Grecques* 1894, p. 196 ff.) a musical phrase from the accompaniment of Terence *Hecyra* 861 (found in the Codex Victorianus)—but little can be said of its tonality; M. Reinach believes it to be Hypo-phrygian both in tone and key. It will be seen that the extant specimens of Greek music do not enable us to solve the problem before us. That the Dorian ἁρμονία would be the most popular might have been predicted, yet beside it there appear indications of the use of other modes, though of late date.

Here we must conclude our examination of Mr. Monro's argument. Much has perforce been passed over in silence; yet it may be hoped that no substantial injustice has been done to the case which he has put forward with so much vigour and ingenuity. If it does not seem fatal to the current theory, it certainly requires to be seriously reckoned with by its upholders.

H. Stuart Jones.

SCHWAB'S *SYNTAX OF THE GREEK COMPARATIVE.*

Historische Syntax der Griechische Comparation in der klassischen Litteratur, von Otto Schwab. Pp. viii. 127. Mk. 4.

This treatise forms Heft 11 of Schanz's *Beiträge*. It is to be followed by two other parts by the same author. The part before us contains (*A*) Allgemeimer Teil which we may phrase by 'Of Comparison in General'; and (*B*) Besonderer Teil I. Syntax der gegensätzlichen Comparation = 'Of Comparison in Particular, Syntax of Adversative Comparison.' The author undertakes in his preface to bring the description of comparison in Greek up to date with the advances in general linguistics and thus 'den anerkannten Gewinn feststehender Thatsachen sich anzueignen.' He sets himself to follow Brugmann's limitation of the scope of Syntax: *wie hat die Sprache ihre Formen syntaktisch verwendet, und wie ist man zu dieser Verwendung gekommen?*—and takes strong ground on the harmony of logic and syntax.

The primary tenet of the volume[1] is stated on p. 2: '*Comparison is adversation and the fundamental meaning of the comparative suffix is adversative*': p. 3: '*The underlying original notion of the comparative endings was solely the notion of contrast.*' We are further told that -ιων, -ιστος, -τερος *are Aryan endings and older than the notion of comparison which arose after the separation of the individual languages, and so the original signification cannot have been the comparative.*

These contentions are reinforced by the psychological one that we can only conceive '*good*' as the opposite of '*bad*'[2] and so in pairs: '*big*')('*little*', '*strong*')('*weak*'. The only exceptions allowed to these contrasting pairs are designations of material and colour.

The line of facts on which this general proposition is based is that in the various literatures words like Eng. '*upper*' comparative in form and contrasting or solely adversative in meaning occur: thus in '*upper*')('*lower*' the termination is contrasting and not comparative. From this point of view the *form* '*great*' is later than the *form* '*greater*.'

Is adversation of opposites a more primitive operation than comparison of

[1] The author follows closely Ziemer (*Vergl. Synt. d. indoger. Comp.*) here as in almost every other place.

[2] Of course in any inquiry into linguistic origins we must deal with concrete terms like '*great*')('*small*,' and not with moral abstractions like '*good*')('*bad*.'

likes? Is there not a characteristic normal notion if not an absolute positive one of '*swiftness*' for instance? Granted that of two tortoises as of two horses one may say the '*swifter*' and the '*slower*'; do we unavoidably contrast '*tortoise*' with '*horse*' before we compare '*tortoise*' with '*tortoise*' or '*horse*' with '*horse*'? Is not the positive process of comparison more essential to classification than the negative process of contrast?

In the analysis of the underlying force of the two comparative suffixes *-ιων* and *-τερος* we must seek to fix their primary meaning, and this is best done on the Vedic field where the suffix *-yḁ̄-s-* (*-ιων*) seems clearly of participial nature (Delbruck *S.F.* v. p. 189),[1] and frequently governs the accusative, *e.g. R.V.* v. 41, 12[b] *sá nábhas tárīyān* 'he is a crosser of the sky' is affirmed of Rudra the storm-god. It will be noted that the comparative force need not be taken here. A comparative sense for this suffix had however been acquired at a period antedating all literary remains, that is to say in the Aryan period, and this comparative force arose I believe from the participial. *R.V.* ix. 66, 17[c]: *bhūridā́bhyas cin máṅhīyān* = 'From <the standpoint of> the generous-givers even he is generous-giving' = 'He is more-generous-giving than the generous-givers.' The collocation *tavā́sas távīyān* (3 ts.) 'stronger than strength,' originally 'strong from <the standpoint of> strength,' lends weight to the assumption made above that comparison arises between like things and not by contrast of opposites. I note also *svādóḥ svā́dīyas* (2 ts.) 'sweeter than sweet.'

We can reach a similar origin for the compv. suffix *-tero-*, making it an extension of the participial-agency suffix in *-ter-*. The suffix *-tero-* was extended to adjectives as a specific comparative, and dissociated itself from the agency suffix *-ter-*. This is true of the suffix *-yen-s-*,[2] which has lost its participial nature everywhere save in Sanskrit. We reach now this conclusion: the difference between the suffixes *-ιων* and *-τερο-* is effaced save in Sanskrit, and the participial nature of *-yāns-* in Sanskrit suggests the identification of *-tero-* with the agential suffix *-ter-*.

In the light of these considerations I cannot believe that adversation underlies comparison, or that *σοφώτερος*, *ἡδίων* are formations prior to *σοφός*, *ἡδύς*.

It remains to consider the pronouns and adverbs with comparative suffix, for here perhaps is the strongest basis for the adversative conception. We may take *πότερος*, Sk. *katará-*, Lat. *uter* 'which of two' as typical for the pronouns. At *R.V.* vii. 104, 12[cd] we gain a hint of the origin of these comparatives: *táyor yát satyā́m yatarád ṛ́jīyas tád it Sómo 'vati hanty ā́sat* = 'of these the one which is true which<er> is more-correct, that one Soma favours, he destroys the untrue'; that is to say *yatarád* is compv. because *ṛ́jīyas* is compv. We can apply this to the uses of *uter*. As a direct question L. and Sh. cite eleven instances; six are in sentences with a compv. in the predicate,[3] like Pl. *Aul.* 321 *sed uter vostrorumst celerior;* three instances have no adj. predicate, only two instances have a positive adj. predicate, but of these one *popularis* need not be counted, as being a political term.

Such apparently contrasting forms as *ἀνωτέρω*)(*κατωτέρω* (Schwab, p. 12) are, I believe, to be really understood as of compv. origin. The compv. degree it must be remembered moves prevailingly by increment not by decrement (cf. also in this sense p. 16); '*higher*' is not only compv. to '*high*,' but it

[1] Note also Brugmann, *Gr.* ii. § 135: In mancher Beziehung geht *-ĭes-* mit dem Participialsuffix *-yes-* den gleichen Weg.

[2] I agree with J. Schmidt in *K.Z.* xxvi. 337 *sq.* that this is the Aryan form of the suffix spite of Brugmann's argument to the contrary in his *Grundriss* ii. § 135, Anm. 1. I write the stem however as *-yen-s-*, the *s* being really a nominative ending reaffixed in the Aryan period just as later in Latin participles, e.g. *feren-s*. If this explanation is reasonable it ought to be capable of a statistical proof. The upgrowth of the comparative from the participial sense must have mainly taken place in sentences like the R.V. passage quoted above (ix. 66, 17[c]), that is to say with the comparative adjective in the nominative case. We have then the nominative variations *yḁ̄-s* || *yēs* masc.; to this last *-yĕs* neut. was added: *-ēs-* : *-ĕs-* = *-yēs-* : *-yĕs-*. In Sk. *-yḁ̄-s* was treated as *-yās-* to form the acc. sg. and nom. plur. masc.: *-yē̥-s* had grades in *o*, i.e. *-yō̥-s* (*-ιων*), and *-yes* was further graded to *-is*. The perf. participle sin *-ven-s* had the same treatment precisely, with the additional stem *-vn̥-t-*, evolved out of a case form *-vn̥-t-os*. A statistic of the comparatives in *-yas-* and *-īyas-* in R.V. excluding *sányas* 'old,' *návyas* || *návīyas* 'young' which are not true comparatives reveals fifty-five nominatives masc. in *-yā-s*, sixty neuters in *-yas*, two vocatives (masc.) in *-yas*, eight accusatives sg. and nominatives plur. in *-yā̆s-* over against but fifty-nine case forms in *-yas-*. This statistic seems to me to amply vindicate Schmidt's contention for an analogical origin of the stem form *-yes-*. I leave to Schmidt and Meringer the defence of the proposition that *ā̆ns* gives *ā̆s*, noting however that it is accepted by Streitburg against Brugmann *I.F.* iii. p. 150.

[3] These instances conform precisely to the point of the last note—that the compv. sense grew out of the participial mainly in the nom. sg. masc. and neuter.

is compv. to '*low*' in the sense of '*less-low*'; '*lower*' is thus, as '*less-high*,' compv. to '*high*.' The contrast of '*higher*')('*lower*' involves a middle term, '*high-low*.' When this middle term is expressed there results the superlative 'lowest,' 'uppermost,' 'midmost' (Sk. *adhamá, ut-tamá, madhyamá*, R.V. i. 24, 15).

With *dex-ter*)(*sinis-ter* (cf. *ib.* p. 10) we may likewise think of a median line, the tacit norm of comparison; but the possibility is not excluded that here we have agency-suffixes pure and simple.

The typical οἱ μὲν πρεσβύτεροι)(οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι (p. 53), is thus explained: 'the νεώτεροι are young in respect of the πρεσβύτεροι, but not absolutely young—adversation and not comparison.' Such phrases may be explained as the result of a process of division into young and old; to reach this result there was a norm of comparison, a dividing line. Such a standing ellipsis can be well illustrated by the special ellipsis in Λ. 786 *sq.*:

τέκνον ἐμόν, γενεῇ μὲν ὑπέρτερός ἐστιν Ἀχιλλεύς,
πρεσβύτερος δὲ σύ ἐσσι· βίῃ δ' ὅ γε πολλὸν ἀμείνων.

Here where the adjectives cannot be referred to the same norm nobody will boggle over the ellipsis; but if v. 786 read γενεῇ μὲν νεώτερος[1] we should then have to say that 'Achilles is νεώτερος in respect of the πρεσβύτερος but not absolutely young.' What is said is 'Achilles is higher-bred <than you>, but you are older <than he>.' We can imitate the ellipsis in English 'Achilles is the higher-bred, you are the elder.' Will anybody contend that this is equivalent to 'Achilles is high-bred, you are old'? No, but this is a fair reduction of Schwab's contention, that in a sentence like 'Achilles is younger, you are older' the original sense was 'Achilles is young, you are old.'

Schwab devotes several pages to the compv. as a modified positive (107 *sq.*). A typical example is θ 187 λάβε δίσκον μείζονα καὶ πάχετον = 'he took a rather large and (a) thick disk.' Another example is ἀμελέστερον ἐπορεύοντο (Xen. *Hell.* iv. 8, 36), 'they proceeded rather carelessly, too carelessly.' Here we have to supply the norm of comparison 'than usual': the English compv. '*rather*' shows all this shift of meaning. Schwab sees adversative force here too, or a development from the adversative. In this sense too he takes such phrases as δοκεῖ βέλτιον εἶναι. But no, these are all solutions of a dilemma: one seeks only a good course of action; of two such courses that present themselves one asks which is the better.

On p. 28 this tenet is maintained; *der genetivus comparationis ist separativus.* This we think Ziemer has abundantly proved. As a corollary to this formula Ziemer explained the genitive after superlatives as also a separative, and Kvicala had as early as 1858 brought under one rubric with the *gen. comparationis* the gen. after certain superlatives. Delbrück (*Grundriss der Vergl. Gram.* iii. § 196) accepts Kvicala's results only in regard of the three Homeric examples Z 295, A 505, ε 105. A typical example is Z 295 ἔκειτο (*sc.* πέπλος) δὲ νείατος ἄλλων. Schwab (p. 39) demonstrates to his own satisfaction that this is not a partitive gen. thus: 'Die partitive Erklärung eines solchen Genetivs lässt uns offenbar im Stiche, da ja der vergleichene Begriff nicht zu der Menge der ἄλλοι gehören kann, sondern deutlich von denselben unterschieden, ihnen gegenübergestellt wird.' As a general proposition we do not believe that language takes the pains to be logical. Who has not heard a little boy whose only playmates were girls say some such thing as 'I counted and the other girls hid'? and yet the boy is neither one of the others, nor one of the girls. It is only the grammarian and not the reader that stumbles at: 'the fairest of her daughters—Eve' (*Paradise Lost* iv. 324). Schwab grants that the later Greek feeling held this as a partitive construction (p. 42), and he lays down (p. 43) a canon to which the Homeric instances recognized by Delbrück all conform: 'ein Genetivus comparationis d.i. separationis ist nur da zu erkennen, wo eine Ausschliessung des superlativischen aus der zahl der übrigen Vergleichsobjekte stattfindet.' A suspicion should be raised by the fact that the gen. with which this is possible is always ἄλλων, and this ἄλλων is in my opinion an undoubted popular mistake for *ἄλλων out of *σάλϝο- = Sk. *sárva-* 'all,' Lat. *salvus* 'whole, sound': thus νείατος ἄλλων = 'last of all.'[2]

[1] This it could not metrically do.

[2] This sense is to be also seen in ἄλλως: I 699 ὃ δ' ἀγήνωρ ἐστὶ καὶ ἄλλως, 'he is headstrong, even utterly.' *Hdt.* i. 60 καὶ ἄλλως εὐειδής, 'and quite comely.' In Aesch. *Eum.* 726 ἄλλως τε πάντως καί we may look upon πάντως as a sort of translation of ἄλλως.

We have here a fine instance of the fact that Greek and Latin sometimes mixed their ᾰ and ŏ and did not have that perfect phonetic orthography generally ascribed to them; cf. my remarks in *Modern Language Notes* ix. col. 262 *sq.* In ἄλλων as explained above I see a doublet to ὅλος. In Latin we have the forms *salvos, sollus, sōlus, sōleo* (Breal,

Latin furnishes no ground for interpreting the genitive with the superlative as anything but a partitive and for Sanskrit Delbrück (*l.c.* p. 412) cites only one example of the superlative with ablative and this he admits can be explained by the meaning of the superlative.

I note here that the compv. construction with *alius* 'other' and words of like meaning in the various languages may be genetic, that is, employ the true separative abl. in the sense 'different from.'

I turn to a third point, the contention that the compv. ἤ is the disjunctive 'or' (Schwab p. 46 *sq.*, Ziemer 149 *sq.*). Others have claimed for it identity with the interrog.-affirm. ἦ, and still others have made it a relative ἤ or ἦ (Ziemer *l.c.* p. 157). For my own part I believe that the disjunctive ἤ and the interrogative ἦ are at bottom identical. I note that the double 'and' Sk. *ca...ca*, Grk. τὲ...τὲ, Lat. *que...que* belong to the interrogative. The copulative sense was in my opinion won by the second τὲ. ἤ is by origin a demonstrative belonging to the stem ε- (cf. Brug. *Gr.* ii. § 409), the same stem to which εἰ 'if,' 'whether' also belongs, of which it is perhaps only a graphic variant (cf. Kretic ἢ = εἰ)—on a theory that even the Greeks needed a spelling reform (*supra*, last note).

Mém. de la Soc. de Ling. 5, 437 f.). The Greek correspondents are *ἀλϝο- (cf. Thess. Κόρϝαι, ἄλλο-) *ὅλλο (Ion. οὖλο-) *ὡλο- (Dor. cf. Κώρα) ὅλος. The confusion of ἄλλο- 'all' with ἄλλο- 'other' perhaps accounts for the smooth breathing in Ionic οὖλος.

A most interesting correspondence, never before pointed out so far as I know, is that between Ὀλύμπια and *sollemnia*, games (performed for the state as a whole ?). In regard of the suffixes -μπια and -*mnia* I remark that in careless articulation the group mn gives m < p > n, *e.g.* 'dampnation,' *passim* in the English ballad poetry; we sometimes have the spelling *sollempnis* in Latin MSS. In Ὀλύμπια I would see *Ὀλυμπ(ν)ια with a loss of -ν-. The permanence of the group -μν- is not proved by words like βέλεμνον where the felt participial suffix -μενος (cf. βαλλόμενος) may have had effect. Ὄλυμπος || Οὔλυμπος 'godmount' is a name derived I believe from Ὀλύμπια. Liv. i. 5 tells of a *sollemne* that was established on the Palatine mount,—so in Ὄλυμπος a general name for mountain we can see a regression from Ὀλύμπια 'mountain-festivals'—and these occurred doubtless at a fixed period (cf. Lat. *sŏleo*). Attention is called to the variants Οὔλ' || Ὅλ' as in οὖλος || ὅλος 'whole.'

In respect of the doublet, salvus || sollus, Thurneysen (*K.Z.* 28, p. 261) explains ă for ŭ as due to the following v. De Saussure had previously brought together a group of words in which -oF- was represented by Lat. -*av*-. Who can say which is older? If we assume *av* to be older, then the explanation is simpler phonetically; the low-back-wide vowel ă is rounded by the following -*w*- to a something very close to ŭ, mid-back-wide-round. In the same way -*ev*- in Latin was rounded to -*ov*- in *novus*: νέϝος.

The form ἠέ for *ἠ-ϝε is comparable precisely with Lat. *sī-ve—sī-ve*, for *sī* is also a demonstrative that has become interrogative, but ἤ (ἠέ) developed further in this direction, being helped on by the exclamatory-interrogative ἦ, which has a direct congener in Lat. *en*, and this amounts in *en umquam* to an interrogative.

But, whatever the etymology of the particle may be, I confess I cannot see the force of the argument to prove that ἤ 'than' is the disjunctive ἤ. A brief statement of this view I cite from Schwab (p. 25): '*κρεῖττον τεθνάναι ἀλλ' οὐ φυγεῖν.* Als der sinnentsprechendste Ersatz für ἀλλ' οὐ bot sich eben das disjunktive ἤ dar, welches ja zwei unter gegenseitiger Ausschliessung geltende Begriffe verbindet; vergl. ἢ ἀποθανεῖν = νικᾶν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀποθανεῖν oder ἀποθανεῖν καὶ οὐ νικᾶν.' So far, so good! but this explanation does not show us why in κρεῖττον τεθνάναι ἢ φυγεῖν it is φυγεῖν that is always excluded, and never τεθνάναι. I think it much easier to reach the sense in the way of G. Hermann's τοῦτο βέλτιόν ἐστιν· ἢ ἐκεῖνο; this is better: or <is> that? If we assume a question πότερον βέλτιόν ἐστιν τοῦτο ἢ ἐκεῖνο; its normal answer was τοῦτό ἐστιν βέλτιον ἐκείνου, but with a sort of echo the answer may have been βέλτιόν ἐστιν τοῦτο ἢ ἐκεῖνο.

Ziemer brings in support of the disjunctive origin of ἤ 'than' such dialect English as 'nobody need to have a quieter death *nor* he had' (*Jane Eyre*); also in German, du es ärger gemacht hast *weder* sie (Luther's *Bibel*, Ezech. 16, 47). Now in both these cases the disjunctive particle is *negative*, Eng. *nor* like Lat. *neque* means *and not*: thus 'better bow nor break' means 'better bend and not break.'

It must be confessed however that in citing Isoc. *Pan.* 80 Ziemer has brought up a very strong case for ἤ = ἀλλ' οὐ (καὶ οὐ), but after all the passage is of an intensely rhetorical character: θεραπεύοντες ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑβρίζοντες...στρατηγεῖν οἰόμενοι δεῖν ἀλλὰ μὴ τυραννεῖν...μᾶλλον ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἡγεμόνες ἢ δεσπόται προσαγορεύεσθαι καὶ σωτῆρες ἀλλὰ μὴ λυμεῶνες ἀποκαλεῖσθαι,[1] τῷ ποιεῖν εὖ προσαγόμενοι...ἀλλ' οὐ βίᾳ καταστρεφόμενοι. The balance is perfect: ἀλλ' οὐ (A)—ἀλλὰ μή (B)—μᾶλλον ἤ (C)—ἀλλά μή (B)—ἀλλ' οὐ (A). The same balance goes on through § 18 μέν)(δέ (X)—οὐχ οὕτως || ὡς (Y)—τὴν αὐτὴν || ἥνπερ (Y)—μέν)(δέ (X).

Schwab (p. 67) claims but one other literary occurrence for this formula: Thuc. i.

[1] Perhaps we are to construe this as <*sc.* οἰόμενοι δεῖν> ἀποκαλεῖσθαι.

120, 2, ἡμῶν δὲ ὅσοι μὲν Ἀθηναίοις ἤδη ἐνηλλάγησαν οὐχὶ διδαχῆς δέονται ὥστε φυλάξασθαι αὐτούς· τοὺς δὲ τὴν μεσόγειαν μᾶλλον καὶ μὴ ἐν πόρῳ κατῳκημένους εἰδέναι χρή etc. Now if anything is clear it is that ὅσοι μέν and τοὺς δέ...κατῳκημένους are the two parts of ἡμῶν δέ and that καὶ μὴ ἐν πόρῳ is simply explanatory of μεσόγειαν, whereas μᾶλλον εἰδέναι χρή is a comparative advance on οὐχὶ διδαχῆς δέονται.

With these examples explained Greek seems to furnish no proof for the tenet that ἤ 'than' is a disjunctive ἤ 'or,' as a substitute for ἀλλ' οὐ. In any case it were dangerous to explain Homeric ἤ 'than' by two isolated examples in rhetorical prose writers like Thucydides and Isocrates!

The rhetorical explanation of ἤ as interrogative given above cannot be called quite satisfactory for the very reason that it is entirely theoretical. It remains to examine briefly Schömann's theory that ἤ is a relative, *i.e.* for ἤ or ἦ. In Latin *quam* and German *als* we also have relatives but both are secondary formations. A very transparent origin for the Lat. *quam* 'than' can be made out, e.g. *tam ego fui liber quam* (*sc. liber*) *gnatus tuus* (Pl. *Capt.* 310); it is but a step to *liberior quam gnatus tuus.* In Greek we should expect a group *τή)(ἤ, and ἤ seems preserved in ἤ θέμις ἐστί (γ 45), but no such permanent group can be found. ἤ 'than' may however be for *ἤ so far as the breathing is concerned (cf. ἥμος)(τῆμος).

Another point that speaks strongly for the conception of ἤ as a relative is the form ἤπερ 'than.'[1]

The difficulties in the way of this theory are the deaspiration and the non-existence of the correlative group *τή)(ἤ.

It remains to mention an additional possibility; to the demonstrative stem *e-* there may have been an ablative *ēt, Fem. *āt. It seems possible in this way to bring together ἄλλο ἤπερ and *aliud atque* (cf. the last note on περ ‖ que). *Atque* and ἤ seem directly comparable in use if we take Pl. *Ps.* 1133 as a typical case, *illi sunt alio ingenio atque tu.*[2] In Homer ἤ 'than' is always followed by a dat. or gen. (not dependent on the ἤ), a clause, or an infinitive, not by the nominative (or acc.) as a substitute for the *gen. compv.*;[3] *atque* too, so far as the examples cited by L. and Sh. (*s. v. alius* I. B) allow us to make an induction, is a compv. particle with clauses as in the example just cited.[4]

It must be admitted however that there is a missing link in this line of development; thus we must make a collocation like ἤ γυνὴ μείων *ἤ(τ) ἀνδρὸς '*this* woman is shorter from <the standpoint of> *this* (*ἤτ) man,' and assume that as the pronoun stem ε- faded out in Greek this fossil remained behind; beside the definite *ἤτ ἀνδρός was an indefinite ἀνδρός, and ἤ (for *ἤτ) was felt to be superfluous with the genitive, but was not entirely lost until it had been converted into use as a compv. particle where the gen. could not stand, as for example in clauses.

I turn to the connexion of two comparatives by ἤ, *quam*, a phenomenon that meets us both in Greek and Latin. Ziemer explains the second compv. as due to an assimilation in form to the first; Schwab (p. 89) resorts to the examination by adversation (cf. *supra*, p. 454). There is but one example in Homer, α 164; Telemachus has been charging the wooers with devouring his father's living; he adds:

> εἰ κεῖνόν γ' Ἰθάκηνδε ἰδοίατο νοστήσαντα
> πάντες κ' ἀρησαίατ' ἐλαφρότεροι πόδας εἶναι
> ἢ ἀφνείοτεροι χρυσοῖό τε ἐσθῆτός τε.

This I interpret ἐλαφρότεροι <Ὀδυσσῆος μᾶλλον> ἢ ἀφνειότεροι <Ὀδυσσῆος>. The ellipsis of μᾶλλον[5] by brachylogy need not

[1] The origin of this -περ with relatives may perhaps be found if we consider its practical equivalence with -τε, as in ὅσπερ ‖ ὅστε. Then -περ is to be ascribed to the relative stem with labialization, and derived from a primitive Greek *κϝε-ρ. The source of the -ρ is perhaps to be sought in the enclitic περ, *e.g.* λιγύς περ ἐὼν ἀγορητής (B. 246) 'though being very shrill,' cf. Lat. *per-iucundus;* we can translate λιγύς περ by '*ever so shrill,*' and ὅσπερ by '*who so ever*' in English.

[2] We must reckon with the possibility that after '*tu*' '*alio ingenio*' is implicit, thus 'they have one nature and you have another.'

[3] Apparent exceptions are λ 417, κ 556 (in both cases ἠέ περ) and Λ 395 where a predicate verb is to be inferred from the context.

[4] There are several points in which the usage of Homeric ἤ corresponds with the exclamatory-interrogative uses of *āt.* Cf. L. and Sh. *s.v. āt* I. B. 3 a—b, with L. and Sc. *s.v.* ἤ. Eng. '*why*' like *āt* is exclamatory, interrogative and apodotic in conditions. If the comparison of *ātque* and ἤπερ holds good then we should expect an *āt *'than.' The form *at-que* may have crowded out the simple form because of *quam* 'than,' just as *-que* 'and' became in general the important part of the compound. *āt* 'but' is perhaps a derived meaning from 'than' as in English we have the pair, 'nothing else but' ‖ 'nothing else than.'

[5] Except that βούλομαι ἤ precedes in point of time βούλομαι μᾶλλον ἤ, we might claim the same phenomenon there.

I note that etymological relation obtains possibly between μᾶλλον 'rather' and Lat. *mālo* 'prefer,' which I find it hard to believe a double affection of *mage volo, magvolo ‖ mavolo, mālo.* If *mālo* is not such a compound it then remains to explain *mavis, mavult* on the analogy of *nevis ‖ nonvis, nevult ‖ nonvult* etc.

surprise us, for the compv. has the sense of the positive with *potius* (*μᾶλλον*) just as well as with *magis* (cf. Schwab p. 65). I take at random two other passages and they yield to the same interpretation. At Lys. 19, 15, a father is said to have refused his daughters to rich suitors who wished to take them without dower, *ὅτι ἐδόκουν κάκιον γεγονέναι* 'because they seemed to belong to the lower classes,' *ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν Φιλομήλῳ τῷ Παιανιεῖ, ὃν οἱ πολλοὶ βελτίονα ἡγοῦνται εἶναι ἢ πλουσιώτερον* etc. This I interpret *βελτίονα <γεγονέναι μᾶλλον> ἢ πλουσιώτερον* 'he was thought to belong to a higher class rather than to be richer <than the other suitors>.' At Livy 22, 38, in contrast with Varro's inflammatory harangues, it is stated: *conlegae eius Pauli una...contio fuit, verior quam gratior populo,* and this I interpret *verior <contionibus Varronis potius> quam gratior populo.* From such brachylogies as these, with contemporaneous working perhaps of the principle of balance recognized by Ziemer, *ἤ* with two comparatives became a mere formula; synonymic correction is suggested by such examples as *συντομώτερον ἢ σαφέστερον* (Isoc.), 'concise' being substituted for 'clear': *callidior quam cautior,* 'more cunning <one would say rather than> more cautious.'

The reviewer has not found himself able to agree with the contention of the author that comparison is adversation, a point that has affected all the details of the argument. There yet remain to be published two parts of the treatise dealing with the statistical history of the true compv. in Greek, and from this statistic we shall doubtless gain further insight into an important aspect of Greek lexicography.

The result of the present volume lends itself to a stronger statement of grammatical formulae than Kaegi's, for example § 160, thus: (A) *ἤ* (*quam*) c. nom. and acc. is a substitute for a *casus separationis* (gen., abl.) after a compv., (B) but uninflectible phrases require *ἤ* (*quam*) at all periods.

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FICK ON GREEK PROPER NAMES.

Die Griechischen Personennamen nach ihrer Bildung erklärt und systematisch geordnet von AUGUST FICK. Zweite Auflage bearbeitet von FRITZ BECHTEL und AUGUST FICK. Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht: Göttingen. 1894. Pp. xviii. 474. M. 12.

IN the year 1874 Fick published in his *Griechische Personennamen* one of the most original and at the same time convincing of his many brilliant contributions to Ancient Philology. Inquiry into the history of proper names had hitherto been almost confined to the range of the Teutonic languages. Jacob Grimm had published discussions both in his *Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache* and in separate papers: Pott in his *Personennamen insbesondere die Familiennamen* 1853 had collected and classified an enormous number of chiefly Teutonic names: in the monumental work of Förstemann the labours of a whole period were completed and systematized. In English we have a few treatises by Kemble, Ferguson, &c., as well as a translation of Salverte's discursive *History of the Names of Men, Nations, and Places.*

Already in 1852 Müllenhoff asserted (see Pott pp. 86 *sqq.*) that in the Teutonic names 'the sense of the shortened forms could be seen only in the compounds,' and the thesis was by implication extended to the Greek. But in point of method Fick's most notable forerunner was Franz Stark, whose *Kosenamen d. Germanen* 1868 exhibits on Teutonic soil almost all the various abbreviations, diminutive formations, &c., which Fick subsequently discovered in Greek names. The main contentions of Fick's work were, first, that with few exceptions all Greek full names were compounded of two stems, of which one at least was habitually employed in names and had acquired the value of a name word (*Namenwort*), and secondly, that all names of apparently one stem were derived from these by a process of mainly hypocoristic shortening. Just as 'Götz' is a *Kosename* for 'Gottfried,' 'Fritz' for 'Friedrich,' so is *Ζεῦξις* (as Sauppe had asserted *ap.* Plat. *Protag.* 318 B, C) for *Ζεύξιππος*: just as 'Madeline' is a diminutive from the first member of 'Mathilda,' so is *Μνησίλα* from *Μνησίθεος*: and just as 'Adalbo' contains a part only of the second component of

'Adalbert,' so Θέογνις and Ἀντίπας are shortened from Θεόγνητος and Ἀντίπατρος. Even a Τεισαμενός implies a Τεισίφονος. The proof of this is contained in five arguments which Fick adduces: but the first is enough, that the most 'Greek short names have corresponding long names by their side.' After a review of the different forms which the abbreviation takes and the various suffixes employed, Fick proceeds to show the same principles at work in Celtic, Teutonic, the Slav languages, Iranian, Indian, and finally to draw up a system of Indo-European names. All this is done with a surprising clearness and geniality.

The rest of the book consists of a classification, containing (1) a list of name-words (with their *Kosenamen*) found only in the first part of compounds, (2) a similar list of second members with their *Kosenamen*, and (3) a 'System' of Greek name-forms. This arrangement, however, involves a good deal of repetition, as many name-words may belong to both (1) and (2), and a large number of pairs such as Θεόδωρος and Δωρόθεος are formed by transposition.

In the second edition, which now lies before us, and for which Fick has availed himself of Bechtel's help, the subject has advanced to a second stage. The first is more of a thesis, the second has passed into a formal exposition of the subject. The comparison with other languages now disappears because 'the proof has been given in the first edition, and, as it has never been seriously contested, its repetition may be dispensed with.' The three subdivisions are now (1) Names of Men, (3) Names of Heroes, (3) Names of Gods, and under each appear (A) discussions concerning the relations of 'long' and 'short' names, (B) combined lists of both, and (C) cases of names derived from other names such as those of dates, animals, and plants. In fulness of citation and reference the present edition occupies a different plane from its predecessor. The authors claim that every fresh name, as well as such as have hitherto been insufficiently attested, has been provided with a reference. Indeed every page bears testimony to careful and critical work. What degree of completeness has been reached only the habitual use of the book can show: a comparison with a long list of names in an inscription from Pharsalus (Cauer no. 395) suggests that something is still wanting. Referring to the index to Grote's *History* we note the absence of Ἀγύῤῥιος, Βίας, Δαφναῖος, Πίττακος, Λυκάμβης, Χαβρίας, Χαρίδημος, Χείλων, as also of certain derivatives in -ίδης from simple forms which appear, *e.g.* Ἀγησανδρίδας, Ἐπιμενίδης, Ἐρασινίδης, Κρατησιππίδης, Μενεκλείδας. Curiously enough, Miltiades fails us, and Kimon suffers a second banishment.

The authors themselves are under no delusion that their work represents a final stage in the treatment of the subject. A real name-book, observes Bechtel, would begin where we conclude. It should in the first place present the gradual growth and decay of names and name-words from the earliest times to the latest. It should show how appellatives gradually acquired and lost the value of name-words. It should assign to different dialects their peculiar or favourite designations, and explain the reasons for the choice. Above all, it should make clear the special force and appropriateness of each name. On all these topics the reader will find observations of value in every part of the book. But a mere glance through a few pages will show what a vast work remains to be done. To take only the last question: in the long list of compounds of ἵππος there are many which seem absolutely unintelligible. We may make a shift to understand Γόργιππος, Ἱπποτίμα, Σώσιππος, Δώριππος, and the like: but what are we to make of Εἰρήνιππος, Κύδιππος, Κόσμιππος, Μείξιππος, Παίδιππος, Πράξιππος? Are these merely due to the obviously aristocratic sound of these compounds of ἵππος, or are they the result of combinations such as that whereby Aristophanes reached his Φειδιππίδης? (Cf. Bechtel, Preface, pp. viii.—ix.) Certain Homeric citations by Bechtel seem also to suggest that Martial was ridiculing a real fashion when he proposed to name his cook 'Taratalla' (τ' ἄρα τἄλλα).

Many curious or important questions suggest themselves even in a rapid perusal. How many famous Hellenes are known to us by the names which they received at birth? The cases of Stesichorus, Plato (hypocoristic for Πλατυκέφαλος, if the tradition is any more than an explanation), and Chrysostom suggest themselves at once. Solon, Thales, Kleon, Kratinus, Lysias, and numerous others are *Kosenamen:* did their owners hear the full names except hypothetically, or when did the short names begin to supplant the long? Was Aeschylus ('Turpilius') perhaps Κάλλαισχρος? Whence did Πεισίστρατος Ἱππίου υἱός and father of Hippias and Hipparchus acquire his too appropriate name? Was he possibly Πείσιππος? The combination of Ἵππαρχος and Ἱππίας as names of brothers represents a

type, and if the *Kosename* was commonly given to the younger brother we have an explanation or an argument in support of the prevalent Athenian view that Hipparchus was the elder. In any case it is clear that birth names were far less permanent than among the moderns, or the Romans, who early abandoned the fanciful primitive method for a rigid system.

In the sphere of linguistics the formation of hypocoristic names gives rise to questions of great interest. Fick has already in his 'Namenartige Bildungen d. Griech. Sprache' (*Curt. Stud.* ix. 167–198) collected a large number of such formations outside mere nomenclature, especially in the names of animals. To this type belong γλαῦξ, κερατίας, κάνθων from γλαυκῶπις, κερασφόρος, κανθήλιος. The process is familiar to us in such phrases as 'the blue (sky),' 'the briny (ocean),' where the short forms are really posterior to the longer ones in time and derived from them. This seems to throw light on questions of suffix-formation which have latterly come once more to the front. The termination -φος, as found in names of animals, may really be hypocoristic for -φορος. Thus κόρυφος may be from *κορυφόρος 'crest-bearer' (κορυφή also being originally hypocoristic): κίραφος 'fox' (cf. σκίραφος 'trickery' Hipponax, 'dice-box' *E.M.*) is obviously connected with σκίουρος (metamorphosed from *σκίρολος) and our 'squirrel,' cf. Schrader, 'Bezzenberger's *Beiträge* xv. 127–139: perhaps also the Sanskrit *çṛgāla* 'jackal' is only a distorted **çeirāla*. Were this so, the word might mean 'tail-bearer' and Laconian κίρα 'fox' will correspond to such an expression as 'a brush.' Again, Johannes Schmidt has suggested in his *Pluralbildung* that ἕκαστος and πόστος contain the root of ἵστημι. There can be no objection to extending the explanation to ἑκατοστός &c. and to ἀγχιστεύς and ἀγχιστῖνος. If so, why not also to ἄγχιστος and superlatives in -στος in general? Comparative philologists are familiar with facts in harmony with such a hypothesis: such are the isolated superlatives in Greek and Sanskrit such as ἐλέγχιστος *varṣiṣṭha* and the like, apparently from noun stems. If then the superlative is really a locative compounded with the stem of 'stand,' we must transpose the common explanation, and regard the comparatives in *-is -ies -ien* as really hypocoristic forms of the superlative. This will find support in the so-called patronymics in -ίων, such as Κρονίων, in animal names such as αἰθαλίων, ἀκανθίων, &c., and especially in the common hypocoristic[1] employment of the comparative in the ancient tongues.

Beside mere shortening, which may itself have had its origin in some accidental analogy, we must plainly recognize in some of the *Koseformen* the application of a suffix in itself hypocoristic. The cause of these combinations of form and meaning might profitably be made the subject of special inquiry: in which connexion the theory of 'attracted' ('*angeschlossen*,' '*angelehnt*') common nouns deserves an ampler consideration than it receives, pp. 31–2 and elsewhere.

These suggestions have been briefly mentioned as arising naturally in reading the work of a scholar whose writings, as has been said before in this *Review*, are eminently inspiring and genial. The book should be in every scholar's hands. Names present themselves in every branch of study, and often tell us things which we should not otherwise have known. A use has been found for that large part of the matter of our inscriptions which hitherto seemed useless lumber. The chapters on the names of gods and heroes may be recommended to mythologists. The former however professes to be no more than a preliminary sketch: in the domain of the latter we may note that such variations as Ἰφιάνασσα and Ἰφιγένεια, Ἐπικάστη and Ἰοκάστη may really have arisen from the use of a common *Kosename*, cf. Ἶφις, p. 391, and Κάστωρ. Comparative philologists will naturally regard such a book as addressed to themselves, and, apart from general questions of suffix formation and usage, will find many interesting, if not always convincing, suggestions in detail, *e.g.* under εὐρυ- p. 121, ϝαρνο- 125, ϝασ- 125, -ϝασκης 126, ϝιο- 129 and 452, -ϝιοτος 129, -ηριτος 138, θαϝησ- 139, -καρος 159, ὀρτι- 226, -περχων 234, πορθεσι- 240, -πρωτος 244, χανυ- 287, -αδνη 378, -αιμων 378, -γυης 385 and 450, -ϝηρης 391, -μαρης 398, -ποιτης 406, Ἀχιλλεύς 425, Κένταυρος 428, Πηλεύς 431, Παλλάς 437, -αων 449, -νοη 459, ὑμε- 463.

Of controverted matter there is scarcely anything to note in a subject which is almost exclusively the property of the authors. They are plainly right in retaining the term *Kosename* in preference to Curtius' suggested *Kurzname* (*Curt. Stud.* ix. 112), since they are dealing not merely with an abbreviation, but with one due to a special attitude of mind.

In Fick's hope that he may be able to

[1] If we may so describe the use of the comparative to denote 'somewhat' or 'rather.'

treat of Greek names in a third edition we heartily concur. Perhaps he will then find it possible to add a discussion of place names, a subject at present obscure, but from which we may expect to obtain light on several matters. Both the gender and the meaning of the name 'Rhodes' are made clear by the remark that Ῥόδος is shortened from Ῥοδόνησος.

F. W. THOMAS.

GLEUE ON TRIAL FOR MURDER BEFORE THE AREOPAGUS.

De Homicidarum in Areopago Atheniensi Judicio. Scripsit HERMANN GLEUE, Dr. Phil. Göttingen, Dieterich. 1 Mk. 1894. Pp. 52.

SINCE the publication of the Aristotelian Ἀθ. πολ. the reconstruction of the early Athenian constitution goes briskly along. The present dissertation, apparently a doctoral thesis though this is not expressly stated, is devoted to the criticism of some points which have lately come to the front. The principal works brought under notice are Beloch's *Griechische Geschichte*, E. Meyer's *Gesch. des Altertums*, vol. ii., v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff's *Aristoteles und Athen*, and the first volume of Gilbert's *Handbuch*[2]; all published in 1893, and the last noticed in *Class. Rev.* vii. 424. The writer agrees generally with v. Wilamowitz (he drops the Möllendorff), but on occasion differs boldly from that distinguished scholar.

The first point noticed is Gilbert's contention that the φονικαὶ δίκαι were taken from the Areopagus by Draco, and restored by Solon. The question is not a very important one, as no one now doubts that the Areopagus, the only βουλὴ in primitive times, judged those cases before Draco and after Solon, and the interval was only about thirty years; but Dr. Gleue gives good reasons for thinking that Gilbert is mistaken, and that the jurisdiction of the Areopagus was never interrupted (Dem. *c. Aristocr.* p. 641—2, § 66). He further agrees with Mr. Ridgeway (in *Dict. Ant.* s.v. *Phylobasileis*) that wherever οἱ βασιλεῖς are mentioned in this connexion (as *e.g.* Plut. *Sol.* 19) the φυλοβασιλεῖς are intended: the king-archon is always ὁ βασιλεὺς in the singular. The Ephetae, in accordance with the general opinion, tried in the Palladium, Delphinium and Phreatto the curious cases assigned to these courts; the Phylobasileis in the Prytaneum inquired into murders of which the perpetrators were not discovered. But he needlessly finds fault with Pollux for attributing these Prytaneum cases to the Ephetae also; he does not see, as Mr. Ridgeway does, that in this court the Phylobasileis presided (had the ἡγεμονία δικαστηρίου), the Ephetae formed the jury. Whether the Phylobasileis were raised to ten by Cleisthenes or, as I rather think, remained always at four, they were much too few for an Attic jury. Even the fifty-one Ephetae would be an exceptionally small number for this purpose, according to Athenian notions. In his second chapter Dr. Gleue argues that the four minor courts, though earlier than Draco, arose much later than the Areopagus, and already show a tendency to curtail its powers. It is generally held that the very quaintness of these courts, and their sacred character, is evidence of their primitive antiquity. He next discusses the words in Dem. *c. Aristocr.* p. 628 § 24, τὴν βουλὴν [τὴν ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ] δικάζειν φόνου καὶ τραύματος ἐκ προνοίας καὶ πυρκαϊᾶς καὶ φαρμάκων, ἐάν τις ἀποκτείνῃ δούς. Here τραῦμα ἐκ προνοίας answers exactly to the English 'assault with intent,' but the sentence may be completed either with 'intent to murder' or 'to do some grievous bodily harm.' The prevailing opinion is that the intent to kill was of the essence of this indictment; Dr. Gleue argues with much probability in favour of a wider interpretation. He is less successful, I think, in contending that φαρμάκων = φίλτρων, not poisons in general. About πυρκαϊά, the action for arson, he finds a difficulty in deciding. He very justly remarks that a man who burnt a pile of cut wood in order to injure his neighbour would not be prosecuted before the Areopagus; but he adds 'quaestionem denique de actione πυρκαϊᾶς ad certum finem deducere desperavi.' The *Att. Process* also (p. 357 Lips.) leaves πυρκαϊὰ undefined. We know, however, that the Areopagus and its affiliated courts did not deal with destruction of property as such; and we may safely infer that the word here applies to acts which violated, or at least endangered, the sanctity of human life; that is, to the arson of dwelling-houses only. The con-

cluding chapter deals with the βουλεύσεως γραφή, usually explained as for conspiracy or instigation of a crime. Our author puts it more generally, of any one who is 'responsible' for a death, even by misadventure. Thus there can be βούλευσις without πρόνοια or intent, as in the speech of Antiphon *de Choreuta* (§§ 16, 19; cf. Jebb, *Att. Or.* i. 62, *Dict. Antiq.* s.v. *Bouleuseos Graphê*). Dr. Gleue here somewhat oddly applies the word *choreutes* to the *choregus* who is on his trial, not to the boy who has been poisoned by misadventure: other curious words in his Latinity are *argutus* as a passive participle = *reus*, and *auctrix*.

I note, finally, that an inscription of the archonship of Diocles, B.C. 409—8, mentions the φονικοὶ νόμοι as inscribed upon the ΠΡΟΤΟΣ ΑΧΣΟΝ, *i.e.* πρῶτος ἄξων. This supports Cobet's conjecture ἐν τῷ ἁ ἄξονι for ἐν τῷ ἄξονι, Lex *ap.* Dem. *c. Aristocr.* p. 629 § 28: cf. *Dict. Antiq.* s.v. *Axones*.

W. WAYTE.

WINDELBAND'S *ANCIENT PHILOSOPHY*.

WINDELBAND'S *Geschichte der alten Philosophie* (*Handbuch der klassischen Altertums-Wissenschaft* vol. v. part 1) has now appeared in a second edition, and this alone shows that it supplied a real want. In one respect the first edition made a very great advance upon the traditional treatment of the subject. The arrangement and ordering of the subject-matter was highly original, and made it far more easy than it had ever been before for the student to grasp the historical development of Greek thought, and the relation of the leading systems to one another. It is just this which makes the book so useful as an introduction to the subject, and there is probably no other from which so clear an idea of Greek philosophy as a continuous growth can be derived. Professor Windelband has himself indicated in his preface the chief points upon which he has taken his own way—

—'die Scheidung des Pythagoras von den Pythagoreern und die Einstellung der letzteren unter die Vermittlungsversuche zwischen Heraklit und Parmenides, die Trennung der beiden Phasen des Atomismus durch die Protagoreische Sophistik, die Nebeneinanderstellung von Demokrit und Platon, die Auffassung der hellenistisch-römischen Philosophie als einer fortschreitenden, erst ethischen und dann religiösen Auswertung der Wissenschaft, der sich auch die Patristik organisch eingliedert'—

These were the chief points in the arrangement of the first edition and they are all retained and emphasized in the second. For myself, I prefer to regard the Pythagoreans, Empedokles, and Anaxagoras as 'Vermittlungsversuche' between Parmenides and the ordinary unscientific consciousness; but, with this reservation, it must be admitted that the work would be of the greatest value even if it gave us nothing new but this thread of connexion. It seeks everywhere to find the *vera causa* of philosophical development, and shows no trace of the tendency to arbitrary construction so common in books of this class.

When we come to details, there is, of course, much that is open to criticism. Professor Windelband fully admits the naive corporealism of the earliest Greek philosophy, but he certainly makes some statements which cannot be reconciled with this admission. There is still a slight tendency to credit the pioneers of science with highly abstract conceptions of which it is quite certain that they never dreamt. For instance, the thoroughly Aristotelian term ἀρχή is still ascribed to the early philosophers, though I think I have shown in my *Early Greek Philosophy* (pp. 10 *sqq.*) that Aristotle himself never meant to say that they used the term at all. It is hard, too, to see what is meant by the description of Anaximander on p. 27 as 'the first metaphysician.' If by 'metaphysician' we mean an inquirer into *reality*, Thales was one just as much and just as little as his successor. If we mean one who finds reality in the supra-sensible, Prof. Windelband tells us himself on p. 28 that 'it is certain Anaximander always thought of τὸ ἄπειρον as a body.' Nor should he have quoted Parmenides v. 149—

τὸ γὰρ πλέον ἐστὶ νόημα—

to prove that for the Eleatic philosopher body and spirit coincided. The meaning of these words is simply, as Theophrastos puts it (*De Sensibus* § 3), ὅτι δυοῖν ὄντοιν στοιχείοιν

κατὰ τὸ ὑπερβάλλον ἐστὶν ἡ γνῶσις (cf. *Early Greek Philosophy*, p. 188, n. 18).

On the whole, however, a just view of these things is taken, and on p. 117 we find this very true remark—

'Immaterialism is Plato's distinctive new creation. Wherever in earlier systems—Anaxagoras not excluded—there is anything said of the spiritual as a principle by itself, it yet appears always as a particular kind of corporeal reality. It is Plato that first discovers the purely spiritual world.'

It would be easy to accumulate criticism of details, but it is more important to emphasize the merit of the book. It is far the best introduction I know to Greek philosophy; those who wish for more than the outlines will still have to go to Zeller and Diels—δεῖ γὰρ ἴσως ὑποτυπῶσαι πρῶτον, εἶθ' ὕστερον ἀναγράψαι.

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PLATT'S EDITION OF THE *ILIAD*.

The Iliad of Homer, edited by ARTHUR PLATT, M.A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, Professor of Greek in University College, London. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1894. 4*s*. 6*d*.

MR. PLATT has followed up his edition of the *Odyssey* (noticed in this *Review* in October 1892) by an edition of the *Iliad*, in which the recension of the text is carried out on the same lines. The chief differences are (1) the substitution of η for ει in such verb forms as θείω, etc., and (2) the expulsion of ἦν and ἐπήν, though the particle ἄν is (rightly) retained. As the plan of the work does not admit of any discussion, or even of an introductory statement, of the principles on which the new text is constructed, there is no occasion now to do more than refer briefly to the opinions expressed in this journal two years ago.

The restoration of the original text of Homer is really the restoration of an earlier stage of the Greek language, and is to be accomplished, if at all, partly by inference from the language and metre of the poems, partly by the light which has been thrown upon the history of Greek by comparative grammar. It is in the latter branch of the inquiry that Mr. Platt appears to be less entirely at home than he is in Homeric scholarship proper. Several instances pointing in this direction were quoted in the former article. One of these may be repeated now as an illustration of the difference between the older or philological and the later linguistic point of view. In the declension of nouns in -ις, such as πόλις, ὄψις, Mr. Platt rejects the contracted dative forms πόλει, ὄψει, and substitutes, where possible, the 'resolved' πόλιι, ὄψιι. What is the evidence for these forms? Grammarians find Ionic and Aeolic datives πόλῑ, ὄψῑ, etc., and infer that they are contracted from the seemingly regular πόλιι, ὄψιι. But in the opinion of Brugmann (*Grundriss* ii. § 266, p. 620, and § 278, p. 631) the -ῑ of πόλῑ, ὄψῑ is not formed by contraction from -ιι, and in any case is older than any period of Greek. It is Indo-Germanic, and belongs to the original instrumental case. On the other hand, the 'resolved' forms πόλεϊ, etc., represent an Indo-Germanic locative form. Thus we have evidence for πόλεϊ etc. and for πόλῑ etc., but πόλιι is a mere hypothetical construction, which we have no sufficient reason for introducing into Greek of any period.

Again, a form may be undoubtedly Homeric, but may belong to the archaic element in Homer, *i.e.* to that part of his vocabulary which was due to poetical tradition. A good instance of such a form is the genitive in -οο. But if an archaic form, which is preserved in certain phrases or combinations only, is introduced whenever the metre admits it, we run a great risk of falsifying the language—of making it older than Homer.

Turning to individual passages, we find few alterations to which any serious objection can be taken. In 1, 291 Bekker's προθέωσιν introduces a form of this subjunctive (with ε for η) which is not Homeric: for *Od.* 24, 485 θέωμεν is hardly to be counted. In 2, 291, where ἀνιηθέντ' ἀνέχεσθαι is read instead of ἀνιηθέντα νέεσθαι, Mr. Platt adds: 'displicet tamen aoristum.' The objection is surely fatal, especially when it would have been so easy to say ἀνιάζοντ' ἀνέχεσθαι. In 6, 149 Mr. Platt gives φύεθ' in the preface, but leaves φύει in the text. A similar discrepancy occurs in 10, 362. In

7, 451 ὅσην seems to be a misprint for ὅσον. In 9, 133 the reading ϝῆς is hardly to be reconciled with the reflexive sense of ϝός. In 9, 230 σαωθέμεν' is a form hard to account for. Is it a passive aorist? In 10, 246 the usual reading γ' ἑσπομένοιο might be given in a note. In 11, 156 πάντῃ must be a misprint, as Mr. Platt elsewhere writes πάντη. In 11, 348 στέομεν for στέωμεν is doubtful: how do we arrive at the Attic στῶμεν? In 11, 417 the MS. reading is not ἀμφὶ δέ τ', as given in the note, but ἀμφί τε or ἀμφί τ'. In 11, 831 to whom should δεδαέσθαι be attributed? In 16, 150 ἄρπυια is altered to ἀρέπυια: but the alteration is not noticed in the preface. Similarly in 23, 327 ὄργυια is turned into ὀρόγυια. In 19, 208 τισαίμεθα is surely required by the governing optative.

Mr. Platt has done a considerable service to scholars by ascertaining as far as possible to whom the various alterations are due. We now know for the first time how much was done by Bentley: and it is interesting to see how little advance was made upon his work except by making use of the light afforded by the comparative method.

D. B. Monro.

BLASS ON DEMOSTHENES.

Die Attische Beredsamkeit, III i, *Demosthenes*, dargestellt von Friedrich Blass. Pp. 644. Leipzig: Teubner. 1893. 16 M.

When the publication of the volume on Demosthenes in the *Attische Beredsamkeit* of Professor Blass was first announced in 1877, those who were familiar with the masterly work of Arnold Schaefer on the same subject may well have wondered what more was left to be said on a theme which had apparently been already exhausted. When the volume was actually published, they were interested to find that it was dedicated to Arnold Schaefer himself, and they soon discovered that there was ample room for the literary treatment of the great orator's speeches side by side with the historical treatment which they had already received from the author of *Demosthenes und seine Zeit*. English readers were further gratified to observe that Professor Blass, in the absence of any personal experience of public life, had supplemented his own criticisms by giving special prominence to those of Lord Brougham.

The value of the work as a whole has been widely recognized, and now, after an interval of sixteen years, we have to congratulate the author on the publication of a new and enlarged edition. The enlargement extends to no less than eighty additional pages, and the thorough revision which the work has received proves that the author is still true to the motto quoted in the preface to his edition of the Speech on *The Crown*:—'dies diem docet.' Besides many minor additions we now have a fuller treatment of the orator's public life, and a revised and expanded exposition of the author's views on the rhythm of Demosthenes. He dwells more fully on the law of composition discovered by himself, in obedience to which the orator avoids the 'ignoble tribrach'; he also discusses at greater length the rhythmical correspondences between the several clauses of the orator's sentences. The views of Professor Blass on these points are familiar to scholars and there is less need to dwell upon them here as they have been discussed in the *Classical Review* in the course of an admirable article by Professor Butcher (v. 309–315). The general result is that we have now fresh reason for regarding the prose of Demosthenes as something intermediate between *oratio soluta* and the strictly metrical compositions of poets.

The only misprints which I have observed are on p. 126 ὦ θεία κεραλῇ for κεφαλῇ, and on p. 210 (in an English quotation) *seam* for *seem*.

Whatever differences of opinion may prevail as to the value of the author's criticisms on the *minutiae* of rhythmical composition, there can be no doubt of the great value of the work as a whole. It is a work that is absolutely indispensable to every serious student of Demosthenes.

J. E. Sandys.

SCHMIDT'S *BRIEFWECHSEL DES CICERO.* SECOND NOTICE.

As we gave our readers in the October number of the *Classical Review* some estimate of the work of Dr. O. E. Schmidt on the correspondence of Cicero, we desire to supplement our former notice by a selection from the readings which he has introduced into the 13th and 14th books of the *Letters to Atticus*, the text of which he has reprinted in full. We number the letters according to Baiter's edition.

XII.

6.2.—For *πάντα φιλόδημον* he suggests *πάντα φιλοδαίμονα.*

9.—For *villa* he reads with M *ulla*, and with the same MS. in 10 *testamento* for the generally accepted *Tisameno*, for which Bos. claims the authority of Z. A leading principle of Schmidt's text is the adherence to M whenever it can be defended, and the rejection in nearly every case of readings, however attractive, which rest on the authority of the Bosian *codices.*

46.—*tantummodo occultius* for *tantummodo octius* M.

49.2.—*ad Ciceronem* M for *ad Caesarem* vulg.

XIII.

1.2.—*efficis* M, *quod si efficis* C, *sicunde* Schm.

2.1.—*et tamen Pisonem* M, *examina Pisonem* Schm.

4.1.—*et quidem puto* M, *de Tuditano idem* Schm.

17.1.—*aliquid non imperassem igitur aliquid tuis* M, *aliquid novi; imperasses vellem igitur aliquid tuis* Schm.

20*a*.4.—*in toto* M, *in Bruto* Schm.

23.3.—*quam habere qui utar* M, *quam habere quin utar* (which he does not explain) or *quam non habere qui utar* Schm. The latter emendation gives an excellent sense. The usual insertion of *laetor* or *gaudeo* is quite inconsistent with the tone of the letter. Cicero does not smugly congratulate himself that he is comfortably off, but rather confesses his pecuniary embarrassment and professes his comparative indifference thereto. Schm. however prints in his text the unexplained *quam habere quin utar.*

33.3.—*exspecto negotium* M, *de Spurio si cui negotium* Schm.

Ib.—*vide etiam* M, *videlicet* Schm.

34.1—*viii K iul.* M, *viii K vesperi* (written *ues.*) Schm. So in 41 *fin.* he reads *commeat vesperi* (*ues.*) for *commeat*us of M.

40. 1.—*ut fultum est* M, *ut 'futilum est* Schm., a supposed quotation from Ennius *frag.* 374:

saeviter suspicionem ferre falsam futilumst.

Ib. 3.—*ad saxa acrimonia* M, *ad Saxa Acronoma* Bos. vulg., *ad Saxa summa acrimonia* Schm.

42 *fin.*—*eatur:* ΜΙΑϹΚΟΡΔΟΥ M; *eatur:* *μίασμα Κόδρου* Schm.

46.3.—*cretionem testibus praesentibus* M is well defended by Schm. against the Bosian *liberam cretionem testibus praesentibus.* On the other hand when he assigns to the interpolator certain words in the beginning of *Att.* xiii. 47 which are found in Zl but omitted in M, he seems to overlook the fact that the two passages stand on an entirely different footing. The words in 47 are testified to by Lambinus not by Bosius, and the scraps of verse, the *disiecti membra poetae*, are far too characteristic of Latin comedy to be the work of a fifteenth century interpolator. Moreover Schmidt's conjecture, *pepigit Oppius* for *tetigit omisi* of M, is a violent correction and gives a poor sense.

49.2.—*libenter odisse* M, *libere odisse* Schm.

51.1.—*ne ridicule micillus* M, *ne ridicule micidus* Schm.

We have no intention of discussing all the above suggestions, but we may briefly estimate a few of them. The following among his conjectures seem to deserve careful consideration, if not acceptance: 23.3 commented on above, 33.3 *videlicet*, 34.1 and 41 *fin.*, 40.1 where *futilum* should probably take the place of *fultum*, though we do not go further with Schm. in his view of the meaning of the passage. The best are those on 40.3 *ad Saxa summa acrimonia*, on 49.2 *libere* for *libenter*, and on 46.3 where he gives good reason for believing that *cretio testibus praesentibus* was the technical name for a certain method of formal acceptance of an inheritance which permitted the employment of a proxy and did not demand the personal attendance of the legatee. He further holds that there was no such expression as *cretio libera*, which is not found in the Roman jurists or glossaries.

Perhaps his worst conjectures are those on 51.1 and 42 *fin.* In the former he introduces a very unlikely word in *micidus*, for which he quotes '*micidiores* hoc est *minores*' (sc. *termini*) from Gromat. vet.

321.24. We believe that we have here one of Cicero's ἅπαξ εἰρημένα diminutives which are so frequent in the letters, and that the passage should run *fui nec ridicule* amicillus *nec mehercule scripsi ac si* πρὸς ἴσον ὅμοιόνque *scriberem*, 'I was not [in my letter to Caesar] *the humble friend* to an absurd degree, nor yet was I *hail, fellow, well met* with him.' *Amicillus* would come regularly from *amicus* as *tantillus* from *tantus, haedillus* from *haedus, auricilla* from *auricula;* and the word as a ἅπ. εἰρ. would be very likely to suffer corruption.

As to μίασμα Κόδρον, we have given our own view of the words hidden under ΜΙΑϹΚΟΡΔΟΥ in the *Classical Review*, vol. iv. p. 451 (Dec. 1890). Of the conjecture of Schm. we would say a few words. It is not true, as Schm. assumes, that μιας was either an alternative form or a *Nebenform* for μίασμα. It is an *error* for μίασμα in the Hesychian *lemma* μίας ἢ μιασμός, which should of course be μίασμα ἢ μιασμός (μιασ-μα or -μος). Moreover, when Schm. explains μίασ(μα) Κόδρου to mean 'ein Kodrusmord,' we should like to ask (1) why Caesar should be called Codrus, (2) why μίας should be written for μίασμα, and (3) how 'a pollution of Codrus' could afford the same meaning as these words which he gives as an explanation of the Greek phrase, 'ein Frevel der nicht dem Caesarismus nütz, sondern die republikanische Opposition stärken wird.'

'I meant by *Impenetrability*,' says Humpty Dumpty in *Through the Looking Glass*, 'that we've had enough of this subject, and that it would be just as well if you'd mention what you mean to do next, as I suppose you don't mean to stop here all the rest of your life.'

'That's a great deal to make one word mean,' said Alice in a thoughtful tone.

R. Y. Tyrrell.

FREESE'S *PRO MURENA*.

M. Tullii Ciceronis pro L. Murena oratio ad iudices. Edited with introduction and notes by J. H. Freese, M.A. London, Macmillan & Co.: 1894. fp. 8vo. Price 2*s.* 6*d.*

When an edition so admirable as that of Mr. Heitland is already in possession of the field, a new edition of the same speech has to justify its existence by some distinctive characteristics. Mr. Freese says that his is intended for a less advanced class of readers. His commentary appears to differ from Mr. Heitland's mainly in keeping the critical notes separate from the rest, in giving translations somewhat more freely, and in furnishing the substance of grammatical rules as well as references for them. On all these points Mr. Freese has undoubtedly taken thought for the wishes, and perhaps also for the interests, of young students. He says that he has abstained from consulting Mr. Heitland's notes, setting thereby an excellent example. There have been too many instances recently of rival editors, who have used very freely editions which their own are intended to displace, and have satisfied such consciences as they may have with a bare acknowledgment that they have done so. Mr. Freese has chosen the better way; and if there is a good deal of common matter, this is obviously due to the use which each editor has made of the admirable edition of Halm (now reedited by Laubmann). Mr. Freese's introduction is clear and sufficiently complete. It is astonishing that so good a scholar should have allowed the slip *Decius* Junius Silanus to have passed uncorrected. The phrase 'Catiline and Antony' on p. xiv. will inevitably confuse the easily confounded schoolboy, especially as there has been no previous reference to C. Antonius. If he has read of a Basilica, he will be astonished to find the statement that the Roman courts were always held in the open air: and he will find some difficulty in reconciling the phrase 'loose gown' with his conception of a tunic: he may even be led to think that the senators wore their broad stripes on their togas. The source of the wealth of Crassus in speculative purchases is referred to misleadingly; and the probability of his complicity in the so-called first Catilinarian conspiracy is much too summarily disposed of. But on the whole the introduction is well suited to its purpose. The notes are clear and to the point, and on doubtful questions the view taken is always sensible and capable of defence. If any teachers have found that Mr. Heitland's commentary is rather above the class of students with whom they may wish to read this speech, Mr. Freese's edition may be used by them with some confidence.

A. S. W.

BOTSFORD ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ATHENIAN CONSTITUTION.

The Development of the Athenian Constitution. By GEORGE WILLIS BOTSFORD, Ph. D., Professor of Greek in Bethany College. (*Cornell Studies in Classical Philology*, No. IV.) Boston, U.S.A. Ginn and Co. 1893. 8vo. pp. 249. 6*s.* 6*d.*

To set forth the development of the Athenian constitution from proëthnic times to the beginning of the Peloponnesian war is a large task. To attempt such a task, however, within the space of 233 octavo pages is to mark out distinct limitations for one's treatment of the subject. These limitations, while they increase the difficulties on the one side, eliminate certain difficulties on the other, and on the whole greatly simplify the matter. There is no room within such limits for profound investigation of problems of detail, and we have no right to demand of the author more than a clear outline, resting upon personal examination of the chief sources and the most important modern literature. This there was room for in English, and this Dr. Botsford has given us.

The subject divides itself into two parts, belonging respectively to the prehistoric period and to the historic period, which are distinct, although the line of demarcation cannot be sharply drawn. These periods are very unequal in duration, and still more unequal, but in reversed relation, in regard to the amount of knowledge attainable; and they are unlike in regard to the methods of investigation applicable to them. Of the centuries from Kodros to Solon we know little enough; how much more scanty our knowledge of the millenniums between the age of Aryan unity and the age of Kodros, whatever the latter date was! Dr. Botsford's first two chapters, on the Patriarchal Theory and the Aryan Gens, cover sixty-seven pages; the four following chapters, on the Grecian Gens, the Phratry and Phyle, the Four Ionic Phylae, and the Basileia, bring us to page 128. For all this period it is clear that our information is gained mainly by inference from early Indo-European language, from the comparative study of communities that have preserved to a later date their more primitive civilization, and from later Athenian institutions; the Homeric poems throw some light on the latter part of the period. The structure built upon these inferences, however symmetrical and attractive it may appear, cannot be very substantial. It is liable at any moment to meet with a serious disturbance. For example, a more accurate knowledge of land tenures in India than was accessible to Sir Henry Maine has removed an important support for the belief in an Aryan village community of joint owners.[1]

From chapter vii. on the Oligarchy before Draco, Dr. Botsford gives a clear and concise narrative, containing little that is new, yet exhibiting independence of judgment and a good acquaintance with the literature. Throughout the work such full references are given as to make it an excellent introduction to the entire subject. There is nothing else in English that can compare with this monograph in that regard, and it may be cordially recommended to all who would find the more extended works in German difficult to use.

Nevertheless the author occasionally makes a statement that raises a query in the mind of the reader. On page 74 it is said, 'So in the Olympian council [in Homer] the goddesses Athena, Here, &c., mutually control affairs; while Zeus is little more than a figure head.' That is surely hyperbole. And on the same page is the authority of Varro, as quoted in August. *de Civ. Dei*, sufficient to give any weight whatever to the strange statement that 'women in Athens possessed the right of suffrage before Cecrops and ruled the state, being in the majority'? True, Dr. Botsford does not accept this literally; but is there anything whatever in it on which we can base an account about the condition of women in Attica? On page 90 we find, 'It has already been stated that the *phyle* is older than the Aryan household as we find it at the dawn of history.' Apparently this refers back to the remark on page 4, 'It is natural to assume an epoch in history marked by a tendency to separate into families, even though men were formerly grouped in tribes.' But on page 92 we find, 'The religious and political constitution of the tribe was patterned after that of the family.' Here is certainly confusion, either of thought or of expression. On page 202 is an instance of a common error, in the remark that 'the work of the *Ecclesia* was mainly legislative.' The

[1] Baden-Powell's *Land System of British India*, and *Short Account of the Land Revenue, &c., in British India.*

popular assembly did not legislate, in the proper sense of the term. Again on page 223 it is inaccurate to say that 'once a year the laws were revised in the Ecclesia.' In both these cases the author is well aware of the facts, but careless in statement. One still smaller matter in conclusion. We have no quarrel with those who prefer to Latinize, when writing them in the English alphabet, Greek names that are already well established in our language in that form. Under no system is entire consistency attainable, at least without pedantry. But *k* is a good English letter. We do not hesitate to use it even in some Latin words, like *Mark* and *pork* and *Greek*. It represents perfectly the Greek κ, and on page 94 appear the appropriate forms *kome, komae, tetrakomia, tetrakomos*. Then why carry one's hostility to a useful member of our alphabet so far as to write such strange forms as *cyrbeis, Herceius, Ceryces, Agroeci, docimasy?* Curiously, in note 3 of page 135, the spelling *Kylon* has escaped the anti-*k* crusade, although the text of the same page contains two instances of *Cylon* and three of *Cylonian*. In general however the printing and proof-reading have been done with care. There is a very useful bibliography and a good index.

THOMAS DWIGHT GOODELL.
Yale University.

VON ARNIM'S EDITION OF DIO CHRYSOSTOM.

Dionis Prusaensis quem vocant Chrysostomum quae extant omnia. Edidit, et apparatu critico instruxit J. DE ARNIM. Vol. I. 14 Mk. Berolini. 1893.

THOROUGHLY good critical editions of three Greek writers, Chrysostom, Lucian and Plutarch, are ever more urgently demanded as our knowledge and thirst for more knowledge of the food which nursed Christianity increase. The revival of interest in these writers is less due to their persons (although these are charming in themselves and in their difference) than to the insight we gain from their works into the inner life of that time. They are all three preachers in their way, and the pity of it is that they usually preach at dummies (Dio especially), but they are all three great writers, *i.e.* highly gifted men with hearts which beat, who fear to say nothing that they think; and consequently through the veil of rhetoric they let us a little into the secret of that world.

As far as I can learn, there is little chance of our soon having good critical editions of Plutarch's *Moralia* or of Lucian. Sommerbrodt's edition of Lucian, now in course of publication, is not what we desire, and Bernardakis' promised edition of Plutarch will not be satisfactory, unless he more perfectly devotes his ability and industry to our requirements than he has been able to do in his Teubner text.

The present edition of Dio, while of course it is not foolish enough to aim at finality, has the quality we wish—the quality of thoroughness. The preface, dealing with the MSS., is an admirable model of what such prefaces should be. It is a succinct and clear statement of the final conclusions derived from much intricate thought. I feel at present in perfect agreement with the editor and no just criticisms of his conclusions could be offered until his second volume has appeared. I rather wish he had given us a list of the interpolations of the PHW class of MSS. at least, as the detailed history of interpolation is very important for the textual criticism of these authors. Unless we stand on more or less sure footing here, we are apt to regard the interpolators as *capable of anything* (*e.g.* p. 41, 28 where we should, following cod. P, write τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ τε καὶ ἀρίστῃ καὶ μόνῃ δυνατῇ, writing τῇ for ἡ twice below and probably παραφύονται for ὥσπερ εἴρηται), and to forget that it is our duty to weight the spirit of the scribe against the spirit of the author.

In the reconstruction of the text von Arnim, whose excellent judgment is supported and corrected (sometimes perhaps supplanted) by that of von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff and in a lesser degree by that of Schwartz, has been very wise. In the present notice I will abstain from expressions of admiration and agreement and will simply offer a few criticisms about the use of brackets, confining myself to the four speeches *De Regno* (i.—iv.).

It is disgraceful enough that square brackets mean one thing in reproducing inscribed texts and another thing in reproducing written texts. Let them at least

have *one* meaning in the last case. Let them mean 'These words occur in all the MSS., but are not the author's,' and let the editor use his discretion in inserting brackets in this sense. But in this book there are at least four other senses which these brackets bear.—(1) They indicate that words or sentences are not Dio's because they do not occur in some of the MSS. (2) They indicate that they are variants of Dio's own. Arnim has shown us that the words τὰ περὶ τοῦ Διός in *Or.* iii. p. 42, 16, mean that a certain *locus classicus* about Zeus should here be inserted, and Wilamowitz has pointed out that the same *locus classicus* was to be inserted at the end of *Or.* iv. After reading through the four speeches I feel certain that it was not a scribe weary of iterating this passage about Zeus who wrote τὰ περὶ τοῦ Διός, but that it was Dio himself. These four speeches were, so to speak, found among his papers. He had written four variants of an address to the emperor, and the passage about Zeus was his big plum. It had to be got in to his speech to the emperor, but he could not do it to his own satisfaction and finally utilized it in *Or.* xii. In *Or.* i. it is written out, but this is a matter of chance and should not induce us to think that *Or.* i. was really sent to the emperor. None of these orations were ever sent to the emperor. They are full of variants of Dio's own, and these variants should be put in parallel columns (as has been done in *Or.* xi. p. 120) and not bracketed. A notable instance is ὁρᾷ γὰρ κ.τ.λ. (p. 43, 26) where the original version is ὁρᾷ γὰρ καὶ τὸν ἥλιον κ.τ.λ. (secluded by Emperius), ὁρᾷ γὰρ ὅτι πανταχοῦ down to ἐναντίων (p. 47) being an amplification of this. I select this instance because these words ὁρᾷ γὰρ καὶ τὸν ἥλιον κ.τ.λ., which are just as much Dio's as the others, have not been simply bracketed but relegated to the critical notes. In many other cases variants acknowledged by the editor have been bracketed. (3) Brackets indicate that words are misplaced. (4) They indicate that words are unintelligible to the editor, *e.g.* p. 26, 26 where σπουδάζοντα should not be bracketed, but at most marked as corrupt (if we do not accept Arnim's conjecture κομπάζοντα we must insert τὰ τοιαῦτα after σπουδάζοντα), and p. 72, 21 where we should write μᾶλλον δὲ δεκάκις τῆς ἡμέρας.

This is a criticism of a mere matter of form, but I think it is a necessary one, because the seemingly legitimate ἀθετήσεις here are numerous, and I, at least, would question the justice of some. It is difficult for one to dispute the judgment of editors unless they give one value to one sign. There is no doubt another sense in which brackets may be used, viz. as suggestive of a difficulty of some kind, but no one would dare to use them thus in the text of Pindar, and I fail to see why what holds good for Pindar's text should not hold good for Dio's.

W. R. Paton.

KRÜGER'S *AUGUSTIN DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS.*

Augustin de Catechizandis Rudibus. Herausgegeben von Adolf Wolfhard. Zweite vollständig neubearbeitete Ausgabe von G. Krüger. (Sammlung ausgewählter kirchen- und dogmengeschichtliche Quellenschriften. Viertes Heft. Freiburg, 1893. Pp. vii. 76. Price 1 Mk. 40).

English as well as German students will welcome the very useful series of texts edited by Prof. Gustav Krüger of Giessen. Their purpose is to a certain extent analogous to that of Prof. Gwatkin's recent volume of selections from early Christian writers. The two undertakings might most usefully supplement one another. The scale and price of Dr. Krüger's publications makes them very convenient for the 'seminar' or lecture-room, while their execution is such as to render them useful to advanced students also.

The present edition has a history. The work, when first issued, fell below the high standard contemplated by the general editor of the series, and candid friends were not lacking to point out the fact. Dr. Krüger accordingly, setting thereby an example to all general editors, recalled the whole edition, and recast it himself with scrupulous care. As the result, we have a most convenient text with a full and capital index. The text, with three small variations, and a very few conjectural emendations, follows the Benedictine edition.

I may be permitted to wish the present edition the success which its editor's courageous promptitude deserves, and the whole series a wide circulation.

A. Robertson.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

ALBERT MAYR, *Die antiken Münzen der Inseln Malta, Gozo und Pantelleria.* (Programm des K. Wilhelms-Gymnasiums in München.) München, 1894. Pp. 40. 8vo.

THIS interesting little treatise forms part of a work that the writer has in preparation on the ancient history of Malta, Gozo and Pantelleria. A monograph on the numismatics of these islands has been much needed, and Mayr has well supplied the want. In a photographic plate he has given illustrations of well-preserved coins selected from various European museums—including the British Museum—and has furnished critical lists of the coins, accompanied by a judicious commentary.

It may well be doubted whether the meaning of several of the Phoenician inscriptions has been finally determined, but Mayr's arrangement of the coins is from a numismatist's point of view decidedly satisfactory. Mayr's principal innovation on the received classification is the withdrawal from Gaulos (*Gozo*) of four types with Phoenician inscriptions and the assignment of them to Melita. The result of this rearrangement is that while the series of Melita is strengthened, the issues of Gaulos are reduced to dimensions more suitable to the size of the island. The attribution to Melita of the coin no. 7 (*reverse*, Lyre) appears to me hazardous, seeing that on the only known specimen—that in the British Museum—the inscription is obliterated. Its types, moreover, are not distinctive and the coin seems to be somewhat earlier in style than those specimens with the lyre-type that are undoubtedly of Melita.

The coinage of these islands is entirely in bronze and probably belongs to the second and first centuries B.C.—the period of the Roman Domination. Some of the coins of Melita and Cossura (*Pantelleria*) bear Latin inscriptions, but the coins of Gaulos have the name in Greek. The coins of Melita are partly also inscribed in Greek, but the earliest specimens bear Phoenician characters, a circumstance that points to the presence of a considerable Phoenician population in the island.

The types of the coins—especially in Melita—evidence a strange amalgamation of Egyptian, Phoenician, and Greek religions. On no. 2, *e.g.*, is a representation of Isis and Nephthys protecting Osiris, while on no. 6 the head of Isis is accompanied by a Phoenician symbol (cp. the god Malk-Osir in Melita). Herakles (= Melkart), Hera (= Astarte ?) and Astarte as a Moon-Goddess are among the other divinities represented.

WARWICK WROTH.

MONTHLY RECORD.

GERMANY.

Kreimbach in der Pfalz.—During the spring of this year the west side of the Roman camp was investigated. It has been proved that these late Roman camps were the pattern on which mediaeval fortresses were formed. Among the small objects discovered were remains of pottery, two iron spearheads and other implements, bronze armlets, hairpins, and a hollow bronze sword-handle lined with wood; also thirty bronze coins of Gratian, Magnentius, Constantius II., Tetricus and Postumus, and the upper part of a *cippus* with inscription apparently relating to some public officer, probably one of the *ordo Augustalium*.[1]

RUSSIA.

Kertch.—A gigantic lion's head has been discovered, seven feet high, and of the finest Greek marble. It is in excellent preservation, and is said to date from about 700 B.C.(?). It has been acquired for the Museum at St. Petersburg.[2]

ITALY.

Milan.—Two interesting Latin inscriptions have come to light; one a dedication by C. Valerius Fabricius to himself and various members of his family. The other gives the name of another of the *sexviri iuniores* (see *C.I.L.* v. p. 635); it runs V F | PIONTIVS | CRESCENS VRSINVS | VI·VIR·IVN | SIBI·ET·SVIS | IN·FR.(P·) S | I(N) AG· P·(X).[3]

Campli (*Picenum*).—Forty silver tetradrachms have been discovered, illustrating five different types: (1) Lysimachus of Thrace (about 300 B.C.); (2) Eucratides of Bactria (200—150 B.C.); (3) Demetrius I. (Soter), 162–150 B.C.; (4) the city of Tyre; (5) *cistophorus* of Apamea in Phrygia, inscribed ΑΤΤΑΛΟΥ ΤΙΜΟΥ.[4]

Capodimonte, Tuscany.—Near the Lago di Bolsena a sepulchre of primitive type has been excavated, containing tombs of a curious quasi-spherical shape. They contained numerous vases with geometrical decoration, fibulae and other bronzes, and a fine bronze cyathus with two stiff conventional figures in relief on the handle, one a priestess, the other an Etruscan deity with tutulus.[5]

[1] *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 27 October.
[2] *Athenaeum*, 27 October.
[3] *Notizie dei Lincei*, May 1894.
[4] *Ibid.* June 1894.
[5] *Ibid.* April 1894.

Arezzo.—Numerous fragments of Aretine ware have been discovered; none possess subjects, but nearly all have potters' stamps or the names of owners of furnaces; in all eighty-nine different stamps were found.[5]

Naples.—In making the foundations of the new Bourse, remains of various periods were brought to light, including blocks of white marble which had been used for an edifice of the Roman period. One is inscribed TESTAMENTO, and belongs to a fragment already published (*Notizie*, 1893, p. 522). Architectural fragments of white marble were also found, including a bearded head, and a few fragments of inscriptions. One of the latter consisted of the Greek alphabet followed by ΚΕΛΕΥCΑΝΤΟC-ΘΕΟΥ, apparently the name of a Christian, answering to the Latin *Quodvultdei.* It was apparently a *tabella abecedaria* for school use.[3]

Pesavella Settermini, near Pompeii. A large Roman bath-house has been excavated, containing three chambers with mosaic floors and marble baths of artistic design in good preservation, also a roof sixty feet in length. The large boiler is still in its original position, with a complete system of tubing and bronze taps.[6]

Ruvo.—In the necropolis the following vases have been found: a considerable number of early date, one with figures of sphinxes; three b.f. lekythi with Dionysiac subjects, and one with heroes playing draughts before a statue of Athena; two b.f. kylikes with a bird and a horseman as interior subjects; a b.f. skyphos with charioteers; ten r.f. vases, chiefly *aski*, one with Eros pursuing a bird; and numerous plain vases.[3]

Canosa.—An early Apulian stamnos (about 400 B.C.) has been found, with a female figure bathing on one side, and a similar figure gazing in a mirror on the other: also a terracotta urn with a figure of a comic actor in the costume worn in the *phlyakes*, and a terracotta group of two lovers embracing.[5]

GREECE.

At *Delphi* further discoveries have been made: (1) metrical inscriptions in the Treasury of the Athenians, one in eleven fragments with musical notation for an instrument, not the voice; the words can be restored with tolerable certainty, but the notes are difficult to read. The subject is the birth of Apollo at Delos, his coming to Delphi and victory over the Python, with the help of Dionysos; it ends with a prayer for Athens and the Romans, and must therefore date from the second century B.C. A second Paean may be dated from the names of archons about 340 B.C.; the poet was a native of Scarphaia in Locris, but his name is lost. (2) A sculptured figure of a warrior with the artist's name inscribed on the shield, but only the first four letters ΚΑΡΡ...remain; the form of the Ρ shows that he was an Argive. (3) Metrical inscriptions mentioning works of art dedicated in honour of historical personages; (4) some accounts, of the fourth century B.C.; (5) a decree in favour of Cotys, King of Thrace; (6) statues of Hellenistic and Roman times; (7) four archaic statues of the type of the Κόραι of the Acropolis; (8) fragments of *repoussé* bronze work; and (9) a Corinthian helmet in perfect preservation.[7]

AFRICA.

At *Biserta*, the ancient Hippo-Zarytus, a silver sacrificial bowl has recently been dredged up; it is of a shallow oval shape, with two handles. The inner surface is inlaid with a design in gold, representing the conflict of Apollo and Marsyas with attendant personages. It appears to be Greek work of the first century after Christ, at which period Biserta was a Roman colony.[8]

H. B. WALTERS.

Revue Numismatique. Part 3, 1894.

E. Babelon, 'Chronologie des monnaies de Samos.' A continuation of Babelon's suggestive paper on the chronology of early electrum coins, especially of Samos. E. Beurlier, 'Le Koinon de Syrie et les Syriarques Artabanès et Hérode.' J. A. Blanchet, 'Monnaie inédite de Nicée.' Describes and figures a coin recently acquired for the French collection forming a variety of the interesting specimen in the British Museum (*Cat. Pontus*, p. 171, pl. xxxiii. 14) with the inscription ΙΠΠΟΝ ΒΡΟΤΟΠΟΔΑ and the representation of a male figure riding on a horse which has human feet and a serpent's tail. Roscher had already connected this type with the human-footed horse of the statue of Julius Caesar in the Forum Julium at Rome. It is known that the people of Nicaea honoured Caesar with a gold wreath and established in their city a *temenos* of the hero Julius. On the new coin the horseman has the attributes of the god Mên and probably a representation of Caesar is intended in the character of that divinity.

Numismatic Chronicle. Part ii. 1894.

J. C. Myres, 'On some bronze coins from Crete.' On coins chiefly procured at the sites of Polyrhenion and Elysos. Reviews of the Berlin Catalogue of Greek Coins, vol. iii. part 1, and Svoronos' 'Britomartis' by B. V. Head. C. W. C. Oman, 'Half and Quarter obols of Alexander the Great.' Describes specimens of these very rare denominations.

W. W.

Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique. Jan.—July 1894.

1. Cousin and Deschamps: publish inscriptions of Tralles, Magnesia, Priene, Caria near Halicarnassos, Iasos, Bargylia, Keramos, collected chiefly during journeys in 1886. 2. de Ridder: examines bronze statuette from the Acropolis (pll. v.—vi.): it is not Aeginetan, as Furtwängler (*Olympia* iv. p. 20, no. 52) thought, but of Attic workmanship. 3. Paris: twelve inscriptions of Phocis and Locris: in no. 11 is part of a list of lands and properties given to Apollo and Artemis. 4. Joubin: publishes (pl. xvi.) a relief from Thasos representing Heracles kneeling shooting an arrow: this relief was found in 1866 (cf. *Rev. Arch.* 1885, i. p. 472) but disappeared, and was lately re-discovered and brought to Tchinli Kiosk. He thinks it may have belonged to some monument like the Thasos Apollo and Nymphs in the Louvre: and is interesting as showing an 'anti-Ionian character' of style. 5. Couve: an instalment of the Delphi inscriptions, chiefly honorary decrees throwing an interesting light on the musical contests and concerts of the Greeks; among these is one in honour of Cleochares, son of Bion, an Athenian, whom M. Couve identifies as the author of the famous hymns with musical notation: it is inscribed on a block belonging to the Treasury of the Athenians. 6. Svoronos: a number of unexplained coin-types have an animal with or without a star or crescent; these cannot be merely decorative, but are astronomical symbols: this theory he tests

[6] *Athenaeum*, 3 November.
[7] *Academy*, 10 November.
[8] *Athenaeum*, 6 October.

by an examination of the coinage of Crete. 7. Radet and Ouvré: publish (pl. iv. *bis*) an interesting stele from Dorylaeum, with a relief representing the so-called Artemis Persike, dating from about 530 B.C.: they consider it offers evidence against Studniczka's identification of a similar type with the goddess Kyrene. 8. Mylonas: notes and corrections of an inscription from Troezen, based on a MS. copy by P. Eustratiades. 9. Mahaffy: publishes (i.) a papyrus of B.C. 210 which had formed part of the pectoral of a mummy at Alexandria: it gives the declaration by one Asclepiades of his property (for taxing purposes) and includes a very interesting series of names: (ii.) a series of corrections or additions to the *C.I.G.* 10. Bury: comments on one of Mahaffy's inscriptions found by him at Kalapcha: the author is a poet whom the god Mandoulis had ordered to write his poem on the walls of his temple. 11. Fontrier: inscriptions of Asia Minor.

Meetings of the Institute: including an account by Homolle of the theatre at Delos, with remarks by Dörpfeld: an account of the metopes of the Treasury of the Athenians from Delphi: and of the *séance* before the king of Greece, at which a musical rendering of the hymn was given. *News.* Delphi, *compte rendu* up to date: Calausia, Delos, Amorgos &c.

Römische Mittheilungen. Part i. 1894.

1. Lanciani: traces the history of the 'Palazzo Maggiore' in the xvi.–xviii. centuries: chiefly in connection with records of the Monastery of SS. Andrew and Gregory, of which a copy existed in the collection of Sir T. Phillips at Cheltenham. 2. Mau: excavations at Pompeii, 1892–1893: in Regio v, insula 2 was discovered an *oecus corinthius* of elaborate dimensions, of which restorations are given on p. 38: and another large house of which the origin goes back to pre-Roman times (p. 43—48). On p. 51 is reproduced a painting representing a garden, resembling the well-known Primaporta garden scene (*Ant. Denkm.* i. 11): pp. 62—65 is described a series of inscriptions from a sepulchral monument accidentally found near the Porta Stabiana. 3. Amelung: publishes a fragment of a votive relief in the Capitoline Museum, showing that the Munich relief (Brunn, *Beschr.* no. 85*a*) is after all genuine: it represents Asklepios seated, with Hygieia standing beside him: (cut). 4. Petersen: publishes cuts of a seated statue of Asklepios set up on the Pincio: the original must be referred to the fifth century B.C. 5. The same: discusses the 'rain miracle' in connection with the German campaign of M. Aurelius, supposed to be represented on the column of the Piazza Colonna: the legend probably arose from a misinterpretation of these sculptures.

The Same. Parts ii. and iii. 1894.

1. Six: iconographic studies, continued: (iii.) Lysimachos king of Thrace: (iv.) Euthydemos I. king of Bactria: (v.) Titus Quinctius Flamininus: and the lady of the Villa of Herculanum. 2. Samter: publishes (pl. 6) a marble relief in the Palermo Museum, representing a sacrifice by Vestals: compares it with two reliefs, one in *Röm. Mitth.* 1889 (pl x.), the other in the Villa Albani (cut on p. 128): the Palermo example is of the first century, or possibly the Augustan age. 3. Bulle: a study of the caryatide statues of the Via Appia, in connection with other Greek and Roman examples of this type. 4. Amelung: publishes (pl. 7) a marble head in the possession of Fräulein Hertz in Rome: the copy of a work which belongs to the same school, and probably the same hand, as the Nike of Paionios. 5. Mau: gives a cut of a wall-painting in the Villa Pamfili, representing a man climbing a date-palm by means of a loop of cord: and compares a passage in Lucian, *De dea Syria* 29. 6. Petersen: gives (pp. 171—228) a detailed study of the *Ara Pacis Augustae* (mentioned in the *Res Gestae divi Augusti*, ed. Mommsen ii. 37). 7. The same: publishes the vase described by Jatta in the *Notizie* 1893, p. 242, representing Theseus in the sea, the subject of the myth described by Pausanias i. 17, 2. 8. Domaszewski: suggests emendations to Bormann's note on the lists of Roman soldiers in *Eph. Epigr.* iv. p. 317. 9. Patsch: two fragments of Roman tiles with legionary stamps, from the Bosnia-Herzegovina Museum. 10. Hülsen: further notes on the Sorrento basis (*Röm. Mitth.* 1889, pl. 10: *ante*, p. 125). 11. Sauer: answers Petersen's suggestions (*Röm. Mitth.* 1893, p. 251) as to the dead Amazon of the Naples Museum. 12. Petersen: controverting Freericks' views as to the Apollo Belvedere.

Athenische Mittheilungen. Part i. 1894.

1. Hiller von Gaertringen: an account of the excavations in the theatre of Magnesia on the Maeander: (i.) the inscriptions (pll. i.–iv.). 2. Kern: the same continued: (ii.) publishes a marble basis with a terminal figure attached to a tripod table, inscribed with a dedication to Hermes Tychon. 3. Dörpfeld: the same: (iii.) a description of the theatre buildings, showing (p. 89) the various epochs of its development. 4. Kern: the same: theatre inscriptions from the Agora (pl. v.). 5. Buresch: publishes (in connection with a new inscription from Antiocheia) notes on Lydian epigraphy and geography. 6. Fränkel: notes on the Hippomedon inscription of Samothrace (vol. xviii. p. 348). 7. Ziehen: publishes a cut of a marble statue of a boy from the Peiraeus: one hand holds a bundle of rolls (probably books), the other a large alabastron: on the shoulders are laid a quantity of tainiae: the signification of this figure is not explained. 8. Preger: five inscriptions from Athens. 9. Dörpfeld: continues his account of the excavations at the Enneakrunos (cf. vol. xviii. p. 231).

The Same. Part ii. 1894.

1. Winter: of the four artists who decorated the Mausoleum, Timotheos was hitherto otherwise almost unknown: the material excavated at Epidauros enables us to form a better idea of his work: gives in pl. 6 one of the Epidauros groups with a group from the Capitoline Museum, also probably inspired by Timotheos. 2. Philios: publishes (pl. 7) a stele from Eleusis, recording an interesting decree relating to road mending: above is a relief representing Athene and the demos of the Eleusinians, Demeter and Kore: and eight other public documents of Eleusis of great interest, including a long series of treasure lists. 3. Nikitsky: shows that, as Sokoloff has already pointed out, the words ΧΙΟΥ and ΕΚΧΙΟΥ in the Delphian lists of Hieromnemones have been misunderstood. 4. Bruck: notes on the Athenian heliast tickets, with corrections and new readings. 5. Strack: publishes some inscription of the Ptolemaic period in the museums of Gizeh and Alexandria. 6. Cordellas: notes on Laurion ancient and modern, with remarks by Wolters. 7. Wide: publishes the inscriptions of the Iobakchi, found between the Pnyx and the Areopagus (cf. *ante*, p. 147): it is in 162 lines, dating from the third century A.D., and contains the statutes of the thiasos of the Iobakchi, with a rich variety of interesting detail concerning the regulations of societies such as this in antiquity. 8. Gurlitt: examines the system

followed by the artist in decorating the Heroön of Gjölbaschi, and concludes that the frieze with the beleaguered city represents Troy with Priam and Helen; it is not the Iliupersis, but some episode which has not come down to us in literature. 9. Wernicke: suggests an emendation in the Rhea epigram from Phaestos (*Ath. Mitth.* xviii. p. 272). 10. Wilhelm: further note on the Hippomedon inscription (see Fränkel's note above). Under 'discoveries' is noted that of two tombs on the northern slope of the Acropolis of Rhodes, dating from the third century B.C.: one of these had an inscribed stele, and contained a bronze-gilt hydria, full of bones and vases.

Revue Archéologique. Jan.—Feb. 1894.

1. Kont: concludes his study of Lessing as archaeologist: 'il ne lui était pas donné de vivre au milieu des antiques. Il connaît et manie avec aisance ce que les recueils des antiquaires depuis la Renaissance contiennent pour les matières qu'il traite....il est au moins à la hauteur des grands savants de son temps.' 2. Torr: a statement of the evidence in favour of his theory as to the harbours of Carthage (see *Class. Rev.* 1893, p. 374). 3. Tannery: discusses the origin of the word *chiffre*, which he concludes is derived from ψῆφος through the intermediary of Arabic. 4. Espérandieu: continues his catalogue of Roman oculists' stamps. 5. Nicole: publishes two of his collections of papyri, containing the details of an interesting case in which the guardianship of a certain Lucius is at issue: it throws considerable light on the administrative and judicial organization of Egypt under the reign of Antoninus Pius. 6. Michon: gives an account of the various fragments of the Parthenon in the Louvre and the history of their respective acquisitions. 7. Coulon: excavations at Chérisy near Arras (pp. 96—97, two cuts showing ornaments &c. found).

Correspondence &c.: Vetulonia, Tunis.

The Same. March—April. 1894.

1. Deloche: seals and rings of the Merovingian epoch (continued). 2. Bertrand: the vase or caldron of Gundestrup (continued). 3. Th. Reinach: the name of the toreutes Acragas given by Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxiii. 154, is really due to an error; probably Menander had seen in Rhodes, among the masterpieces of Mys and Boethos, certain Agrigentine cups: copies of such cups in terracotta have come down to us bearing in the centre the impression of a decadrachm of that city, with the usual inscription of Agrigentine coins, 'Acragas,' (pll. vii.—ix.), and this fact has given rise to Pliny's error. 4. Joubin: publishes (pll. v.—vi.) three stelae from Dorylaeum in Phrygia, now at Constantinople: on each are carved a series of partitions containing objects of toilet use &c. in relief. 5. The same: publishes (pl. iv.) the torso, with head attached, of the colossal Apollo from Tralles: the head was given *Rev. Arch.* 1888, i. p. 289: the torso has since been found in Humann's excavations. 6. Cagnat: at Carthage there were two distinct temples built nearly on the same plan, a Capitol and a temple of Tanit: the former may have stood on Byrsa; the latter elsewhere, possibly on a hill or near the forum. 7. Omont: inscriptions of Salonica collected by Germain, who was employed in the French consulate at Smyrna and Salonica between 1733—1748. 8. Espérandieu: tabular list of collyria of which the names are known from stamps. 9. Villenoisy: discusses the modes of use of ancient swords. Cagnat's *Revue des Publications Épigraphiques.*

The Same. May—June. 1894.

1. S. Reinach: publishes (pl. x.) a terracotta statuette representing a woman (probably Ariadne or a Maenad) riding on a mule. 2. Torr: replying to Meltzer's attempted refutation of his theory as to the harbours of Carthage (*Jahrbücher für cl. Phil.* 1894, pp. 49 and 119). 3. Hubert: two metrical inscriptions of Asia Minor, 4. Vitry: study of the epigrams of *Anth. Pal.* which contain the description of a work of art: with tabulated list, pp. 355—367. 6. Espérandieu; tabular list of the names of oculists which are known from the stamps. Cagnat's *Revue des Publications Épigraphiques.*

C. S.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

American Journal of Philology. Whole No. 58. July 1894.

The Latin Prohibitive, part i. by H. C. Elmer. Omitting the Letters of Cicero, *ne* with the 2nd pers. perf. subj. does not occur in poetry or prose during the whole Ciceronian period, except in seven dialogue passages of Cicero, where the tone sinks to that of ordinary conversation. There is no ground for the common statement, that *ne* with the pres. subj. is general, and *ne* with the perf. subj. is addressed to individuals. The last-named kind of prohibitions is often expressed by *ne* with the pres. subj., while a general prohibition is expressed by the 3rd pers. subj. such as *ne quis putet* &c. The usual way of prohibiting in Cicero is by *noli* with infin. or *vide, cave, quaeso* &c. with pres. subj. *The Dog in the Rig-Veda*, by E. W. Hopkins. *On the Archaisms noted by Servius in the commentary to Vergil*, by R. B. Steele. A very elaborate paper. Between the two versions of the commentary, the shorter 'Servius' and the longer, the 'Scholia of Daniel,' there is considerable difference and their relative value must be estimated. The archaisms are treated under the foll. categories: changes in letters, nouns (case-endings, syntax, gender, meaning), pronouns, adjectives, particles, prepositions, verbs (form and meaning), tropes and figures (see J. L. Moore in A. J. P. nos. 46, 47), novae elocutiones, neotericae elocutiones. *The Origin of the Gerund and Gerundive*, by L. Horton-Smith. Mr. S. B. Platner has set forth the uses of the gerund and gerundive in Pliny's Letters and Tacitus' Annals in A. J. P. nos. 34 and 36, and in Plaut. and Ter. in A. J. P. no. 56. This paper is concerned with the origin of these forms. The writer suggests a theory based, as Brugmann's, on the Prim. Ital. infin. in *-m*. To this infin. as basis was added the suffix *-do*, probably Indo-Germ. √-dō- 'give.' These forms were orig. act. but from their use shaded into a pass. meaning, and hence came to be regarded as pass. The gerund probably did not arise until the infin. had lost its use as a subst. Then the neut. sing. of the gerundive was employed as an abstract subst. Next follows a note on *the Latin Gerundive*

°*ndo-* by E. W. Fay, who seeks to justify phonetically the equation Latin *fer-en-d-*ae = Sk. *bhar-a-dh-*yāi ; cf. Grk. φέρε<σ>θαι, and ends with a comparison of the syntax of the Latin and Sanskrit. Among the reviews are *The Epistle of James*, by Joseph B. Mayor, noticed by Prof. J. H. Thayer, who says : 'with all its present imperfections the book is a valuable addition to exegetical literature, and may be heartily wished such prosperity as shall speedily call for its reconstruction, that it may thus be rendered more thoroughly helpful to students, and a yet more worthy memorial of an eminent scholar' [Prof. J. B. Mayor is not dead however], and Bröring's *Quaestiones Maximinianae*, by Prof. Robinson Ellis. 'Its chief value is the attention it calls to the Eton MS. and to the fact that though E is much the best MS. it cannot safely be trusted alone.' Briefly mentioned is Dr. Merry's *Wasps*, which, like similar editions, falls short of what is due to the poet and the artist in refusing to consider the the form, and does not give a *conspectus metrorum*.

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

ENGLISH BOOKS.

Caesar. Gallic War. Books I. and II. Edited by T. W. Haddon and G. C. Harrison, with plans and illustrations. Post 8vo. 130 pp. Arnold. 1*s.* 6*d.* net.

Cicero. Speech for Cluentius. Translated into English, with an introduction and notes. Post 8vo. 158 pp. Simpkin. 4*s.*

Gardiner (G. B. & A.) A Latin translation primer. 12mo. Arnold. 1*s.* net.

Graves (C.) The Hawarden Horace. 12mo. 92 pp. Smith & Elder. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Hartland (Edwin Sidney.) The Legend of Perseus, a study of tradition in story, custom and belief: Vol. I. The Supernatural Birth. Post 8vo. Nutt. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Homer. Iliad. Books I. to XII. With introduction, a brief Homeric Grammar, and notes by D. B. Monro. 4th ed. revised. 12mo. 476 pp. Clarendon Press. 6*s.*

—— Iliad. Done into English Verse, by A. S. Way. 2 vols. 4to. Macmillan. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

—— The Wanderings of Ulysses. Selected from the *Odysseey*. Edited, with introduction and notes by E. D. Stone. 12mo. 112 pp. Methuen. 2*s.*

Horace. The Odes and Epodes. Edited, with introduction and notes, by Clement Laurence Smith. Post 8vo. Ginn & Co. 7*s.* 6*d.*

—— Odes. Translated into English by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone. 8vo. 156 pp. Murray. 6*s.*

—— The historical and political Odes. With introduction and notes, by A. J. Church. Post 8vo. 146 pp. Blackie. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Plato. The Parmenides of, after the paging of the Clarke manuscript, with introductions, facsimiles, and notes, William Wardlaw Waddell. 4to. 150 copies printed. Maclehose & Sons. 31*s.* 6*d.* net.

Ramsay (W.) Manual of Roman antiquities. Revised and partly re-written by Rodolfo Lanciani. 15th edition. Post 8vo. 580 pp. Griffin. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Schrammen (Professor J.) Tales of the Gods and Heroes of Ancient Greece, with notes and vocabulary by A. R. Lachner. 18mo. 166 pp. Rivington. 2*s.*

Tyson (E.) A philological essay concerning the Pygmies of the Ancients. By Edward Tyson, M.D., F.R.S., A.D. 1699. Now edited, with an introduction, treating of Pigmy races and Fairy tales, by Bertram C. A. Windle, M.D., M.A., Trinity College, Dublin. (Bibliothèque de Carabas IX.). Nutt. 6*s.* net.

Xenophon. Selections illustrative of Greek life from the minor works of Xenophon, adapted for the use of beginners, with vocabulary, notes and exercises by Charles Haines Keene. 18mo. 118 pp. Macmillan. 1*s.* 6*d.*

FOREIGN BOOKS.

Abhandlungen (Breslauer philologische). Vol. VII. Pl. 2. 8vo. 60 pp. Breslau, Koebner. 2 Mk 50.
[Quaestiones Choricianae, scr. C. Kirsten.]

—— Vol. VII. Pt. 3. (De Callimachi hymnis quaestiones chronologicae, scr. B. Ehrlich.) 8vo. 70 pp. Same publisher. 3 Mk.

Anthologia latina sive poesis latinae supplementum, ed. F. Buecheler et A. Riese. Pars I. Fasc. I. 8vo. Leipzig, Teubner. 4 Mk.
[Carmina in codicibus scripta, rec. A. Riese. I. Libri Salmasiani aliorumque carmina. Ed. II. xlvii, 372 pp.]

Baumstark (Ant.) Lucubrationes Syro-graecae. 8vo. 172 pp. Leipzig, Teubner. 5 Mk.
[Aus 'Jahrbücher für class. Philologie,' 21. Suppl.-Bd.]

Bergk (Th.) Griechische Literaturgeschichte. Register von Rud. Peppmüller und W. Hahn. 8vo. iii, 94 pp. Berlin, Weidmann. 2 Mk. 40.

Boltz (A.) Der Apollomythus. Die Engel und ihre Verehrer. 2 mythologisch-linguistische Studien. 8vo. 58 pp. 1 plate. Darmstadt, Brill. 1 Mk. 20.

Damon (K.) Etudes d'art grec. Symétrie et harmonie. Le logeion. Folio. 32 pp. 1 plate and engravings. Haarlem. 4 Mk.

Demosthenes. Rotteck (Ed.) Dispositive Inhaltsübersicht zu Demosthenes' acht Staatsreden. 8vo. 46 pp. Wien, Hölder. 1 Mk.

Fritze (H. von.) Die Rauchopfer bei den Griechen. Royal 8vo. 52 pp. Berlin, Mayer & Müller. 2 Mk. 50.

Fröhner (W.) La Collection Tyszkiewicz. Choix des monuments antiques avec texte explicatif. Pars III. Folio. 8 plates, coloured and phototype, 10 pp. of letterpress. München, Verlagsanstalt. 20 Mk.

Hildebrandt (P.) De scholiis Ciceronis Bobiensibus. 8vo. 63 pp. Berlin, Mayer & Müller. 1 Mk. 60.

Holz (Ge.) Beiträge zur deutschen Alterthumskunde. Part I. Ueber die germanische Völkertafel des Ptolemaeus. 8vo. 80 pp. 1 table. Halle, Niemeyer. 2 Mk.

Horace. Q. Horatius Flaccus, texte latin, publié avec des notes en français et précédé d'un précis sur les mètres employés par Horace, par E. Sommer. Crown 8vo. xvi, 426 pp. Paris, Hachette.

Horace. Scholia antiqua in Horatium Flaccum, rec. A. Holder et O. Keller. Vol. I. 8vo. Innsbruck, Wagner. 20 Mk.

[Pomponi Porfyrionis commentum in Horatium, rec. A. Holder. x, 620 pp.]

—— Grumme (A.) Dispositiones Horatianae. 8vo. 15 pp. Gera, Kanitz. 40 Pf.

Hyperidis Orationes sex cum ceterarum fragmentis ed. F. Blass. Ed. III. 8vo. lvi, 176 pp. Leipzig, Teubner. 2 Mk. 10.

Ihering (R. von.) Entwicklungsgeschichte des römischen Rechts. Einleitung. Verfassung des römischen Hauses. Aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben. 8vo. vii, 124 pp. Leipzig, Duncker & Humblot. 3 Mk.

Jung (Jul.) Fasten der Provinz Dacien. Mit Beiträgen zur römischen Verwaltungsgeschichte. 8vo. xlii, 193 pp. Innsbruck, Wagner. 4 Mk. 80.

La Ville de Mirmont (H. de.) Apollonios de Rhodes et Virgile. La mythologie des Dieux dans les Argonautiques et dans l'Enéide. 8vo. viii, 778 pp. Paris, Hachette.

Lehrs (K.) *see* Lobeck.

Lehmann (K.) Der letzte Feldzug des Hannibalischen Krieges. 8vo. 92 pp. 1 map. Leipzig, Teubner. 2 Mk. 80.

[Aus 'Jahrbücher für class. Philologie,' Suppl. Bd. 21.]

Lobeck. Briefe von und an Chr. Lobeck und K. Lehrs, nebst Tagebuchnotizen, herausgegeben von A Ludwich. (1802—1878). 2 vols. Published by the Verein für die Geschichte von Ost- und Westpreussen. 8vo. xii, 1049 pp. Leipzig, Duncker & Humblot, 16 Mk.

Meringer (Rud.) Ueber die Spuren römischer Dachconstructionen in Carnuntum. Dell (J.) Architectonisches aus den Reliefs der Matres in Carnuntum. 4to. 8 pp. 13 engravings. Wien, Hölder. 1 Mk.

[Extr. from 'Mittheilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien.']

Meyer (Ed.) Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Gracchen. 4to. 32 pp. Halle, Niemeyer. 1 Mk. 60.

Mittheilungen (archaeologisch-epigraphische) aus Oesterreich-Ungarn. Herausgegeben von O. Benndorf und E. Bormann. 17 Jahrg. Pt. 1. 8vo. 118 pp. 16 engravings. Wien, Holder. 5 Mk.

Plinii Secundi (C.) Librorum dubii sermonis VIII. reliquiae, coll. et illustr. J. W. Beck. 8vo. xxvii, 96 pp. Leipzig, Teubner. 1 Mk. 40.

Reinach (T.) La musique grecque et l'hymne à Apollon, conférence faite à l'Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques. 8vo. Paris. 24 pp.

Ruggiero (Ett. de) Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane. Fasc. 33. (Cappadocia—Cassio.) 8vo. Roma. pp. 97–128. 1 L. 50.

Schmidt (H.) Epeirotika. Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Epeiros (Epeiros von König Pyrrhos). 8vo. Marburg, 1894. 94 pp.

Schumm (K.) Die Bedeutung des Pathetischen in der griechischen Plastik und bei den griechischen Tragikern. 8vo. Hof, 1894. 23 pp.

Sittl (K.) Die Grenzbezeichnung der Römer. Ein Beitrag zur Limesfrage. Mit Anhang zu: Parerga. III. Jahresbericht des Kunstgeschichtlichen Museums der Kgl. Universität Würzburg. 4to. Würzburg, Stahel. 25 pp. 4 plates. 1 M. 50.

Statius. Mueller (Henr.) Studia Statiana. 8vo. Berlin, Heinrich. 59 pp. 1 Mk. 20.

Studien (Berliner) für classische Philologie und Archaeologie. 16 Bd. 1 Hft. 8vo. Berlin, Calvary.

1. Opiniones Homeri et tragicorum graecorum de inferis, per comparationem excussae. Scripsit Geo. Ivanowitsch. 105 pp. 3 M.

Studien (Prager) aus dem Gebiete der klassischen Alterthumswissenschaft. Heft 1–4. 8vo. Prag, Dominicus.

1. Jöhring (Jos.) De particularum ut ne quin quominus apud L. Annaeum Senecam philosophum via atque usu. v, 59 pp. 1 M. 80.
2. Herkenrath (Rol.) Gerundii et gerundivi apud Plautum et Cyprianum usus comparatus. 115 pp. 2 M. 50.
3. Stiglmayr (Jos.) Eine alte Regensburger Handschrift des sogenannten Homerus latinus. 56 pp. and 2 plates. 2 M.
4. Holzner (Eug.) Plato's Phaedrus und die Sophistenrede des Isokrates. 50 pp. 1 M. 50.

Tacitus. Adami (R.) La milizia Romana secondo Tacito. I. 8vo. Triest, 1894. 63 pp.

Thucydides. Crampe (R.) Thucydidem nunquam temere usurpare adverbium 'monon' adjectivi vicem. Festschrift. 4to. Halle, 1894. 3 pp.

Tibullus. Ehrengruber (S.) De carmine panegyrico Messalae Pseudo-Tibulliano. V. 8vo. Kremsmünster, 1894. 60 pp.

Tomaschek (Wilh.) Die alten Thraker. Eine ethnologische Untersuchung. II. Die Sprachreste. II. Hälfte: Personen- und Ortsnamen. (Aus 'Sitzungsberichte der K. Akademie der Wiss.') 8vo. Wien. 103 pp. 2 M.

Überweg (Fr.) Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie. 1 Thl.: das Alterthum. 8 Aufl. bearb. von Prof. Dr. Max Heinze. 8vo. Berlin, Mittler. ix, 390 pp. 6 M.

Urwalek (J.) Die griechischen Gelehrten zur Zeit der Eroberung Konstantinopels. 8vo. Baden, 1894. 44 pp.

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